

UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY

BINDING LIST APR 1 1922



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

P
Philol.
J

The Journal
OF
PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

HENRY JACKSON, Litt. D.

H. W. GARROD, M.A.

J. A. PLATT, M.A.

VOL. XXXIV.

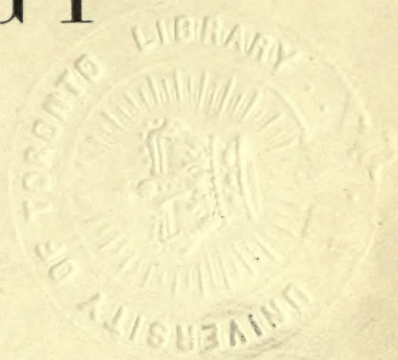
London :

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Cambridge : BOWES AND BOWES.

DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO., LTD.

1918



171508
18. V. 22



CAMBRIDGE : PRINTED BY
J. B. PEACE, M.A.,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CONTENTS

No. LXVII.

	PAGE
Ingram Bywater. C. CANNAN and P. S. ALLEN	1
Political and Legal Aspects of the Trial of Rabirius. E. G. HARDY	12
Juvenal and Two of his Editors A. E. HOUSMAN	40
A Collation of the History of Socrates Scholasticus, Books IV—VII, with the Old Armenian Version and with the Latin Version of Epiphanius Scholasticus as preserved in the Historia Tripartita of Cassiodorius. F. C. CONYBEARE	47
On some Ancient Plant-Names. II. W. T. THISELTON-DYER	78
The 'Bugonia' Myth. A. E. SHIPLEY	97
Fragments of Greek Poetry from Papyri in the Library of the Uni- versity of Chicago. J. U. POWELL	106
Apollonius again. ARTHUR PLATT	129
Bucolica. ARTHUR PLATT	142
Notes on Aristotle, Metaphysics A 6. C. M. GILLESPIE	151
Emendations in the Eudemian Ethics. W. D. ROSS	155
<i>Eudemian Ethics</i> 1229 a 14 ; 1235 a 35 ; 1244 a 1. H. J.	159
Note on the so-called 'Gnomica Basileensia.' I. B.	160

No. LXVIII.

	PAGE
The Evidence as to Caesar's Legal Position in Gaul. E. G. HARDY.	161
Transpositions in the Ibis of Ovid. A. E. HOUSMAN	222
Aristophanica. ARTHUR PLATT	239
Aristotelica. H. RICHARDS	247
The Shorter Glosses of Placidus. W. M. LINDSAY	255
The 'Abolita' Glossary (Vat. Lat. 3321). W. M. LINDSAY . .	267
Horace <i>Carm.</i> i 14. WALTER LEAF.	283
On some Ancient Plant-Names. III. W. T. THISELTON-DYER .	290

THE JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

INGRAM BYWATER.

§ i.

Ingram Bywater died on Dec. 17, 1914. His failing strength had been for some time a matter of concern to his friends, but it was not until the late autumn of 1914 that for the first time in his life, so far as he could remember, and 'with great indignation' he was obliged to spend a day in bed. He rallied, and as late as Nov. 20 he attended a meeting of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press on his way back to London from a visit to an old friend in the Midlands. His last illness began on Sunday, Dec. 13, and he died on the following Thursday. Four days later he was buried at Salcombe Regis, near Sidmouth.

Bywater was born in London in 1840, and after some years at University and King's College Schools matriculated at Oxford in 1859 as a scholar of Queen's College. He was not, he always averred, by any means a precocious schoolboy, or even a brilliant undergraduate: of some academic exercises, such as Latin Verse, he seldom spoke without a shudder. He read privately with Robinson Ellis, and, together with Pater, who was his contemporary at Queen's, took at least one essay to Jowett, then Regius Professor and not yet Master of Balliol. When the essays were read, Jowett said, 'Thank you, both you young gentlemen will take first classes in your schools.' In the event Pater was somehow put into the second class:

Bywater, to use his own old-fashioned phrase, 'did a first' in *Literis Humanioribus*, and received, it is proper to note, the then possible complimentary fourth in Mathematics. In the subsequent examinations for fellowships, Pater was elected at Brasenose and Bywater at Exeter. He was Tutor at Exeter from 1867 to 1884, and took college work continuously till he became Professor in 1893. He was Proctor in 1873, and for a few years represented the Masters of Arts on Council. He became a Curator of the Bodleian in 1884, and for a short time performed the duties of a sub-Librarian. In 1879 he became a Delegate of the Press. In 1883 he was appointed to the new University Readership in Greek, and in 1893 to the Regius Professorship. His edition of Heraclitus was published in 1877, Priscianus Lydus (for the Berlin Academy) in 1886, his text of the Ethics in 1890, Contributions to the Criticism of Aristotle's Ethics in 1892, his text of the Poetics in 1898, and his definitive edition of it in 1909. In 1908 Bywater resigned his Professorship, and thenceforth lived in London, though to the last he seldom missed a meeting of the Clarendon Press.

In the Oxford of the sixties and seventies Bywater—as he wrote of his friend Henry Nettleship—'was one of the small band of academic reformers who thought that a university should be organised with a view to research as well as with a view to education,' and, like Nettleship, 'in taking this line he was to some extent influenced by Mark Pattison.' Able pupils who took work to him have always acknowledged their good fortune; but for the instruction of reluctant youth Bywater had no turn, and he was proud of his opposition in Council to the policy which gave to the Examination Schools money which he would have liked to spend upon the Bodleian. 'Multi pertransibunt' he used to say of the big building in the High, 'neque augebitur scientia.' It pleased him to the last to regard himself as a very unsuccessful university reformer, and a very inefficient 'server of tables.' But in fact the 'small band' was very successful. Bywater's own early lectures, and Pelham's, when Pelham reinforced him at Exeter, brought new vigour into the schools: it was a new thing when 'ambitious

young men from Balliol escaped from tribal pedagogy' to listen to Bywater upon the Poetics, meeting the Germans upon equal terms on what was then their own ground. 'Vahlen *thinks* that I agree with him, but I DON'T' was the antithesis of Jowett's 'Do not dispute about texts: buy a good text.' Measured by the standard of productivity nothing in the academic field has been more fertile: the Oxford Classical Texts which have broken the monopoly of Herr Teubner, and invaded Germany itself, have Bywater and Ellis for their only begetters. And if in later years Bywater, as Professor, attracted smaller audiences, the reason was not that the College tutors had relapsed into obscurantism, but that the methods in which he was the pioneer were being followed in the Colleges and applied to other studies, archaeological, historical and philosophical, all drawing their devotees from the same scanty supply of hearers, fit though few.

The Oxford Aristotelian Society came into existence without a formal constitution in the early eighties, about the time that Bywater became Reader. He took the chair at the first meeting (which beginning first with the first things proceeded to read *Metaphysics Z*), and the society met in his rooms under his presidency until he resigned his Professorship in 1908. The society has had its vicissitudes. Shute, who held a flaming torch in the van of the earliest reconnaissances, died: other qualified commentators fell away, finding themselves deprived of sleep, and of the younger men several departed to professorships and the like away from Oxford. At one time the effective force of the society was not above three or four. It was characteristic of Bywater that he never remarked on the rise or fall of the attendance, and never recognised it by any change in his preparations. There was always every week on the appointed day the same big table cleared, the same lighted sconces, the same number of teacups. In a quarter of a century Bywater himself cannot have missed half a dozen of the weekly meetings. Once a backslider corrupted some friends and announced that they would not attend next week—they were going to hear an itinerant philosopher who had come up to give a lecture. 'Ah,' said Bywater, 'in that

case — will dine with me, and after dinner we will do our best together to construe the words of the master of them that KNOW.' Gradually as the generations grew up recruits came in, and when Bywater retired from the presidency, there was quite a little company to sign a very cordial address which commemorated the benefit conferred on the Oxford exegesis of Aristotle by the common study of the more important writings of the philosopher, and spoke of the personal debt of those who had been permitted an insight into the methods of Bywater's own laborious, profound and brilliant scholarship¹.

At the Clarendon Press, to which so much devoted service is given by the members of its Board, Bywater's thirty-five years of heavy work will stand unrivalled. He took a personal interest in every piece of sound learning that was offered for publication. 'That book of —,' he said, 'has given me a horrible interest in mediaeval geography, and there is no subject so remote from my proper studies.' He found—or made—time to assist or direct all kinds of undertakings in very different fields. He studied, for instance, not merely all the proofs of the Oxford Classical Texts (which were planned on the model of his own edition of the *Ethics*) but huge slices of the English Dictionary. When everyone else had failed to find the word *inferentia*, and when at least one dissertation had proved that it could not have been used in Latin, Bywater produced a quotation from Abelard. 'Murray,' he said, 'asked me for an early instance of *poetria* ('poetry'), and when I tell you that I found it at last in a seventh-century scholium to the Epistles of Horace, you may imagine that it took me some time: but I am sometimes lucky on Sunday.' Another Sunday produced—by telegram on Monday morning—a Gladstonian use of 'science' in the old Oxford sense of metaphysics. Bywater's immense bibliographical knowledge in many fields of learning enabled him to estimate with accuracy the value of a new book, regarded as a contribution to the common stock; and his long experience gave him an uncanny skill in predicting without arithmetical data the cost of production and the willingness—or unwillingness—of the public to buy. He never missed an

¹ The address is printed in *Oxford Magazine*, Feb. 25, 1908.

opportunity of getting a good piece of work before the world ; and if he sometimes set limits to an enterprise, or relegated what was conceived to be a book 'to the pages of a learned periodical,' it was not a scholar's hypercriticism but a practical man's estimate of possibilities and values that suggested his caution. To all the problems of practical administration he brought a very shrewd and incisive appreciation of the governing factors ; and in his long tenure of office the sum of his work at the Press, or in connection with it, must be quite comparable to that which eminent private publishers find necessary for their business.

Those who knew him best had always a lively anticipation, when an entirely new subject came up, that it would be discovered to be 'Bywater's real speciality.' Once for the honour of the house and absolutely without notice he produced the most surprising stores of information upon the iconography of Italian saints : 'he gave me,' said the astonished iconographer who had started the subject, 'a new idea of what scholarship means. I must go away and work for years.' But everything human and real attracted him ; and his prodigious accuracy and insight made him interesting to, as well as interested in, other people.

He was helped by exceptional physical health. There is nothing, so far as can be learnt by inquiry, in the doctrine of the *Athenaeum* and the *Sportsman*, that in youth he had been a distinguished cross-country runner. But almost to the last he could tax his constitution beyond the compass of common men. 'What,' he said to a young man who had 'no time' for some undertaking, 'do you do in the afternoons ?' 'In the afternoons I go for a walk.' 'Walk !' said Bywater, 'it is true that a fortnight ago I had some business with Pelham, and walked with him, but I haven't been wantonly for a WALK for five and twenty years.' After a day's work he could sit for two or three hours at the Aristotelian Society, and after dialectic enough for most men, take up something else well on into the small hours, and yet be perfectly fresh in the morning. In virtue of this perfect health he had 'none of the querulous weaknesses of the delicate scholar, none of the vices of an over-taxed men-

talities, no literary jealousy or petty vanity¹. 'A very shoddy book' he said of some new work upon one of his favourite subjects. 'Why don't you review it?' he was asked. But Bywater looked at the company with surprise. 'Does dog eat dog?' He had, of course, his likes and dislikes, and permitted his friends to know them. But there was never ill-nature in his most denunciatory term—'something of a coxcomb.' To the outer world his known attainments, and a certain reticence, made him a formidable figure: to his friends, and to any scholar who went to him for help, he gave of his best. If he offered the gift, or the loan, of a book, it was certain to come at the first opportunity. If he gave a general invitation, it was sure to be followed by a specific appointment. 'My time,' he would write, 'shall be yours after that hour.' If a question on a point of scholarship had been left unsolved in conversation, the answer came by letter with 'This is all I can make out at present.' It is said that without ever making enquiry he knew what books were wanting on the shelves of his friends, and when he left Oxford he distributed his duplicates according to their needs without mistake—Ast's lexicon to one, Pacius' Commentary to another, Gesner and Joecher to a third.

In his own work his natural bent was for the most difficult tasks: Heraclitus the obscure, the much-thumbed *Ethics*, the spiny places of the *De Anima*, the *Poetics* vexed by a long line of commentators and partisans. Of his edition of this last the principal German review wrote: 'Wir haben kein ähnliches Buch, das wir bei der Seite stellen können.' Dry light, no doubt—'you must not expect from me,' he said, when the book was leaving the press, 'anything about Fine Art, for I don't think Aristotle said anything about it. I have looked it up in the dictionaries, and I see that the term is much later.' But what else is so *hübsch objectiv*, so closely appreciative of the *Sprachgebrauch*—the two terms which Bywater commonly quoted from the Germans—and what above all combines with so elaborate a knowledge of the tradition, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German and English, an insight so serene into the logical sequence of the ideas? 'It would perhaps occur to you that

¹ L. R. Farnell, in *Oxford Magazine*, Jan. 25, 1915.

some passage was not so hard as you had remembered it, or that the meaning was slightly different and clearer. You looked close, and found that the punctuation had been altered¹. And everywhere the same 'impression of great unsounded depths' of learning.

The verdict of those that know has long been passed upon his work. It stands high in the succession of the scholars of the Renaissance, and of our own great English names; and he made for himself, and put into the hands of others, a technical equipment which, when he began, was not easy to come by in Britain. In his own University he has left his mark deep in its Library and its Press, and in the general advancement of its learning: to his friends and to all who knew him, the memory of intellect of the keenest edge, of wide humanity, generosity and courtesy, of unswerving fidelity to friends and causes, and above all to the things of the mind.

C. CANNAN.

§ ii

I am asked to add to Mr Cannan's notice a few words on behalf of a wide class of persons—those who, engaged upon learned work, were accustomed to look to Bywater at all turns for help which only he could give and which he gave always ungrudgingly, whatever at any time his other preoccupations might be.

One of his main interests was the history of learning, and under that came the scholars of the Renaissance and all the diversity of their studies. When the Clarendon Press undertook an edition of the Letters of Erasmus, Bywater readily charged himself with the supervision of the book. This task might have been light if he had wished to spare himself: but he made it heavy by his thorough scrutiny of text and notes. Three volumes of 600 pages each passed under his eye, and came back sometimes with convincing emendations, sometimes

¹ Gilbert Murray, *Inaugural Lecture*.

with additions to the notes of sources that should have been cited—the publications of antiquarian societies, and once even a college magazine at Cambridge, or corrections in the forms of names or in the initials of German scholars. With his characteristic reserve he would say no word of praise or blame: but he could let his dissatisfaction be felt, if necessary, and he was unhesitating in esteeming work of which he approved.

Beside such literary help he delighted to converse with younger men on subjects which he had mastered and in which they were interested. When he had retired to his Kensington home, 93, Onslow Square, he had more freedom than before, and it was in the library which he had built up for himself that he loved to talk. His books were a wonderful sight, filling completely the walls of his study and an adjoining room; standing in cabinets in the drawing-room, the drawers of which were packed with folios, and overflowing into bookcases on the stairs and in bedrooms, where in washing one's hands one could survey long lines of volumes—the wisdom of fifty years ago—which now find themselves undeservedly on back shelves in libraries. Though many of his treasures were handsomely adorned, he set little store by bindings, except for their human connexion. He had a considerable number of de Thou's fine books, but he could also find some interest in the tasteless productions of a wealthy Mexican collector. He would set luncheon late, so as to allow for a morning's work at the British Museum; and then the afternoon would disappear while he talked, until it needed a run across the Park to catch an evening train home. Often the last glimpse of him was as he hung over the banisters to add a further point to something he had been saying.

If only one could remember his conversation! Nothing but the deliberate effort of a Boswell could have preserved it, and at the end of such a day there was not much energy left to the chronicler. Topic after topic came up, many of striking interest, and each drove its predecessor off the field. There was no rush of words, but an even flow, as the slight figure moved about the room, only breaking off to take up another book or to fill one of his many pipes. He was very light upon

his feet, and his points were often made with a quick turn and a half-bow. Some of his phrases dwell in the memory. 'He has to be considered,' he would say of some writer who had played his part in the history of learning and had missed from posterity his due. Sometimes, in moments of expansion, his intensive adverb would come out, pronounced with the slight lisp which Spaniards give to such names as Saragossa; 'a beastly rare book,' he would say of some treasure acquired at a high price. Once even was heard something which sounded like 'a beastly dear friend.' His interests in conversation were wide and human. He had mixed in a distinguished world, and had many anecdotes to tell—as of the occasion when he introduced Renan and Ruskin to one another as he was showing the former over the British Museum. Local antiquities attracted him too. He knew the past history of his part of London; and of Sidmouth, his wife's home in Devon, which he usually visited in the summer, he delighted to talk. It was rare that he spoke of himself. A few facts once about his upbringing in London, or a mention of his having been at one time a sub-Librarian in the Bodleian. When he was breaking up his house in Oxford, 6, Norham Gardens, he parted with a number of his books. At the end of a long day of selection he said to a friend: 'My moral being is fluttered. I have been turning over books that I have not handled for a long time, books that my father gave me, the best editions of their day.' Again, not long before his death he described himself as 'a very lonely person, the end of a family.' But he had no wish for any but silent sympathy. His reserve may be illustrated by the manner in which he produced a list of his books in 1911—*Elenchus librorum vetustiorum apud * * hospitantium*. In giving away a copy he wrote, characteristically: 'I am sending you a catalogue of old books, some of which are in your period. You will see that their present owner desires to remain *ἀνώνυμος*. I am on the point of buying—unless I resist the temptation—two volumes of Froben tracts'; and as postscript, 'I hope you will remember to let me know when you are likely to be in town.'

His books were not bought without method. For many

years he had had the intention that the best of them should pass to the Bodleian. Anything to do with Greek attracted him, as was to be expected. He had choice examples of famous volumes; but the only thing that he allowed himself to 'collect' was the early Greek books printed by Gourmont at Paris. Of these he was in the habit of sending details to Omont: as of his wider stores he made communications to Legrand. His conversation would range hither and thither as subjects came into his mind. There was usually some new acquisition to show; and then he would often recur to the great figures of scholarship to whom he seemed to have an attachment almost personal. One afternoon he dictated from memory a biography of Ant. Nebrissensis—a special favourite of his—gathered from incidental references in 'Antonio's' writings; rare books these, of which he had a large number. He liked to talk, too, of Erasmus and Scaliger, whose portraits hung over his mantelpiece. To the importance of bibliography he was keenly alive, and he realised the necessity of studying a book in its different stages of growth. One of the last books he bought for the Bodleian was an intermediate edition of Erasmus' notes on the New Testament, which the Library needs. In glancing through it he caught the word *νῆκος* suggested as an emendation, and this he instanced as an evidence of Erasmus' wide knowledge of Greek. He detected the difference between the two early editions of Hugo Eterianus, and procured the one which is not in the Library. The limits of time he had set himself in buying were overstepped in the case of publications important for earlier periods, such as Baluze's edition of the life of P. Castellanus, or Gabbema's collection of sixteenth-century letters. Other books of which he never tired were the *Scaligerana* and *Menagiana*: 'I put a volume in my bag when I am going away on a visit, and am not sure whether I shall find in the house any books I can read.'

Of travel he did not speak much, but he had a great affection for Spain. His interest in 'Antonio' had perhaps first led him there; and besides collecting Antonio's works he bought a great number of early Spanish books, such as are seldom found in northern libraries. He made his pilgrimage to

Alcala, but was unfortunate in having a gray day which showed the deserted colleges rather sadly. Other reminiscences were of his difficulty in buying a Homer at Madrid, when he wanted a book to keep him company during a visit to Toledo: or a story he would tell against himself, of a small child who bothered him with importunity in the shady walks that lead up to the Alhambra, and who to a hasty injunction to be off replied with the unexpected utterance, slowly delivered, 'I am not a fool: I am a good boy'—words recollected from contact with Gibraltar.

A postcard showing the Spanish College at Bologna dwelt long beside the clock in his study. 'Antonio' had been a student there, and he was interested too in another of its alumni, Sepulveda. He liked the many-quartered coats of arms which cover the title-pages of Spanish historical works as completely as the great shield which fills the west front of S. Magdalena's at Valladolid.

Amicus summus noster, his travelling days are done. But he has set a mark upon English scholarship which the present generation must keep from obliteration, and future readers in the Bodleian, when they order his books, will have opportunity to bless his name.

P. S. ALLEN.

Mr Bywater's gift to the Bodleian Library of the books registered in his printed *Elenchus* contains 3622 separate works; of which (for instance) 171 are entered under Aristotle, 39 under Galen, 44 under J. J. Scaliger, 37 under H. Stephanus, 26 under Fortunatus Licetus. 53 have De Thou's arms, and many contain marginalia or autographs of famous scholars. A *Commentatio de Anima* of Melanchthon (1540) has 'Francisci Rabelesi καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων.' The Incunabula are 152, of which 31 are Greek; the books printed in the first half of the sixteenth century are 1159 (459 Greek), of which 414 are from Paris presses—41 from that of Gilles Gourmont. Considerable additions made to the collection since 1911 are not included in this list; which is taken from *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, no. 4.

POLITICAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE TRIAL OF RABIRIUS.

Cicero's speech on behalf of Rabirius must have been delivered within a very few months of his triumphant defeat of the Rullan proposal in January 63 B.C. He alludes in his peroration to the repudiated scheme 'for parcelling out the world in general and the ager Campanus in particular,' while he contrasts in almost identical terms the entire absence of danger from abroad with the prevalence of domestic and intestine plots emanating from traitors and revolutionaries (conf. 12, 33 with *de leg. agr.* i, 9, 26). The early months indeed of this year were highly critical both for the popular party with Caesar and Crassus at its head and for the constitutional or senatorial party and Cicero, who was doing his best to sustain the not easy part of 'consul popularis.' In view of the overwhelming position of Pompey in the East and his impending return, it was essential for Caesar and Crassus both to secure for themselves some locus standi in the empire, and to hold together their followers by the allurements of some kind of popular programme. That Caesar was already looked to by the populares as their real head seems clear, but he was still in an early stage of his *cursus honorum*, and therefore needed the official and magisterial assistance of others. For the year 63 he had, it appears probable, originally counted not only on a college of tribunes mainly devoted to himself, but also on two consuls in the persons of Antonius and Catiline ready to carry through any programme he might dictate. These plans were partly disconcerted by the consular elections in the summer of 64, and instead of having his selected candidates to work with, he found himself confronted by Cicero, who, in whatever

sense a 'consul popularis,' was known to be at once Pompeian and senatorial in his sympathies. Caesar therefore had to do the best he could with the instruments at his command.

I have already in a previous number of this Journal (No. 64) discussed the policy of the Rullan proposal. I regarded it as an audacious piece of Caesarian legislation, intended as a real and popular agrarian scheme by which colonies, at once for poor citizens and in the future for old soldiers, were to be provided, but at the same time securing for Caesar and his allies a commanding position in many provinces and in Egypt, and by audacious financial innovations establishing a huge fund, primarily for agrarian purposes, but available, if occasion arose, for ulterior ends. But owing to his failure to secure influential magisterial agents, Caesar had entrusted the carrying of this weighty measure to one of his tribunes, a man of no reputation, and whose name commanded no confidence. This, as it turned out, was a grave tactical mistake, and caused the ignominious defeat of the scheme, for it gave Cicero a safe opportunity for two of his most telling accomplishments, unscrupulous misrepresentation and outrageous insinuation, used with perfect impunity against a nonentity like Rullus.

Meanwhile Caesar still needed a rallying cry to unite the populares against the senatorial government which the new consul was known to favour, and with which it was not impossible that Pompey on his return might ally himself.

The domestic situation in Rome was probably very complicated in this critical year. It can hardly be doubted that, though there was as yet no 'Catilinarian conspiracy,' there was a good deal of vague and restless expectation among a certain class in the capital of impending revolutionary changes. This may have been produced or encouraged by incautious and unauthorised expressions let fall by Catiline in his candidature for the consulship about the need for 'novae tabulae' and other drastic measures against the selfish rich. Sallust has no doubt antedated the existence of a definite plot, but in the early months of 63 there were indications of coming trouble, clearly alluded to by Cicero in the words "a turbulentis hominibus atque novarum rerum cupidis ab intestinis malis a domesticis

consiliis cavendum est" (pro Rab. 12, 33) and as certainly not unknown to Caesar. Whether the candidature of Catiline was still favoured by the latter is uncertain, but Caesar must have realised the probability of serious disturbances in the event of another disappointment. He must have foreseen too that to meet them the senate would pass the *senatus consultum ultimum*, and that Cicero, consul popularis as he might be, would be at least as prepared to carry it into effect as Marius had been to act against Saturninus and his followers in 100 B.C. Cicero indeed made no secret of what he would do. "*Facerem idem quod C. Marius fecit, ad senatum referrem, vos ad rem publicam defendendam cohortarer, armatus ipse vobiscum armato obsisterem*" (pro Rab. 12, 34).

But to Caesar the possibility of any return on the part of the senate to the methods employed in the tribuneship of Saturninus must have been disquieting. For whatever views he may have held on the constitutional legality of the *senatus consultum ultimum*, he would be in any case averse to its employment at the present time as likely to increase that influence and prestige of the senate which it was the 'popular' policy to depress. Should disturbances take place later in the year, and should they be suppressed, as those of Saturninus had been, by the senate and consul, the result would be a serious set-back, if not a fatal disaster, to the popular party.

It was in the midst of these embarrassments caused alike by his recent defeat and the prospect of complications to come that Caesar hit upon the idea which developed into the much discussed trial of Rabirius for *perduellio*.

Suetonius and Dio Cassius shall give their somewhat meagre statements of what took place. "(Caesar) subornavit etiam qui Caio Rabirio perduellionis diem diceret, quo praecipuo adiutore aliquot ante annos Luci Saturnini tribunatum senatus coercuerat." (Caes. 12.) Τίτος δὲ δὴ Λαβιήνος Γάιον 'Ραβίριον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σατουρνίνου φόνῳ γραψάμενος πλείστον σφισι τάραχον παρέσχευ. ὃ τε γὰρ Σατουρνίνος πρὸ ἕξ πού καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτεθνήκει· καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ὕπατοι τότε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς προσετέταχато. (xxxvii. 26.) That the initiative was due to Caesar is care-

fully kept out of sight throughout Cicero's speech, but is definitely asserted by Suetonius, and is hardly less clearly brought out by the words of Dio, *καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διὰ τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ δι' ἄλλους τινὰς ἐνίκησε*. It appears from these passages and from statements of Cicero that Rabirius, now an elderly senator of some property and standing, had 37 years before, when a young man and an *eques*, not only joined in suppressing Saturninus, as Suetonius states, but was said actually to have killed him with his own hand. Cicero like Dio states this explicitly: "arguis occisum esse a C. Rabirio L. Saturninum." (pro Rab. 6, 18.) Whatever explanation of his act may be forthcoming, there can be no doubt that it was Caesar's plan of meeting his difficulties to have Rabirius brought to trial for this political murder committed 37 years before. That his object was a political one, and Rabirius a mere man of straw, is of course obvious. It was, I imagine, a double object; to raise a popular cry by vindicating the 'unicum libertatis praesidium,' set at naught by the slaughter of Saturninus without trial and without appeal, and at the same time, not indeed to assail the validity of the *senatus consultum ultimum* itself, but so to expose certain illegalities which had been covered by its supposed sanction, as to discredit a procedure capable of such abuses.

It has usually been held by modern historians that Caesar on this occasion was challenging the legal or constitutional basis of the *senatus consultum ultimum*, and that it was the standpoint of the popular party all through this period to contest the validity of the senate's action in passing this decree. There seems to me to be no reason whatever either for attributing this attitude to the party, or for finding in Caesar's indictment of Rabirius a covert attack on the legality of the 'last decree.' It is true that Opimius had been brought to trial for killing Roman citizens on the strength of the senate's decree, and Decius, perhaps representing the popular party, had declared that nothing could justify the slaying of a citizen without trial and appeal. But the people had accepted the arguments of Opimius and his advocates, and by their acquittal had legally sanctioned his action, and with it the validity of

the senatorial decree. There is every indication that the popular leaders down to the end of the Republic loyally accepted this decision, though regarding this new senatorial prerogative with some suspicion, and insisting that what the people had ratified as the legal sequel to a *senatus consultum ultimum* was action in strict conformity to that of *Opimius*. If therefore there was a state of war in the city, and riotous citizens with arms in their hands threatened the safety of the state, the senate was justified in passing its decree, bidding the consuls see, '*ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet*.' The consuls were then justified in 'calling the people to arms,' putting themselves at its head, and carrying into effect the state of war. It followed that all riotous citizens who were killed by members of this armed force acting under the consuls' order, lost their lives as overt enemies of the state—*perduelles*—so that neither the *Sempronian* law requiring trial by the people, nor the *Porcian* law requiring appeal, was applicable to the case.

In this sense the validity of the *senatus consultum ultimum* is emphatically asserted by *Sallust*, who notoriously wrote from the standpoint of the popular party. "*Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit darent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratibus maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives (i.e. of course those acting as enemies), domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est.*" (*Sall. Cat. 29.*)

Still more decisive are two carefully worded pronouncements of *Caesar* himself. "*Decurritur ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum quo nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis et in summa sceleratorum audacia nunquam ante descensum est; dent operam consules praetores tribuni plebis quique pro consulibus sint ad urbem, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.*" (*Bell. civ. i, 5.*) Again and still more explicitly: "*Quotiescunque sit decretum darent operam magistratus ne quid respublica*

detrimenti caperet, qua voce et quo senatus consulto populus Romanus ad arma sit vocatus, factum in perniciosis legibus, in vi tribunicia, in secessione populi, templis locisque editoribus occupatis; atque haec superioris aetatis exempla expiata Saturnini atque Gracchorum casibus docet." (Bell. civ. i, 7.) These deliberate utterances were made not more than 14 or 15 years after 63; there is no reason whatever to think that Caesar had changed his views, and, if he had not, these passages prove that he did not question either the validity of the senatus consultum ultimum, or the legality of the acts which followed it, provided that there was violence, civil war and danger to the state, and that any acts of war to avert these dangers were directed by the responsible magistrates. Caesar's words are exactly applicable to the action of Opimius in 121 and of Marius in 100, the justification of which indeed in both cases is expressly admitted.

It seems to me therefore quite impossible to maintain that Caesar's political object in instituting this trial was to attack the validity of the senatus consultum ultimum as a means of dealing with revolutionary emergencies. This is however undoubtedly the impression which Cicero's speech conveys and was intended to convey to the Roman people. He sounds this note at the very outset. His task is primarily that of a consul, only secondarily that of an advocate, for the real object of the impeachment is not to endanger the life of Rabirius, but "ut illud summum auxilium maiestatis atque imperi quod nobis a maioribus est traditum de republica tolleretur, ut nihil posthac auctoritas senatus, nihil consulare imperium, nihil consensus bonorum contra pestem ac perniciem civitatis valeret." (pro Rab. 1, 2.) Again: "agitur enim nihil aliud in hac causa, Quirites, nisi ut sit nullum posthac in republica publicum consilium, nulla bonorum consensus contra improborum furorem et audaciam, nullum extremis reipublicae temporibus perfugium ac praesidium salutis." (ib. 2, 4.) To the same effect in his peroration: "Hisce autem malis magnum vobis praesidium maiores vestri reliquerunt, vocem illam consulis 'qui rempublicam salvam esse vellent.' Huic voci favete, Quirites, neque vestro iudicio abstuleritis mihi.....neque eripueritis

reipublicae spem libertatis, spem salutis, spem dignitatis." (ib. 12, 33.)

That this view of Caesar's motive should have come to be accepted by historians like Dio Cassius is the natural result of the publication and preservation of Cicero's speech. So we find Dio declaring that as a result of the impeachment ἡ γερονσία ἄκυρος...τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο, and that it was highly indignant ὅτι τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς πολιτείας διεβάλλετο. I have tried to show in connexion with the agrarian proposal earlier in the year how dangerous it is to accept Cicero's evaluation of political motives and political situations without the most careful criticism. In the present case, I believe that we may find an intelligible motive for Caesar's action without having to attribute to him any change of attitude on the subject of the senatus consultum ultimum.

The charge against Rabirius was that he had killed Saturninus. The fact was denied, and it was even asserted that a slave had long since been rewarded for having done the deed. The point, even if true, is not conclusive, for Saturninus was killed by missiles from above, and Rabirius and the slave may both have hit their mark, though only one claimed the reward. A story retailed by the author of *de vir. illustr.* represents Rabirius as carrying the head of Saturninus about (de vir. ill. 73), but after 37 years there was much room for doubt. Cicero is very little concerned with the question of fact. He denies it, but wishes that it were true (pro Rab. 6, 18), and in any case all would obviously depend on the exact circumstances of the act. These were differently reported by later writers. The epitomator of Livy (lxix), Velleius (ii, 12), and Dio Cassius (loc. cit.), all speak as if Saturninus was killed in what was virtually open war between him and an armed force commanded by Marius the consul. We shall see too that Cicero's whole case rested on this assumption. This however was not the only version of the final act of the drama, but as to the earlier stages there is no dispute. Saturninus and Glaucia with their followers were behaving like public enemies. They had not only murdered Memmius, a candidate for the consulship, but had seized the Capitol with an armed force (pro Rab. 6, 20).

On this "fit senatus consultum ut C. Marius L. Valerius consules adhiberent tribunos pl. et praetores, quos eis videretur, operamque darent ut imperium populi Romani maiestasque conservaretur...qui rempublicam salvam esse vellent arma capere et se sequi iubent....Arma populo Romano Mario consule distribuyente dantur" (ib. 7, 20). Cicero slightly paraphrases the formula to emphasize his point that the consuls were commissioned to save the state, but otherwise his account must be accepted as correct. Among those so armed and led by Marius, including senators and *equites* and indeed all loyal citizens, Rabirius was admittedly one. "Confiteor interficiendi Saturnini causa C. Rabirium arma cepisse" (ib. 6, 19). More than that, if he had accomplished his object, "id pulcherrimum facinus esse arbitrarer." We may at once admit that, on the precedent of Opimius and according to Caesar's own pronouncement, if the Capitol had been stormed, as it was in 69 A.D., and if in the fighting Rabirius had met and killed Saturninus, Cicero's argument would be final: "si arma iure sumpta concedis, interfectum iure concedas necesse est." But the Capitol was not stormed, and Saturninus did not meet his death there at all. Most accounts agree that he was killed in the senate house. Perhaps he escaped there when the water pipes of the Capitol were cut, and was there attacked and killed by the consul's armed bands. If so, Cicero's argument would still apply. But there was another version as to how Saturninus found himself in the senate house, and how he met his death there. According to Florus what happened after the seizure of the Capitol was this: "Sed cum abruptis fistulis obsideretur, senatuique per legatos paenitentiae fidem faceret, ab arce degressus cum ducibus factionis receptus in curiam est. Ibi eum facta inruptione populus fustibus saxisque coopertum in ipsa quoque morte laceravit" (Flor. ii, 4). Appian gives further details. καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι ψηφισαμένης, ὁ Μάριος ἀχθόμενος ὁμως ὥπλιζέ τινας σὺν ὄκνῳ καὶ βραδύνοντος ἑτεροὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιρρέον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν διέτεμον. καὶ Σαυφήιος μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν νεών, ὑπὸ δίψης ἀπολύμενος, ἡξίου, Γλαυκίας δὲ καὶ Ἀπουλήιος ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσειν Μάριον παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, οἷδε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὁ Σαυφήιος. Μάριος

δ', αὐτίκα πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν κελεύοντων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέκλεισεν ὡς ἐννομώτερον ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρόφασιν τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίσαντες, τὸν κέραμον ἐξέλουν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον ἔβαλλον ἕως ἀπέκτειναν, ταμίαν τε καὶ δῆμαρχον καὶ στρατηγόν (bell. civ. i, 32).

From these passages it would appear that Saturninus made terms of surrender with Marius, who conducted him under a safe-escort to the *curia*, and guarded him there, intending, according to Appian, to proceed against him in legal form. It was thus while he was an unarmed prisoner in the senate house that the people, and among them Rabirius if he really killed Saturninus, put an end to him with stones and tiles. But if this was the true version, or the version which, true or false, Caesar chose to adopt, the affair bore an entirely different complexion from that put upon it by Cicero, and there is no longer any justification for regarding Caesar's impeachment of Rabirius as a veiled attack on the legality of the *senatus consultum ultimum*. In the first place, Saturninus on surrendering and being made prisoner had ceased to be an open *perduellis* in arms against the state, whose safety demanded his instant death. This was recognised by Marius, who set guards to keep the prisoners safe for subsequent trial. In the second place, Rabirius was on this showing not acting under the consul's order at all. On the contrary, he acted against them, eluding the consul's guards, and killing those whom the consul wished to preserve. Such a murder was not authorised by the consul, and was therefore not authorised by the *senatus consultum* which alone gave him his mandate. It was in fact a political assassination committed by an irresponsible individual in defiance of the wishes, orders and precautions of the consul.

It may be argued that this version, being found only in these late writers, deserves no serious attention. I notice however that scholars who are most emphatic in styling Appian a third-rate compiler are ready enough to support their own theories by the most casual expressions found in this contemptible source. But in the present case we have the inadvertent evidence of Cicero himself, not of course for the truth of the story, but for its existence at the time, and its

adoption by the prosecution. It is one of our obvious disadvantages that, while we have the main speech for the defence, we have no statement of the case for the prosecution. It is perfectly obvious that the point whether a guarantee of safety was or was not given to Saturninus by the consul, was crucial to the case, and must have had a prominent place in the speeches of Labienus. It has no such prominent place in Cicero's defence because it was an awkward point, and because an elaborate *ignoratio elenchi* was the best means of meeting it. But it could not be wholly passed over, and therefore after the sonorous but irrelevant question, 'if Rabirius deserves the cross and the executioner, what does the consul deserve under whose orders he acted?' he makes his sole reference to the point. "Ac si fides Saturnino data est, quod abs te saepissime dicitur, non eam C. Rabirius sed C. Marius dedit, idemque violavit, si in fide non stetit. Quae fides, Labiene, qui potuit sine senatus consulto dari?" (pro Rab. 10, 28). It appears therefore from the words 'quod abs te saepissime dicitur' that this point about the guarantee, only intelligible on the version of Appian and Florus, was persistently urged by Labienus. Cicero has two replies to it, both as illogical as they were audacious.

- (1) A guarantee given by Marius did not bind Rabirius.
- (2) Marius had no right to give the guarantee without a special decree of the senate.

But if Rabirius was not bound by the consul's decision, what becomes of Cicero's reiterated argument that Rabirius should have been safe from attack just because, like all good men, he had joined the consuls, had received his arms from the hands of Marius, had not refused 'voci atque imperio consulum oboedire,' had been among those 'qui consulari imperio paruerunt,' and had acted on the conviction that 'virtus et honestas et pudor cum consulibus esse cogeat'? It seems there was a fourth alternative besides the three laid down by Cicero of doing nothing, or joining Saturninus or following the consuls. There was the course of irresponsible lynching, and that according to Labienus and Caesar was the course which Rabirius took. Again, if Marius had no right to give the guarantee without a senatorial decree, Cicero commits himself to the hopeless paradox that the

senatus consultum ultimum, while it authorised the consul to kill armed enemies, did not authorise him to abstain from killing men who were no longer armed enemies. No wonder that the orator hastened from the point to a disquisition on the immortality of great men (ib. 10, 29). It is to be hoped that Labienus had made his points with sufficient clearness to expose beforehand the irrelevant sophisms with which Cicero met the alleged facts. "If you admit that Rabirius had the right to take up arms, you must admit that he had the right to kill Saturninus" (ib. 6, 19). "If Rabirius has committed a capital crime in taking up arms against Saturninus, what is to be said of all those noble patriots who did the same, and could not be, as he might have been, excused on the score of youth?" (ib. 9, 26). "If a cross is to be set up in the Campus for Rabirius because he took up arms, what punishment can be devised for the consul who called him to arms?" (ib. 10, 29). "There is not a loyal citizen in Rome to-day, who is not in the name of Rabirius the subject of a capital charge" (ib. 11, 31). These arguments are in Cicero's best style, but they dishonestly ignore the fact that, according to the prosecution, Rabirius had not been one of the loyal citizens obeying the consul, but one of the irresponsible crowd which had defied his orders.

It was the circulation of this story about Rabirius, whether true or false, which, after the defeat of the Rullan scheme, suggested to Caesar his next move. Here was a case of political murder, (the victim having been not only a Roman citizen but a tribune of the plebs,) which had remained unnoticed and unpunished for 37 years, during which the reputed murderer had acquired wealth and position. The murder was not exactly a violation of the *lex Porcia*, for it had not been punishment inflicted by a magistrate; but, on the other hand, it had not been sanctioned by the *senatus consultum ultimum*, for the victim was a prisoner at the time of his death, being guarded by the consul with a view to future trial. It therefore made no difference that the murdered tribune had been an armed enemy of the state, for he had been disarmed and rendered harmless, and could have been dealt with according to due forms of law. Both the nature of the crime and the long

impunity of the criminal demanded from the popular party some extraordinary vindication of the law. Besides, the possibility of such a crime as that of Rabirius suggested grave reflections. It was not the direct result of the extreme senatorial decree, that indeed would have been its sole justification, but it nevertheless could hardly have happened unless that decree had been passed. Without assailing the validity of the method adopted in critical emergencies by the senate, it was essential to the interests of the popular party that two things should be made quite clear. (1) On the sole legally established precedent only armed and active enemies could be killed by the consul and his band. This had not been contravened in 100, but it would have been if Marius after imprisoning Saturninus had executed him, and it might be contravened in future. (2) If the legitimate 'consensio bonorum' degenerated into irresponsible lynching, the government must be held responsible at least to the extent of being bound to see that such incidental effects of their own decree did not go unpunished. Otherwise, under the vague aegis of the last decree all sorts of illegal and riotous acts might creep in. This is how in my opinion the political object of this famous trial may be expressed. It was calculated to rally the popular party round the 'unicum libertatis praesidium'; it threw some slur on the senatorial government which had allowed thirty-seven years' impunity to a lawless and inexcusable murder, and it sounded a significant note of warning, clearly not lost upon Cicero, against careless application of martial law by senate or consuls, or failure to punish regrettable or illegal incidents.

It must be admitted that this idea of rallying his party by a political impeachment, though not without signs of Caesar's characteristic adroitness and resource, was a little far-fetched and *en faute de mieux*. But the legal methods by which the impeachment was to be carried through were still more open to criticism. There was perhaps something, in the exceptional circumstances of the case, to be said for resorting to an impeachment for *perduellio* rather than to an ordinary accusation in the *quaestio de vi* or *de sicariis*. (The distinction is marked by Dio cap. 27: οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον περδου-

ελλίωνος ὁ Παβίριος ἐκρίθη.) It is true that such a procedure was something of a survival, but it was still legal and subject to fixed and well-known regulations. But it was not the historical process of *perduellio* which Caesar determined to adopt. He wished to make a more striking and impressive appeal to the popular imagination. It was with this view that the fantastic idea shaped itself of reviving for the occasion the barbarous and obsolete procedure ascribed by tradition to the famous trial of Horatius under the kings. The king had appointed *duumviri perduellionis* to pass sentence in his stead in the words, 'iudico tibi perduellionem.' From this there was an appeal to the people, before whom a *certatio* followed between the condemned and the *duumviri*. If the latter won, the formula prescribed: "caput obnubito; infelici arbore reste suspendito." I have argued elsewhere that there is no evidence and as little probability that the *duumviri* or the *carnifex* or the *arbor infelix* ever figured again in trials for *perduellio*. The barbarous and realistic exhibition had given place under the Republic to a tribunician prosecution in three stages, followed in case of condemnation by an appeal to the comitia centuriata after 24 days' interval. If this normal course had been adopted, there would have been no room for senatorial opposition, and no need for action by the people. The tribune would simply have fixed a day (*diem dicere*) for Rabirius to appear before his tribunal. Suetonius supposes that Labienus did this, but the other authorities prove that he is wrong (*loc. cit.* "qui C. Rabirio perduellionis diem diceret"). But for the Horatian procedure there was no constitutional machinery in existence, and nothing could be done without legislation.

The agent employed by Caesar, who no doubt as in the agrarian proposal remained in the background, was T. Labienus, one of the tribunes. He was possibly selected because an uncle of his had lost his life with Saturninus in the *curia*. On the promulgation of the scheme there was much consternation and confusion, σπουδαὶ ταραχώδεις καὶ φιλονεικίαι. The popular and anti-senatorial motive was apparent: οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὴν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς βουλῆς καταλῦσαι παντελῶς ἐσπούδαζον καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα βούλονται ποιεῖν

προπαρεσκευάζον (D. C. xxxvii, 26). It was almost certainly represented from the first as a thinly veiled attack upon the *senatus consultum ultimum*, so that *πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας ἐταράττετο*. We are told by Dio Cassius in a passage far from clear (cap. 27) that there were two great contests, first *περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου*, i.e. whether it should be established or not, and, when that point was won by Caesar and his friends, secondly *περὶ τῆς κρίσεως*.

The first struggle centred round the law which was necessary to bring the *duumviral* procedure into existence. In the Horatian trial all had rested on the fiat of the king; it now had to emanate from the sovereign people. Accordingly Labienus must have promulgated a bill, providing for the appointment of *duumviri perduellionis*, prescribing the form of sentence to be pronounced, and specifying the gruesome punishment in rigid accordance with the 'horrendum carmen' handed down from the barbarous legend of kingly days. Cicero's allusions to the action of Labienus seem to leave no room for doubt on this point. "Quam ob rem uter nostrum, Labiene, popularis est, tunc qui civibus Romanis in contione ipsa carnificem...adhibere putas oportere, qui in campo Martio comitiis centuriatis auspicato in loco crucem ad civium supplicium defigi...iubes etc." (pro Rab. 4, 11). "Tu, homo lenis ac popularis, libentissime commemoras: CAPUT OBNUBITO; ARBORI INFELICI SUSPENDITO; quae verba, Quirites, iam pridem...luce libertatis oppressa sunt" (ib. 4, 13). So, contrasting the method of C. Gracchus in impeaching Popilius with that of Labienus: "Sed moreretur prius acerbissima morte miliens C. Gracchus quam in eius contione carnifex consisteret" (ib. 4, 15). "Si C. Rabirio quod iit ad arma crucem T. Labienus in campo Martio defigendam putavit etc." (ib. 10, 28). I could quote other passages, but these are surely enough to prove that the trial was to be in every detail a replica of the Horatian. That this extraordinary court was brought into existence by Labienus is clear both from passages already quoted and from such an expression as the following: "accusatio perniciose, iudicium acerbum, res tota a tribuno pl. suscepta contra rempublicam" (ib. 12, 35). As tribune, he could only have done it by legislation, and it

was during the *contiones* between the promulgation and passing of the law that the violent contests *περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου* took place. I understand that the *carnifex* and *crux* said by Cicero to have been brought into his *contio* by Labienus did not appear there in flesh and blood or wood and iron, but only figured in his speeches as having a place in his law. Whether after the sentence of the *duumviri* a cross was actually set up in the *campus Martius* is another matter which I may notice below.

Among the contents of the law must have been the appointment of, and mandate given to, the *duumviri perduellionis*. Their title is not mentioned by Suetonius nor by Dio, though the latter speaks of the two Caesars as judges. Cicero however in a passage soon to be quoted distinctly does so (ib. 3, 12). Dio speaks of them as *μὴ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, οὐκ ἐξόν, αἰρεθέντες*. Suetonius speaks of Caesar as ‘*iudex in reum sorte ductus*.’ It has been inferred from this, and I have nothing better to suggest, that the praetor urbanus selected a certain number from categories not to be specified, and that from these two were appointed by lot. (One suggestion is that the lot simply decided which of the *duumviri* should pass sentence, but the words ‘*iudex in reum*’ are against this.) Whether the lot which fell upon C. and L. Caesar was tampered with must remain uncertain, but I prefer to think that Caesar would have chosen to remain in the background, and that his selection was pure bad luck. Dio’s statement that the proper mode of appointment was popular election has no value whatever. There is absolutely no evidence that *duumviri perduellionis* had ever been called into existence under the Republic, and everything points to their being employed now as mere constituents of the legendary model.

As to their mandate, I have no doubt whatever. They were not to try the case, but to pass the gruesome and awe-inspiring sentence. This was clearly all that the archetypal *duumviri* had had to do in the case of Horatius. It also explains, what Suetonius did not understand, the apparent haste of Caesar’s condemnation. But what Cicero says of

Labienus places the matter beyond a doubt: "hic popularis a Iiviris iniussu vestro non iudicari de cive Romano sed indicta causa civem Romanum capitis condemnari coegit" (ib. 4, 12). The phrases—non iudicari sed condemnari—indicta causa—coegit—are surely as conclusive as words can make anything. As a matter of fact, the duumviral *iudicium* was merely intended as a means to render possible the solemn decision of the comitia centuriata. There must have been a special clause in the law providing for *provocatio*, for otherwise an extraordinary court set up by the people would place in abeyance the operation of the *leges Valeriae*.

This then was the struggle *περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τῶν μὲν ὅπως μὴ συναχθῇ, τῶν δὲ ἵνα καθιζήσῃ δικαιούντων*, which was concluded in favour of the tribune *διὰ τε πὸν Καίσαρα καὶ δι' ἄλλους τινὰς* (D. C. xxxvii, 27). The *duumviri*, having been constituted, would naturally lose no time in performing their allotted task. Suetonius says that Caesar "tam cupide condemnavit ut ad populum provocanti nihil aequae ac iudicis acerbitas profuerit." Cicero emphatically declares that the condemnation was compulsory and 'indicta causa.' The sentence was in the formula: "iudico tibi, C. Rabiri, perduellionem." What this meant had been foreshadowed in the wording of the law, taken, as Cicero proves, from the 'horrendum carmen' of the archetypal trial. It seems to me not improbable that, when the sentence was pronounced, Labienus may have caused the *crux* or *arbor infelix* to be actually erected on the campus Martius in preparation for the final hearing before the people. Whatever might be the outcome of that hearing, this would have the effect, presumably aimed at by Caesar, of impressing the popular imagination by these relics of obsolete barbarity. No doubt the words "crucem in campo Martio defigendam putavit" may signify no more than an intention, but I am inclined to refer them to a perpetrated outrage.

It is at this point, as I believe, that we reach the second struggle in the case, marked by Dio's words *περὶ τε τῆς κρίσεως αὐθις συνέβησαν*. Dio does not himself explain the nature of this struggle, and seems to imply that the dispute concerned the mode in which the *duumviri* had been appointed, but more

light is thrown upon it by Cicero. It had seemed a happy idea to disinter an obsolete procedure with its inpressive but inhuman punishments, whereby to safeguard the primary rights of Roman citizens. But it proved to be an error of judgment. Such methods were contrary to the spirit of the free Republic; they were a violation, if not of statute law, at least of long established *mos maiorum*. If a crime was so heinous as to fall under the head of 'perduellio,' a recognised legal procedure had grown up, in which no extraordinary officials were required, and in which a capital sentence, never likely to be carried out, was decently veiled in the formula of 'aquae et igni interdictio.' It might well be represented as a strange and dubious policy for a 'popular' tribune acting for a 'popular' party, to derive his legal precedents from the cruel and hated age of kingly rule.

It was just the situation which gave Cicero the chance of posing for a moment as a 'consul popularis.' The actual course which he took, though several times alluded to and gloried in, is never clearly stated in his extant speech. In some way and in some sense he cancelled or quashed the 'perduellionis iudicium,' and his action was bitterly complained of by Labienus. "Nam de perduellionis iudicio, quod a me sublatum esse criminari soles,...utinam, Quirites, ego id aut primus aut solus ex hac republica sustulissem....Quid enim optari potest quod ego malletm quam me in consulatu meo carnificem de foro, crucem de campo sustulisse?" (pro Rab. 3, 10). He explains that his agency was secondary to that of the *mos maiorum*, which since the expulsion of the kings had tolerated "nullum in libero populo vestigium crudelitatis regiae," and to that of previous statesmen, who had substituted equitable laws for barbarous penalties. In another passage he is more ready to take the credit to himself: "quam ob rem fateor atque etiam, Labiene, profiteor et prae me fero te ex illa crudeli, importuna, non tribunicia actione sed regia meo consilio, virtute, auctoritate esse depulsum" (ib. 5, 17).

These statements can only mean that the whole machinery, based upon this antiquated precedent, which Caesar and Labienus had contrived, was somehow rendered null and void

by Cicero's intervention. This intervention is connected by some scholars with Dio's first struggle *περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου* and Cicero is thought simply to have pruned away from the bill of Labienus all traces of the 'carmen horrendum,' and to have substituted for the grisly death on the 'arbor infelix' the ordinary capital sentence of 'aquae et igni interdictio.' It seems to me impossible to accept this view. Such a change in the law would have at the outset so completely balked Caesar's object, if that object was what I have suggested, that he would have caused the bill to be withdrawn. There was nothing impressive or awe-inspiring in the appointment of *duumviri* or in listening to the ordinary sentence which would be now all that they could pass. And yet nothing but this would have been left, if Cicero had brought about the supposed excision. It would have been simpler and even more impressive to fall back on the usual tribunician impeachment. The *duumviri* were only important as having figured in the ancient trial, and if the kernel of that trial was extracted, it was futile to keep the shell. But, as we know, from both Suetonius and Dio, the law was proceeded with, the *duumviri* were appointed and passed their sentence.

I argue therefore from the probabilities of the case, as well as from the phrase itself, 'perduellionis iudicium sublatum,' that Cicero's intervention followed rather than preceded the duumviral trial and sentence, and that both were rendered by it invalid, null and void, legally extinct.

Now the grounds on which Cicero based his intervention, his official intervention as consul, may be gathered from his own words, and the method, by which it was brought about, is also, I think, to be inferred from statements made by himself. The methods of the duumviral trial were "non solum tenebris vetustatis verum etiam luce libertatis oppressa" (4, 14). They had "nullam partem aequitatis aut iuris" (ib.). They were "non ex memoria vestra ac patrum vestrorum, sed ex annalium monumentis atque ex regum commentariis conquisita" (4, 15). They were things of which "mentio ipsa indigna cive Romano et homine libero est" (5, 16). Lastly, they prove neglect of "omnia exempla maiorum, omnes leges, omnem auctoritatem

senatus, omnes religiones atque auspiorum publica iura" (5, 17). Making therefore every allowance for rhetorical expressions, we can hardly doubt that the law on which *perduellionis iudicium* had depended was contrary to the whole spirit of Roman legislation, and in a sense of the Roman religion. If so, it was Cicero's 'consulare officium' to protect the Republic against such an outrage. There was only one way of doing this, and that was through the intervention of the senate. We know from several undisputed examples that when laws were passed 'per vim' or 'contra auspicia,' or in any way which constituted them 'vitiosae,' the senate, whether its action was *de facto* or *de iure*, was in the habit of passing a decree, "populum Romanum ea lege non teneri." This had been done in the case of the Apuleian laws in 100, and of the Livian laws in 91 B.C., on which occasions in Cicero's words these laws were cancelled and became null and void 'uno versiculo senatus.' I have argued elsewhere that the same course was taken by the consul Marcellus in 51 B.C. with regard to the lex Vatinia, by which Caesar had established a colony at Comum. This power was obviously a useful adjunct of senatorial government, and was, I suspect, when the circumstances were favourable, not unfrequently employed. That the cancelling of the duumviral trial—*perduellionis iudicium sublatum*—was due to the senate's action on Cicero's initiative is, I think, made in the highest degree probable by what Cicero says a year or two later in his speech against Piso: "ego in Rabirio perduellionis reo interpositam senatus auctoritatem sustinui contra invidiam atque defendi" (in Pison. 2, 4).

I may notice a possible objection to the view that Labienus established the duumviral court by a law, derived from the words 'iniussu vestro' in the passage 3, 12 quoted above. Cicero is contrasting Labienus with C. Gracchus. The latter had prohibited any capital *iudicium*, which was not created by law (*iniussu vestro*). Labienus is responsible for the compulsory condemnation of a Roman citizen, without a trial and 'iniussu vestro.' How 'iniussu vestro,' if a law was passed? The phrase is only a difficulty, if it qualifies 'coegit.' It seems to me from its position after 'a duumviris' to qualify 'con-

demnari.' A tribune in his *contio* would never condemn without some sign of approval from the assembled people, but the *duumviri* had condemned mechanically with no such approval, 'iniussu vestro.' I am not sure that another explanation might not serve, though I prefer the foregoing. After the law had been cancelled Cicero might speak as if there had never been proper legal authorisation, and 'iniussu vestro' might be 'by a law which was no law.'

I assume therefore that everything accomplished by the law of Labienus was undone; the procedure was illegal and the sentence invalid. Rabirius had no doubt appealed, as Suetonius and Dio knew, but the appeal would lapse like everything else, and the trial before the *comitia centuriata* described by Dio was not on an appeal from the *duumviri*. For the moment indeed Cicero and the senate had caused the defeat of Caesar's whole elaborate plan. How it would have ended otherwise, it is perhaps idle to speculate, but it is difficult to believe that the barbarous spectacle on the *Campus* would ever have been witnessed.

But at any rate this was not destined to be the conclusion of the incident. It is perfectly clear from what Cicero says about certain imputations made by Labienus against Rabirius, several of which were contained "in eadem multae inrogatione" (3, 8), that Rabirius was, or had been, on his trial on charges for which a fine, probably a heavy one, was the threatened penalty. The phrase 'multae inrogatio' was far too technical to be used in any but its strict and literal sense. Such charges, like capital charges, would be heard three times by the prosecuting tribune before a *contio*, and after the third hearing, if he condemned—*multam inrogavit*—and if the fine exceeded a certain amount, appeal was allowed to the *comitia tributa*. Probably at the commencement of the affair, and while the 'perduellionis iudicium' was being contrived, Labienus summoned Rabirius to appear before him in the forum on a specified day—*diem dixit*. The tribune may have owed Rabirius a grudge on account of the death of his uncle, who had perished with Saturninus. But his accusation on these minor charges was as likely as not part of Caesar's plan, since they might

increase the accused's unpopularity, and so render more certain his final condemnation on the capital charge. It is impossible from Cicero's vague statements to specify the counts comprised under this 'multae inrogatio.' I doubt if they were as numerous as is sometimes contended. Cicero is complaining that the half hour allowed him by Labienus is too long for an advocate to answer the minor charges, but too short for a consul to deal with the main point. He then mentions as unworthy of any answer a number of imputations on Rabirius which Labienus had clearly made in the course of his accusation (2, 7 to 3, 9). But most of these were merely old charges, raked up to create a prejudice against the accused, not counts in the present indictment. On one charge Rabirius had actually been tried and acquitted; on another a relative of Rabirius had been acquitted, and Rabirius himself not accused at all. Nor could the murder of his nephew have possibly been part of a mere fine-process. Cicero is not interested in repelling any of these charges, because, as we shall see, they had practically dropped out of the case before he made his speech. As for the charge "de civibus Romanis contra legem Porciam verberatis aut necatis," it could not possibly, as a capital offence, have been visited by a fine, and was probably mere rumour, brought up by Labienus to reinforce his capital charge. As far as I can see, only two counts in the 'multae inrogatio' remain: a violation of the lex Fabia de plagiariis, and a charge of scandalous immorality. That the latter was the foremost count may be inferred from the words "quod est in eadem multae inrogatione praescriptum." (I follow Prof. A. C. Clark in reading *praescriptum* rather than *perscriptum*.)

But it was open to a tribune in the course of his three hearings in the forum to convert, if he thought the evidence required it, what had begun as a fine-process into a capital impeachment. Among the earlier cases the one most in point is that of Fulvius, in which, according to Livy, "cum tribunus bis pecuniae anquississet, tertio capitis anquirere diceret." (Liv. xxvi, 3.) If we assume that this is what took place in the present case, it seems to me that we can assign a consistent and intelligible place to the 'multae inrogatio' within the

whole process, and that it thus becomes possible to regard the proceeding, when once the interlude of the duumviral farce was excised by senatorial decree as invalid, as in complete accord with established precedent.

Labienus therefore had either already issued the summons for, or had actually begun an accusation against, Rabirius in the form of a fine-process in the forum at the time when by the action of Cicero and the senate the 'perduellionis iudicium' on the model of the Horatian archetype was quashed out of existence. The defeat was mortifying, but it was not fatal, for Labienus at once received instructions to convert his prosecution into a normal tribunician impeachment for *perduellio*, and on these new lines the case proceeded, as with better counsels it might have begun. Whether the change was made at the first or second or even at the third 'anquisitio' there is nothing to show, but I imagine that it may have been marked by the introduction into the tribune's *contio* of the portrait of Saturninus, a fact alluded to by Cicero in the words: "nunquam profecto istam imaginem.....in rostra atque in contionem attulisses¹." There was nothing of course which could be constitutionally objected to in the course that was now being taken, for the capital penalty was not being illegally added to the pecuniary, but substituted for it. It might well however be described as a hardship and calamity for Rabirius after all these years to go through the ignominy of trials in the forum—publica iudicia—and to be threatened first with financial ruin and then with a capital sentence. That is how I interpret the following passage: "misera est ignominia iudiciorum publicorum, misera multatio bonorum, miserum exilium; sed tamen in omni calamitate retinetur aliquod vestigium libertatis" (4, 16). Even if the sentence must be a death sentence, at least there will be now no *crux* and no *carnifex*.

There are two inferences which in my opinion it is impos-

¹ 9, 25. Where the *crux* and *carnifex* are spoken of as present in the *contio*, I understand the expression figuratively, and refer it to the *contio* in which the law to set up the duumviral court was promulgated. But it

is clear that the portrait was actually produced before the people, and I have no doubt that it was during the trial. Cicero's references are all so vague that it is difficult to nail them down.

sible not to draw from Cicero's speech. The first has been already sufficiently enunciated, viz. that all danger of execution on the cross was a thing of the past. The second inference is not less clear, that at the time when the speech was delivered Rabirius was still the defendant in a capital trial, still theoretically, if not practically, in danger of his life. I do not press the title of the speech, *Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo*, for that may have been affixed later, but there is internal evidence which cannot be got over. At the very outset Cicero thinks it necessary to explain his own position, "in hac defensione capitis, famae, fortunarumque omnium C. Rabiri" (1, 1). Again, it is 'vita C. Rabiri' as well as 'salus reipublicae' which is at stake (2, 5). After showing how many good men now dead had obeyed the call of the consul in 100, "quot ex his qui vivunt" he asks "eodem crimine in summum periculum capitis arcessas?" (9, 26). Similarly, all loyal citizens "abs te capitis C. Rabiri nomine citantur" (11, 31). These passages, of which the implication is unmistakable, are by no means weakened in the peroration, which has been strangely adduced by some scholars as an argument against the capital nature of the case. "Neque a vobis iam bene vivendi sed honeste moriendi facultatem petit, neque tam ut domo sua fruatur, quam ne patrio sepulcro privetur laborat.....Nihil aliud iam vos orat atque obsecrat nisi uti...eum.....in patria mori patiamini" (13, 37). But this is the 'miserum exilium' of 5, 16 over again, and that *exilium*, which Cicero declares was never by Roman law a punishment, but always 'supplicii perfugium,' would be the result of a capital sentence. There were circumstances of course in which a heavy fine might drive a man into exile, but this was not the punishment of which exile was the recognised 'perfugium,' and taken with the passages previously cited, Cicero's concluding words help to establish the point that Rabirius was 'perduellionis reus' when Cicero's speech was delivered.

The case therefore in the later stages of the trial in the forum before Labienus resolved itself into an impeachment of Rabirius for the political murder of Saturninus. We must assume that witnesses were produced on both sides as to the

question of fact, for, though Cicero himself makes little of it, it appears that Hortensius, who probably defended Rabirius in the forum, had 'multorum testimonio' disproved the fact of the murder by the accused (6, 18). There may have been and probably was counter evidence, and, as already pointed out, the reward given to a slave for the deed was not conclusive. It was indeed this conflict of evidence about the facts which had made the duumviral trial with its 'indicta causa' and compulsory condemnation such a scandalous violation of legal forms. In the case of Horatius the facts had been undisputed, and Caesar had either overlooked this essential point of difference, or had chosen to regard the murder as a matter of common knowledge. But it is obvious enough that the prosecution no more than the defence restricted itself to the strictly legal issues. Labienus was playing the part of 'tribunus popularis,' and talked vaguely of liberty and the Porcian law. He even seems to have compared his own action to that of C. Gracchus in calling Popilius to account. We may be thankful to him for this, since it was in pointing the contrast between the true and false 'popularis' that Cicero tells us all we know of the *lex Sempronia de capite civium*.

At the conclusion of the third hearing Rabirius must have been condemned by Labienus, and would of course appeal, or be understood to appeal, to a *iudicium populi* in the form of the comitia centuriata. Both Suetonius and Dio know of the *provocatio*, but they both represent it as an appeal from the duumviral sentence, and Dio goes straight from the appeal to the final incident in the Campus Martius. We should not look for all the steps of this complicated case from either author, and I cannot regard the considerable gap left in the story by Dio as a serious objection to my theory of the case. The decision therefore came in the end before the comitia centuriata in the Campus Martius, but on appeal not from the duumviral sentence, but from that of Labienus. Rabirius might of course have saved himself, as so many had done before him, by voluntary exile, but Cicero no doubt had good hopes of a favourable result, and persuaded him to stand his ground. When the day came, Cicero delivered the speech which we

possess. That it was delivered at the final stage and on the day when the votes of the people were to decide the fate of Rabirius, is an irresistible inference from the internal evidence of the speech itself. At the very outset and in the same sentence in which he emphasises the capital nature of the charge, he calls upon his hearers 'ad absolvendum,' a meaningless appeal unless a vote was to be given (1, 1). Soon after he declares that a greater or more critical matter has never been 'ad populum Romanum delatam' (2, 4), an unmistakable reference to a 'iudicium populi.' Before long, he prays the immortal gods "ut hodiernum diem et ad huius salutem conservandam et ad rempublicam constituendam inluxisse patiantur" (2, 5), where the day on which he was speaking is beyond a doubt the final day of the whole proceedings. If more proof is needed, we get it in two decisive passages, both implying that it was by their actual votes, and by no less direct means, that the people were to save both Rabirius and the state: "vita C. Rabiri.....salus reipublicae vestris manibus suffragiisque permittitur" (2, 5): and "non vos ad arma vocandos esse verum ad suffragia cohortandos.....putavi" (12, 35). Yet another passage, as I interpret it, refers to the country voters, who rightly or wrongly were believed by Cicero to have come in to vote for Rabirius. What need to answer charges of cruelty in Apulia or Campania "cum ad eius propulsandum periculum non modo homines sed prope regiones ipsae convenerint?" (2, 8). These passages are of course in themselves compatible with the view that the *iudicium populi* before which Cicero was assuredly speaking was the comitia tributa assembled to give its final decision on the *multae inrogatio* of Labienus. But apart from the overwhelming difficulty of finding a place for this supposed secondary *iudicium populi* either before or after the meeting of the centuries attested by Dio, the indications, already dealt with, that Cicero was speaking on a capital charge, are too strong to admit of this hypothesis. Nor is it conceivable that Cicero would have delivered his decisive speech on what, if we separate the *multae inrogatio* from the charge of *perduellio*, was a minor and subsidiary issue. I know of only one passage which can be

interpreted so as to suggest that the proceedings against Rabirius had not reached their final stage. It is where Cicero concludes a vehement attack on the outrageous character of the duumviral court with the words "*liberum tempus nobis dabitur ad istam disceptationem*" (5, 17). What does he mean by '*istam disceptationem*'? Only a few sentences before had come the passage, already quoted, in which Cicero declares that by his means Labienus had been driven "*ex illa crudeli, importuna, non tribunicia actione sed regia.*" He proceeds: "*Qua tu in actione quamquam omnia exempla maiorum, omnes leges, omnem auctoritatem senatus, omnes religiones atque auspiorum publica iura neglexisti, tamen a me haec in hoc tam exiguo meo tempore non audies: liberum tempus nobis dabitur ad istam disceptationem.*" Cicero therefore is alluding here solely to the '*iudicium perduellionis sublatum*,' to proceedings, which, however illegal and unconstitutional, were things of the past and cancelled: "so I shall not waste any of my miserably short half-hour by dwelling on them further. I shall have the opportunity as consul of bringing these matters forward later on." I cannot doubt that this interpretation of the passage will be accepted. There may be a temptation to translate '*non audies*' '*you refuse to hear*,' but it certainly means '*I shall not speak of*.' Any steps which Cicero intended to take later in the year to call Labienus to account for his action were of course prevented by the more exciting events which followed.

Cicero's speech then was delivered before the *comitia centuriata*, in which the Roman people was hearing the appeal of Rabirius from the capital sentence not of the *duumviri* but of Labienus. With this supposition the internal evidence entirely accords. Whatever magistrate condemned Rabirius would have had, as we know from several cases in Livy, to have asked the praetor for a day, i.e. for leave to summon the centuries at the expiration of a *trinundinum*, and to preside at the meeting. He would there play the double part of president and '*accusator*.' There would be a '*certatio*' between him and the accused man or his advocate, just as there had been between Horatius and the *duumvir* who had pronounced sentence. It has always

been an objection, and it seems to me a fatal though not the most fatal one, against Dio's representation of the *iudicium populi* as an appeal from the duumviral sentence, that Labienus, and not either C. or L. Caesar, was obviously presiding when Cicero made his speech. It is to Labienus that Cicero addresses himself again and again; it is Labienus who is 'accusator' (2, 6); and it is Labienus who decides how long Cicero is allowed to speak. It has been partly to escape this difficulty that the untenable suggestion has been made that the speech belongs to some stage of the 'multae inrogatio.' On the other hand it is no small support to my presentation of the whole case that in what is obviously a capital trial before the Quirites present to give their votes, it is beyond question Labienus who is presiding.

As to the termination of the *iudicium populi*, we are dependent on the account given by Dio Cassius. From this it appears that the proceedings were brought to an abrupt end through the lowering of the red flag, which by immemorial usage had to be kept hoisted on the Ianiculum while the Roman people met as the assembled army in the Campus Martius below. Dio explains in some detail the origin and meaning of this custom, but we are not here concerned with it. What we should be concerned with, if there were any way of answering the question, would be the motive which induced the praetor, Metellus Celer, to have recourse to this primitive piece of machinery. What Dio tells us is that after the appeal πάντως ἂν καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἑάλω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ, οἰωνιστὴς τε ὢν καὶ στρατηγῶν, ἐνεπόδισεν (xxxvii, 27). He adds, after explaining the means adopted, οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἢ τε ἐκκλησία, καθαιρεθέντος τοῦ σημείου, διελύθη καὶ ὁ Ραβίριος ἐσώθη. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Λαβιήνῳ καὶ αὐθις δικάσασθαι, οὐ μέντοι ἐποίησεν αὐτό (cap. 28). The last statement, if accepted, disposes of the view, also rendered untenable by internal evidence, that the 'multae inrogatio' was a second attack upon Rabirius made after the capital charge had collapsed. That this in itself would have been a possible course is not only implied by the words of Dio, but is illustrated by the case of Claudius Pulcher, who, when his condemnation by the centuries

on a charge of *perduellio* was prevented by a storm, was heavily fined in a process before the comitia tributa (Val. Max. VIII. 1, abs. 4, Cic. de Nat. Deor. II. 7, div. II. 71). According to Dio, Rabirius would certainly have been condemned but for the intervention of Metellus. On the whole I see no reason to reject this. Dio certainly does not give a clear or complete account of the affair, but he must have been following in a confused way a version more detailed than his own. He knew of the two struggles, *περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου* and *περὶ τῆς κρίσεως*; he knew something of the duumviral court and of objections to it, as not *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*; and if we accept his knowledge of the act of Metellus, it is somewhat arbitrary to reject the reason assigned for it. It is sometimes held that the words of Suetonius favour the belief that the people would have acquitted Rabirius; “ut ad populum provocanti nihil aeque ac iudicis acerbitas profuerit.” I think this means no more than that after the summary and barbarous sentence of the *duumviri*, some indignation and sympathy was evoked by these ‘*inusitata supplicia*,’ manifestations, which perhaps encouraged Cicero in the step already described. What Cicero’s speech for the defence was like we know, and how full of arguments not strictly relevant to the point at issue. The speeches for the prosecution we have not got, but apart from the initial error of judgment in reviving obsolete barbarities, Caesar’s case would not be an ineffective one, and very likely Labienus made the best of it. We need not decide whether Cicero was privy to the contrivance by which, if things looked bad, his eloquence was to be supplemented, but there was something perhaps of retributive justice in the concluding incident. Caesar, who had opened the attack by the revival of obsolete judicial machinery, found himself checkmated by a less barbarous but more ridiculous revival of the same sort.

E. G. HARDY.

JUVENAL AND TWO OF HIS EDITORS.

The following remarks are occasioned by Mr S. G. Owen's paper on 'The Phillipps manuscripts of Juvenal' in the last number of this Journal, pp. 238-64, and more especially by the six paragraphs in which my name occurs. The particular questions at issue are mostly trifles and mostly incapable of decision; but their discussion will have a more general interest as showing how differently it is possible for two scholars to conduct their mental operations. The causes which render me unintelligible to Mr Owen and Mr Owen unintelligible to me are probably many and various, but perhaps it is not difficult to distinguish and isolate one. I am accustomed to reach conclusions by reasoning and to commend them by argument. How Mr Owen reaches conclusions I have no means of knowing except by observing how he commends them; and I observe that argument is not his favourite method. His favourite method is simple affirmation, which he applies to the settlement of disputed questions with the utmost freedom and confidence. For this confidence I see so little ground that I infer it has some ground which I cannot see; and the less evidence of reason I find in Mr Owen's writing the more am I forced to the hypothesis that he has access to a higher and purer source of illumination.

III 236 sq. (p. 246).

raedarum transitus arto
uicorum inflexu.

'The reading *in flexu* was adopted by Housman from the editiones ueteres. But though it is true that the substantive *flexus* is common, while *inflexus* is rare (it is quoted, besides

this passage, only from Sen. Breu. Vit. 12 4 and Arnob. 2 p. 57 by Forcellini), this is clearly one of the cases in which the vocabulary of later Latin appears first or nearly first in Juvenal. The word is doubtless colloquial.'

'Clearly,' for revelation makes all clear. 'Doubtless,' for revelation dispels all doubt. But if one is a simple ζῶον λογιστικόν, not entitled to use adverbs in lieu of argument, one cannot talk in that style. Whether Juvenal meant INFLEXV for one word or for two, *inflexu* or *in flexu*, is a question which only Mr Owen and the Pope are competent to decide: all that I can do is to balance probabilities. The way I went to work was this: it is certain, I said to myself, that the substantive *flexus* existed in Juvenal's time, and it is not certain that *inflexus* did.' For I was not content to take my text of Seneca from Forcellini; I went to dial. x 12 4 itself, and I found that the best MS and the last edition had not *inflexu* but *in flexu*. I further observed what seemed to be some support for *flexu* in a similar passage of Tacitus, ann. xv 38 4 'obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque et illuc *flexis* atque enormibus vicis.' But when Mr Owen says 'In *inflexu* I recognise the signature of Juvenal' I can make no counter-proclamation that I recognise Juvenal's signature in *in flexu*: the rushlight of reason sheds much too faint a ray.

· VII 184 sq. (p. 247).

ueniet qui fercula docte
conponat, ueniet qui pulmentaria condit.

conponat P and most MSS, *componit* GT.

condit P and most MSS, *condat* LOU.

'In order to regularise the moods Leo follows Housman in retaining *condit* and accepting *componit* from G. "artifices dicit, inde indicatiui" says Leo. But we have here an instance of variation of construction, the consecutive subjunctive *componat* being followed by a relative indicative clause.'

If this piece of dialectic occurred in the writings of an uninspired author it would be called by the harsh name of *petitio principii*; for the very question at issue is whether we have or have not a variation of construction here. But we

have, for Mr Owen has said so. We have another, by the by, in Pers. III 60, 'est aliquid quo *tendis* et in quod *dirigās* arcum'; at least, one would have thought so, for this also is the reading of P; but I see that Mr Owen prints *derigis*, so it appears that not even P can be trusted in this matter, but only Mr Owen.

I 168 (p. 248).

inde irae et lacrimae.

'Here for *irae* GO *Val.* and a few other MSS have *ira*, a reading which is adopted by no editor except Housman, who defends it because "the singular *ira*, not the plural *irae*, is the just and proper counterpart to the plural *lacrimae*, which is of another nature." This justification fails because it does not take account of Latin usage.'

Mr Owen then proceeds to teach me Latin usage, a thing I am always anxious to learn. He says that 'the Latin plural very early underwent a weakening, so that it ceased to differ from the singular in meaning,' and that 'as time went on this weakening tendency increased,' and that 'with the word *ira* this is conspicuously the case: singular and plural are used indifferently with identical sense.' Exactly so; and therefore, as I said, the plural *irae* is not a just and proper counterpart to the plural *lacrimae*, which is of another nature.

But assume that my objection to *irae* fails: now let us hear Mr Owen's objection to *ira*. 'It is clear that not *ira* but *irae* is the correct reading.' It is clear to him, and that must suffice. It is also clear, he says, that *irae* is 'the reading which Cyprian had before him, as appears from his imitation Heptat. Genes. 895 *inde irae et lacrimae*.' What Cyprian had before him, and what he wrote, has been disclosed to nobody but Mr Owen: the three MSS differ, none of them gives what Mr Owen gives, and the only one whose reading is metrical has *inde ira et lacrimae*.

XIII 49 sq. (p. 251).

nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundum
imperium aut Sicula toruos cum coniuge Pluton.

49 *aliquis* om. P. 50 *aut* om. LO.

On the ground that *triste* is applicable to Pluto's empire and inapplicable to Neptune's I proposed

nondum <imi> sortitus triste profundum
imperium Sicula toruos cum coniuge Pluton.

See Luc. vi 341 'imi...habitor Olympi,' Stat. Theb. iv 476 'imi...regia mundi,' Sil. v 241 'deus ima colentum,' vii 688 sq. 'aeternae regnator noctis, ad imos | cum fugeret thalamos.' Leo, following me, preferred '<atri>,' which perhaps is no less probable. But Mr Owen says that 'there are two insuperable objections to the conjecture'; and they are these. '(1) it leaves Neptune unmentioned in this full catalogue of the gods.' This full catalogue of the gods already omits Apollo, Diana, Mercury, Mars, Venus, Vesta, Ceres, and Minerva, not to mention Amphitrite; but if it also omitted Neptune it would cease to be a full catalogue; and this is an insuperable objection. Mr Owen and I do not even speak the same language: he uses the word 'full' to express the idea which I express by the word 'defective.' Pass to the second insuperable objection: '(2) it assigns to *profundum* the meaning of "hell," a meaning which as far as I know is unparalleled.' It assigns to *profundum* its proper meaning, 'the deep'; and *imum profundum* is what Milton calls 'the lowest deep.' There are half a dozen verses in the Aetna alone where *profundum* signifies the subterranean world; for example 578 'septemque duces raptumque profundo' (Amphiarauum). So 'insuperable' is another of the English words to which Mr Owen and I attach different notions. But even after surmounting two insuperable objections I cannot escape defeat, for Mr Owen now brings up his 42 centimetre gun: '*aliquis* is unquestionably right.' Nil ultra quaero plebeius.

i 150 sq. (p. 254).

dices hic forsitan 'unde
ingenium par materiae?'

dices PBO, *dicas* most MSS.

'I see no reason why *dicas* should be preferred to *dices*, as it is by Mr Housman followed by Leo.'—When Mr Owen says

'followed by Leo' he appears to mean 'preceded by Jahn, Hermann, Friedlaender, and Buecheler.'—'Two reasons are given for preferring it: "(1) because *forsitan* in Juvenal regularly takes the subjunctive, and (2) because, apart from *forsitan*, the subjunctive is usual when no definite person is addressed" (Housman, pref. p. xix).'

'As to (1)' begins Mr Owen, and then, instead of invalidating my reason, he substantiates it. He obligingly cites the facts upon which my statement was founded, and shows that Juvenal elsewhere has four examples of *forsitan* with the subjunctive and only one with the indicative. The subjunctive therefore, as I said, is the rule, and the indicative the exception.

'As to (2), the passages where the subjunctive undoubtedly occurs are v 156 *forsitan...credas*, viii 113 *forsitan...despicias*, xi 162 *forsitan expectes*, xiv 34 *forsitan...spernant*, and with *forsan* vi 14 *forsan...extiterint*. Of these v 156, viii 113, xi 162 are not cases of subjunctive "where no definite person is addressed." Very true; they are cases of subjunctive due to *forsitan*, which, as I said, regularly takes the subjunctive. But why is Mr Owen making this remark 'as to (2),' i.e. as to my argument that 'apart from *forsitan*, the subjunctive is usual when no definite person is addressed'? What sense, if any, does he attach to the word 'apart'? 'Moreover,' says he, 'the statement that "the subjunctive is usual when no definite person is addressed" is in direct conflict with the conclusion at which Dr Roby arrives in his exhaustive essay on this particular point (Latin Grammar II, preface, pp. ci-cvii), where after a long collection of instances Dr Roby decides that "the indicative is the ordinary use" (p. ciii).' If so, Dr Roby is wrong. But Mr Owen does not know what Dr Roby's exhaustive essay is about, and apparently has not even perused its title, which is 'Of the expressions *dicat aliquis*, *dixerit aliquis*.' To the use of verbs in the second person it contains only one allusion, which I will transcribe; and I wish Mr Owen joy of it: p. ciii 'the indicative...is exceedingly frequent in the second person, when a definite person is meant.'

I repeat then that when the person addressed is not a definite person the subjunctive and not the indicative is usual.

I did not say that it was invariable, nor is it. The indicative, though very rare, does sometimes occur; and Mr Owen will be more than ever assured that *dices* is right when I refer him to Catull. 89 6 'quantumuis quare sit macer *inuenies*.'

I 155 sq. (p. 255).

pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa
qua stantes ardent qui fixo pectore fumant.

pectore PBAO, *gutture* most MSS.

'The reading *gutture* is absurd. It is defended by Mr Housman on the ground that to fasten a victim by the throat would involve less trouble.' It was defended by me on four grounds; but this is the only one of them which Mr Owen can remember. 'As if the object of torturers was to save themselves trouble! Such people are prepared to take infinite trouble.' If necessary. I had better quote what I actually said: '*gutture*...is on every count superior: superior palaeographically, as the less common word, and superior in sense, because to fasten a victim by the throat involves less trouble, consumes less material, and causes more discomfort, than to fasten him by the chest.' Mr Owen however dissents: 'And consider what the result of fastening the victim by the throat would be. The swift result would be throttling and consequent death, the last thing desired by the torturer, whose object is to prolong the pain.' If the torturer were so misguided as to use a slipknot, throttling, I imagine, would indeed be the result; but not otherwise: we do not hear that throttling was of frequent occurrence in the pillory. *fixo* moreover, properly 'nailed,' implies nothing so loose as a slipknot, and will indicate rather a collar clamped to the stake. But the torturer's object, says Mr Owen, 'would be better attained by fastening by the chest: then the victim while being roasted could not struggle, so far from stopping his anguish by throttling himself he could not even show it.' I cannot struggle either: I feel like the queen of Sheba when she had seen all Solomon's wisdom and there was no more spirit in her. Is there in all the wide world a single person except Mr Owen who conceives that to fasten

a man by the chest will prevent him from moving his arms and legs? Does Mr Owen himself conceive it? Does his mind know that this is the meaning of the words which his hand has written?

His final stroke is now impending. 'So the scholiast understood it: "ut lucerent spectatoribus, cum fixa essent illis guttura, ne se curuarent."' The dispute is whether Juvenal wrote *fixo pectore* or *fixo gutture*; and when the scholiast says 'cum *fixa* essent illis *guttura*, ne se curuarent,' Mr Owen quotes those words as showing how the scholiast understood *fixo pectore*. Am I awake or asleep?

A. E. HOUSMAN.

A COLLATION OF THE HISTORY OF SOCRATES¹
SCHOLASTICUS, BOOKS IV—VII, WITH THE OLD
ARMENIAN VERSION AND WITH THE LATIN
VERSION OF EPIPHANIUS SCHOLASTICUS AS
PRESERVED IN THE HISTORIA TRIPARTITA
OF CASSIODORIUS.

BOOK IV.

1 § 1 ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ὑπατείᾳ. Arm. involves αὐτῇ as conjectured by Valesius.

1 § 7 τὰς ζώνας... μᾶλλον ἀφιέναι ἢ ἀφείναι τὸν Χριστιανισμόν. Valesius notes: malim scribere ἢ ἀφείναι. Arm. renders the two verbs "to let go" and "to deny," which favours Valesius' conjecture.

1 § 14 οἱ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ διακριθέντες τοῖς περὶ Ἀκάκιον. Here διακριθέντες is a conjecture of Valesius. Arm. substantiates it; earlier editors read διδαχθέντες or διενεχθέντες.

3 § 4 ὥς ἐν ξηρᾷ εὐρεθῆναι. Arm. adds τοὺς πλείοντας, probably a mere gloss.

4 § 5 Μακεδονίου δόγμα, μικρόν τε ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Λάμπρακον συνόδῳ γενόμενον φανερώτερον.

Valesius' conjecture μικρόν τὸ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τότε ἐν κτλ. is borne out by Arm.

5 § 2 μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ ζωγρήσας εἶχε τὸν Προκόπιον. Valesius conjectured from the Latin Version εἶλε for εἶχε, and Arm. confirms the conjecture.

5 § 3 τοὺς μὲν προδότας ὑπεριδών. Both Arm. and Latin add γάρ after μὲν as conjectured by Valesius.

¹ As reprinted from the Texts of Valesius and Reading at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1844.

5 § 3 τοῦ δὲ τυράννου δύο δένδρων καμφθέντων γειτνιαζόντων ἀλλήλοις ἑκάτερον σκέλος ἐκδήσας ἐπικαμφθέντων ἀφῆκεν ὀρθοῦσθαι. Corruptus est hic locus ut satis apparet, observes Valesius. Arm. omits both καμφθέντων and ἐπικαμφθέντων; the Latin only the latter. Neither is requisite to the sense, but one must certainly be left out, preferably the second. Nicephorus has κατακαμφθεῖσι alone, answering to καμφθέντων, for which we perhaps should read κατακαμφθέντων.

7 § 5 εἰς βλασφημίαν ἐξέπεσε. Both versions involve βλασφημίας, conjectured by Valesius.

7 § 8 τὸν Εὐνόμιον Εὐδόξιος πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς Κυζίκου προὔβάλλετο.

Both versions add "expellere nisus Eleusium."

8 § 1 καὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως προΐόντος ἀπέκλεισαν. Valesius conjectured παριόντος, which Arm. confirms.

8 § 6 Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Arm. τῇ πόλει which Nicephorus has in this context.

8 § 8 ὑδρεῖον μέγιστον...ὃ ἐφημίσθη δαψιλὲς ὕδωρ. Latin has nymphaeum maximum...ubi aquae affluentia est emissa, and Arm. has the same general sense, but corresponds exactly to ᾧ ἐφυδρεύθη δαψιλὲς ὕδωρ. We cannot suppose that δαψιλὲς ὕδωρ was a name given to a public fountain. Perhaps ᾧ ἐφειλκύσθη is the true reading. However Nicephorus had ἐφημίσθη, for he paraphrases ὠνόμασται.

8 § 10 τότε δὲ λυόμενον. Arm. and Latin add τοῦ τείχους.

11 § 1 τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνός. Latin and Arm. have Ἰουνίου "of June."

11 § 2 τὴν δὲ χάλαζαν πολλοὶ ἔφασκον κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ κατεννέχθαι. Arm. has βασιλέως for θεοῦ, perhaps also Latin: quod multi dicebant propter motum imperatoris accidere. If the substitution be correct, then the words ὁ βασιλεύς are superfluous in the next clause and Arm. omits them, as also Latin. From Nicephorus' paraphrase κατὰ θεομηνίαν ἔφασκον γενέσθαι βασιλεῖ we may conjecture that Socrates wrote κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ κατεννέχθαι.

12 § 1 οἱ δὲ φόβῳ μᾶλλον καὶ βίᾳ στενοχωρούμενοι. Arm. has ἥ for καί, but Latin reads violentiaque: ἥ is surely correct.

12 § 4 τὴν παλαιὰν Ῥώμην κατέλαβον. Latin: ad Italiam pervenerunt, which is also implied in Arm. Therefore read τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατέλαβον. The Latin version of Nicephorus which alone remains here has: in Italiam pervenere.

12 § 6 μηδέν τε διαφέρειν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὸ ὅμοιον.

Valesius corrects τε to δέ; the Latin has nihilque differre a consubstantiali per omnia similem, so we should read τὸ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον, which Nicephorus (XI 6) here reads. Perhaps an echo of the addition survives in the gloss added by Arm.: "but that they were *in all ways* at one with the council of the orthodox believers, of the holy 318 Fathers of Nice."

12 § 10. ἕως νῦν καὶ διηλεκῶς διαμένει. The permanebit of Latin implies διαμενεῖ which is better, and is reflected in the Latin version of Nicephorus: in perpetuum duratura est.

12 § 22 Read ἥτις μέχρι νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Νίκαιαν.

14 § 2 δεκαεννέα ἐνιαυτούς. Arm. and Latin involve δεκαένα, which, as Valesius saw, chronology requires. Just before instead of Οὐάλεντος τὸ τρίτον, Arm. reads Οὐάλ. τὸ δεύτερον.

16 § 1 Οὐρβανός. Arm., Latin and Nicephorus have Οὐρβασος.

17 § 2 τέλεον γὰρ ἐξελάσας τοὺς τὸ ὁμοούσιον φρονούντας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν σχεδὸν τῶν ἀνατολικῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἤρκειτο τούτῳ.

Arm. has τῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ σχεδόν κτλ. The καὶ is requisite to the sense.

18 § 2 ὁ βασιλεὺς Οὐάλης. Arm. and Latin omit Οὐάλης.

18 § 2 μαθὼν πᾶν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπεχθεῖς αἵρέσεως εἶναι τῶν συνερχομένων τὸ πλῆθος.

Latin has: cognoscens sibi omnes exosos ibidem convenire. Arm. involves πάντας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπεχθεῖα αἵρέσεως κτλ. πάντας is needed if ἀπεχθεῖς is kept; it stands in apposition

to τὸ πλῆθος. The Armenian reading ἀπεχθεία yields the same sense. The vulgar reading is impossible.

19 § 4 after ὦν ζῆλον ἔχειν ἐνόμιζεν Arm. adds "he followed demons rather, and" which may be a gloss.

19 § 5 καὶ Θεοδόσιοι. Both Arm. and Latin omit.

20 § 1 after καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον Arm. and Latin omit ὁ βασιλεύς.

23 § 9 ἐν τοσούτῳ οἰκήματι. Valesius conjectured ἐν τῷ σῷ οἷκ. Arm. involves ἐν τῷ σεαυτοῦ οἷκ.

23 § 25 εἰπόντος, Ἀρίθμησον ὃ δέδωκα, ἔφη, Ἀριθμοῦ οὐ χρήζειν, ἀλλ' ὑγιούς διαθέσεως. Arm. adds θεόν after Ἀριθμοῦ, perhaps rightly.

23 § 27 δύο μὲν, ἔφη, ἐκίνησεν.

Arm. and Latin = duae inquit me res moverunt, so read με for μὲν as Valesius conjectured.

23 § 28 Ἄλλος δέ τις ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁ μοναχὸς εἰ μὴ ἐργάζεταιτο.

Arm. here renders a Greek text which ran somewhat as follows:

Ἄλλος δέ τις ἔλεγεν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μακαρίου Παμβῶ, ὅτι πολλὰ ἔτη ἠϋχετο λέγων· Κύριε μὴ με δόξασον ἐπὶ γῆς. ὡσαύτως δὲ τίμιον (?) καὶ ἐδόξασεν ὥσπερ τὸν Μωϋσέα, ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκείνου οὐκ ἐνῆν ἀτενίσαι διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, οὕτως καὶ οὗτος τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἐδέξατο, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἀτενίσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις αὐτοῦ ἡμέραις.

ὁ δὲ ἀββᾶς Ἀρσένιος ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁ μοναχὸς εἰ μὴ ἐργάζεταιτο κτλ.

The entire section has dropt out by reason of a scribe's eye running on from one ἔλεγεν to the other. The lacuna already stood in the copy of Socrates used by Epiphanius Scholasticus.

23 § 31 δι' ἄσκησιν, διὰ βίον. Arm. adds διὰ τρόπον, so also Latin: *mores*.

23 § 32 πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐστηρός. circa delin-

quentes severus, is the Latin rendering as if of *ἀμαρτάνοντας* but Arm. had *ἐντυγχάνοντας*, for it renders "towards his readers."

23 § 36 *μοναχός, ἡ περὶ πρακτικῆς ἐπιγέγραπται*. Latin gives *μοναχικός* written in Greek characters. Arm. adds *κεφάλαια δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑκατον*, omitted both in Greek and in Latin texts, but undoubtedly genuine, since Socrates in the immediate sequel gives the number of chapters of the other work of Evagrius, the *Gnosticus*, in the same manner, viz.: *κεφάλαια δὲ αὐτοῦ πεντήκοντα*.

23 § 37 *τὸ δὲ, Ἀντιρρητικός*. Arm. has *τὸ δὲ τρίτον, Ἀντ.* which is surely right. A *γ'* might easily be lost in the original.

23 § 39 *ἄτινα ὅπως ἐστὶ θαυμαστά*. Arm. adds *quamque utilia*, probably a gloss of the translator.

23 § 44 *οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὕτως...ὥς ἐλέω τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασβέννυνται πάθη*.

The case is that of a youth molested by night phantasms, whom the monk recommends "to tend the sick at the same time fasting." Arm. renders *ἐλέω γὰρ...ὥς ἐλαίω τὰ τοιαῦτα κτλ.*, as if the monk gave as the reason underlying his advice this, that such wounds of the spirit are remedied by charity and mercy towards others as ordinary wounds by oil.

The pun must be intentional and could only arise in a Greek text. Nicephorus (XI 43) had the ordinary Greek text.

23 § 53 *τὸν λόγον πεπώληκα τὸν λέγοντα*. Arm. adds *ἐμοὶ αἰεί*, as also Latin: *quod mihi semper dicit*.

23 § 56 *εἰδοποιεῖσθαι*. The Armenian renders *εἰ δὴ ποιεῖσθαι*; an illustration of the pitfalls of which a continuously written Greek text was full for a careless translator.

Other examples in the same context are *ἀποτίθασθαι* for *ἀπωθεῖσθαι* in § 63, *φθέγμα* for *φέγγος* in § 66, *μωρία* for *μόρια* and *ἐν τισίν* for *ἴστησιν* in § 69.

24 § 3 *Εὐζώιος δέ*. Here *δέ*, as Valesius saw, is impossible. He suggests *μέν* instead of it; Arm. merely omits it.

24 § 4 οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀπελείπετο, ἀλλὰ στίφος ἁγίων ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς οἰκτιζομένων χείρονα τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεπράττετο.

Valesius renders the whole context as follows: statim ad Aegypti monasteria contendunt, Dux videlicet cum ingenti militum multitudine et Lucius Arianus. Nam et iste tunc adfuit, et sanctorum hominum coetum nulla miseratione prosecutus, gravius quam ipsi milites, adflixit.

The words οὐδαμῶς οἰκτιζομένων might no doubt be taken as predicate of τῶν στρατιωτῶν, "worse than soldiers who never pity," but they go more naturally with ἁγίων ἀνθρώπων, in which case they must be rendered "holy men in no way pitied." But στίφος is an unusual word to use of a number of scattered anchorites. It clearly repeats the σὺν πλήθει πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν of the preceding clause. We must therefore adopt the Armenian reading ἄγων for ἁγίων. Lucius, though a Christian, led a force of pitiless men and treated his fellow Christians worse than any soldiers ever could. Epiphanius already read ἁγίων for ἄγων. The passage is a paraphrase of Rufinus *H. E.* II 3 (271), where we are told of Lucius: Tria millia simul, aut eo amplius, viros per totam eremum secreta et solitaria habitatione dispersos oppugnare pariter aggreditur. Mittit armatam equitum ac peditum manum: tribunos, praepositos, et bellorum duces, tanquam adversus barbaros pugnaturus elegit. In the Greek στίφος answers to armatam manum, not to the dispersos.

24 § 7 τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκέχρηντο. Here ὅχλοις is read in the Greek MSS, ὅπλοις being a conjecture of Valesius. Both Arm. and Latin confirm it. In the next §, no. 8, they equally confirm his conjecture παρών for παρ' ὧν.

24 § 9 ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος. For κόσμος of the sacred text Arm. substitutes Λούκιος, perhaps rightly.

25 § 4 ἐκ παιδὸς γὰρ ὧν εὐφυνῆς καὶ ψυχῆς λαχὼν ἀγαθῆς ἐνῖκα τοὺς εὐφυνεῖς καὶ ὀξύτατα βλέποντας. Valesius writes: vox εὐφυνεῖς delenda est, quae ex superiore linea huc videtur irrepsisse. The text bears on Didymus who being blind, yet by force of memory and learning, excelled those who

retained their natural sight. Arm. reads *ἐνίκα τῇ εὐφύῳα τοὺς καὶ ὀξ. βλ.* which is certainly right.

25 § 5 *Γραμματικῆς τε γὰρ τοὺς κανόνας ῥαδίως κατώρθου καὶ Ῥητορικῆς πάλιν θάπτον ἐλάμβανεν.*

Πάλιν is quite superfluous in the context. Latin abbreviates thus: *Facile namque regulas grammaticae atque rhetoricae artis didicit.* Rhetorical study was neither subsequent nor antithetic to grammatical; so we should adopt the Arm. reading *πάλην* for *πάλιν*.

25 § 10 *τοιούτοι γὰρ σοι λείπουνσιν ὀφθαλμοί, οἷς καὶ μῦλαι καὶ κώνωπες βλέψαι ἰσχύουσιν.* Latin: *quibus et muscae et pulices nocere possunt.* So also Arm. therefore correct to *βλάψαι*. The odd thing is that Rufinus from whom Socrates borrows the anecdote seems to have read *βλέψαι*: *oculi illi quos mures et muscae et lacertae habent*, and as Valesius notes, Jerome, *ad Castratium* (Ep. 33), involves the same; but he probably took it from Rufinus. It is hardly possible that Socrates himself wrote *βλέψαι*.

26 § 12 *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ βασιλείῳ διεπράττετο.* Valesius: *Scribendum est procul dubio καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ κτλ.* which is exactly what Arm. involves.

26 § 25 *τὴν πονηθεῖσαν Βασιλείῳ Ἐξαήμερον, ἅτε δὲ καταλειφθεῖσαν, προσανεπλήρωσε.*

The mere fact that Basil left this work behind him would not account for its completion by his brother Gregory; we must therefore add from the Armenian *ἀτελῇ* after *ἅτε δὲ*. It dropped out from its similarity to the same.

27 § 1 *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας πλανῶνται, [καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Γρηγορίου βιβλίων,] δεῖ εἶδέναι ὅτι ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ Ποντικὸς Γρηγόριος.*

Arm. and Latin omit the words bracketed, but Nicephorus read them (xi 19).

27 § 2 *ἐν τε Ἀθήναις.* Arm. adds *ἐν τε Ἰλλυρίᾳ*, which is surely original, though Latin omits it.

27 § 2 *Ποντικῇ διοικήσει.* So Valesius corrects the MSS which have *οἰκήσει*; Nicephorus (xi 19) and Arm. confirm his conjecture.

27 § 4 Πάμφιλος ὁ μάρτυρ. Arm. adds καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμος. Latin also reads: et Pamphilus martyr et Eusebius.

27 § 4 ἐν οἷς καὶ συστατικὸς λόγος Γρηγορίου.

Valesius suggests *συντακτικός* which Arm. confirms, though Nicephorus read *συστατικός*.

28 § 1 ἐπικρατεῖ περὶ τὰ Φρυγῶν καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἔθνη ὁ ἀκριβὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν κáνων.

Here αὐτῶν is otiose, for it was not their private rule, but that of the great Church, that was in vogue with these races. Arm. and Latin both omit αὐτῶν.

28 § 3 πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία ἤθη. Arm. has πάθη for ἤθη. The admission of mortal sinners after their baptism to communion was a concession not to custom but to human frailty. The Latin also confirms πάθη: secundum proprios sensus.

28 § 4 ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ τούτου κινουμένου τοῦ ζητήματος. Valesius conjectured ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοσούτου. Latin has: Inter haec mota quaestione omitting τοσούτου. Arm. has τοσούτου δε κιν. τ. ζ., omitting ἐν τούτῳ.

28 § 5 ἕκαστος κατ' ἔθος. Arm. has ἔθνος which is wanted and is confirmed by Latin: singuli provincialium diversi sunt secuti sententias.

28 § 12 Νανάτος μὲν οὖν. Arm. has Navatianus which is probably right, Socrates wishing to distinguish the institutions of the two.

28 § 13 οὕτως ἐπετέλεσε. Arm. αὐτός for οὕτως. Latin: etiam iste celebrabat. Valesius conjectures καὶ οὗτος which comes to the same thing. In the preceding clause κατὰ τὰ ἐσπέρια μέρη ἐποίει, as Valesius notes, we must either remove ἐποίει with the Latin or read καθώς with Nicephorus. Socrates probably wrote καθά.

28 § 15 οἱ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ ἐπώνυμοι κατὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τούτου συνεχωρήθησαν ἐκτρεπόμενοι. Valesius notes: Hic locus mirum in modum corruptus est... iam temporibus Epiphanii scholastici corrupta erant exemplaria. He suggests τούτου συγχωρηθεῖσαν and renders permissam ipsis

communione. Arm. restores the true reading which is *τούτους ὧν ἐχωρίσθησαν*, i.e. "they avoided in sacramental matters those from whom they had broken off," which is historically true.

28 § 17 *παρεῖναι τῇ γενομένῃ συνόδῳ*. After *τῇ* Arm. adds *τότε*, which is wanted.

31 § 11 *ἐκ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρους ἀλουργίδα βασιλικὴν ἀπεκύνσε*. Arm. and Latin (*ex dextro femore*) read *μηροῦ*—an interesting survival of an old mythological idea.

31 § 21 *ἐκ πλακίδης*. Arm. and Latin have *ἐκ φλακίλλης*, with the ancient coins.

32 § 3 *ἕως αὐτοῦ*. Arm. adds *οὐ* after *ἕως*.

32 § 5 *πρὸς τὸ δόξαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὴν διαφωνίαν εἶναι πολλήν*. Arm. has *πρὸς τὴν πολυδοξίαν*, which may be right as Themistius whose *προσφωνητικὸς λόγος* is in question insisted on the multiplicity of philosophers' *δόγματα*.

33 § 1 *Ἀθανάριχος*. Latin all through has *Athalaricus*.

33 § 8 *πρόσφατον θεὸν τὸν υἱόν*. So Armenian. Earlier texts omitted *θεόν*.

36 § 6 *ἐκεῖ τὴν ἱερωσύνην δεξάμενος*. Arm. *ὡς ἐκεῖ τ. ἱερ. δεξόμενος*. *Δεξόμενος* was conjectured by Valesius.

36 § 9 *ἐξελέγχουσιν ὡς Χριστιανικὰ ἔχεις δόγματα*. Arm. adds *οὐ* or *οὐχί* after *ὡς*. The point is that Lucius, who is addressed, was devoid of Christian scruples.

36 § 10 *Χριστιανὸς οὐ πλήσσει*. Arm. renders *οὐ βλασφημεῖ*.

38 § 1 *περὶ τὴν τριακάδα*. Arm. "on the first" which must be wrong.

38 § 5 *καὶ ὑπερβαίνει*. Latin *egreditur*, and so Arm. Valesius conjectured *ὑπεκβαίνει*.

BOOK V.

Prooemium § 1 ὅσον τὴν ἱστορίαν. Arm. ὅσων, sc. πολέμων.

§ 2 τοῦτο γὰρ πολλῶν ἕνεκα ποιούμεν. Τοῦ εἰς γνῶσιν ἄγειν τὰ γινόμενα. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας μὴ προσκορεῖς γενέσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ σχολάζειν τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων κτλ.

Valesius suggested ἀεί for μὴ before σχολάζειν, "post haec enim verba sequi debet affirmatio." Arm. reconstitutes the whole passage thus: ...ποιούμεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦ εἰς γνῶσιν ἄ. τὰ γιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐντ. μὴ...ἐκ τοῦ μόνῃ σχολ. κτλ. Here οὐ μόνον was easily dropped out after ποιούμεν and μόνον or μόνῃ is better than ἀεί.

§ 5 ὥστε με τῶν διαδοχῶν τούτων μὴ ἔκ τινος συντυχίας δύνασθαι νομίζειν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων πλημμελημάτων λαμβάνειν τὰς ἀρχάς.

In the preceding context Socrates insists on the interconnection of political and ecclesiastical mistakes and disasters. He is obliged to ascribe this interconnection not to chance, but to the sins of his generation. Arm. therefore must be right when it reads: ὥστε με τὸ διάδοχον τούτων μὴ ἔκ τ. σ. γενέσθαι νομίζειν κτλ. The combination δύνασθαι νομίζειν is awkward and otiose.

§ 10 ἱστορίας ἀπτόμεθα. Arm. adds: "narrating what we have heard and seen," probably a gloss.

2 § 1 Arm. adds ἅμα before ἀνεκάλει.

2 § 1 Μανιχαίους. Arm. adds: "but that all others should practise their religion however they chose"—probably not a gloss, for Sozomen (VII 1) copying this passage has: νόμον ἔθετο μετὰ ἀδείας ἐκάστους θρησκεύειν ὡς βούλονται καὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν πλὴν Μανιχαίων κτλ.

3 § 1 ὡς ἔφημεν. Arm. ὡς καὶ πολλάκις ἔφ.

4 § 3 συναχθέντες ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας. Arm. has Antioch of Caria, which was the well-known Antioch ad

Maeandrum. This is the true text, for Sozomen repeats it (VII 2) *συνελθόντες ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Καρίας*.

6 § 1 Arm. adds the first words of this chapter *ὅτε κοινῶ* to *μετετίθετο* at end of ch. 5 and omits *τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο*.

6 § 5 *ἡ παρ' ἐκείνου γεγεννημένη καινοτομία*. Arm. *ἐκείνων*, rightly, for the reference is to *ἡ ἀρειανῶν δόξα* in the preceding clause.

7 § 5 *φεύγειν σε καὶ τῶν εὐκτηρίων τόπων κελεύω*. Arm. adds *ὑποχωρεῖν* after *τόπων*. Sozomen copying the passage writes *ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑποχωρεῖν*, and I have not met with this poetical use of the genitive after *φεύγειν* elsewhere in Socrates.

7 § 8 *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χωρίζει*. Arm. has *chr̥ζει*. So Latin: *ecclesiis opus habet*. The Florentine and Sfortian codices also have *chr̥ζει* which is therefore better attested than *χωρίζει*.

8 § 4 *Ἀσχόλιος*. Here and in 6 § 5 Arm. writes *Acholios*, which stands also in the codex Sfortianus.

8 § 8 *μᾶλλον ἔφθασαν*. Arm. has *ἔφασαν*, by error.

8 § 9 *ἀπηλάγησαν*. Write *ἀπηλλάγησαν*.

8 § 12 *δι' ὅλου θαυμαζόμενος, καίτοι τὴν τοῦ πραιτῶρος χειρίζων ἀρχήν*.

Arm. has *διὸ θαυμ. καὶ τὴν κτλ.*

Valesius saw that *καίτοι* is impossible and conjectured *καὶ τότε* from Nicephorus, who however read *δι' ὅλου* which he paraphrased by *διὰ πάντων*.

8 § 14 *ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν*. Arm. renders *ὑπερβαίνειν* "go out to," and justifies Valesius' conjecture *ἐπιβαίνειν*.

10 § 5 *Μερογαύδου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Σατορνίλου*. Arm. *Merobaudis secundum et Saturnini*. So also Sozomen VII 12.

10 § 9 *ἀναγνώστην ὑπ' αὐτῷ Σισίννιον ὄνομα*. Arm. adds *τῶν* after *ἀναγνώστην* which the context requires. It vanished

by reason of -τήν preceding it. Sozomen (VII 12) writes: *ἄνδρα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀναγνωστῶν τότε Σισίννιον ὀνόματι.*

10 § 11 *μάρτυρας δὲ καλέσειν τὰς ἐκδόσεις τῶν παλαιῶν.* For *ἐκδόσεις* Arm. reads *παραδόσεις* which the sense requires. Latin has *ex traditione veterum*.

ibidem after *παλαιῶν* Arm. adds *ἐξηγητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων*, which is perhaps a gloss, though Sozomen in the same context (VII 12) uses the phrase *τῶν παλαιότερων ἐξηγήσεις*.

10 § 11 *λόγον ποτὲ ποιοῦνται.* Arm. mistook *λόγον* for *τόπον* and renders accordingly.

10 § 11 *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσαρμοσάντων διδασκάλων.* Arm. confirms Valesius' conjecture *προσακμασάντων*, based on the Latin: *qui ante divisionem floruisse.*

10 § 12 *καὶ εἰ τοῦτο τολμήσαι ποιήσωσιν.* This yields no sense. Arm. has *καὶ εἰ τ. ποιῆσαι τολμήσωσιν* and Latin: *et si hoc facere non auderent.*

10 § 13 *δόξα μαρτυρηθήσεται.* Arm. adds "to be true and firm," probably a gloss.

10 § 15 *τὸν σκοπὸν ἐδήλωσε.* Arm. adds *τοῖς αἵρεσι-άρχαις*, which is borne out by the Latin: *Deinde convocatis haeresiarchis interrogavit an, etc.*

10 § 19 *ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλως εἶχον.* Arm. *εἶπον.*

10 § 22 *γνωρίζειν τὸν ὄρον αὐτῶν.* Valesius conjectured *αὐτῷ* which is read in Nicephorus and confirmed by Arm.

10 § 32 *Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἀραβίας καὶ Κύπρου πάλιν συμπράττοντες.* For *πάλιν* Arm. has *Παυλίνῳ*, which must be right.

12 § 3 *Ῥιχομηλίου.* Arm. and Latin *Ῥιχομηρίου.*

14 § 7 *Ναυατιανούς τὸ ὁμοούσιον φρονούντας.* Arm. *Ναυατιανούς τοὺς ὁμοφρονούντας.*

14 § 8 *τὸν Σύμμαχον ἀπέλυσε τοῦ ἐγκλήματος.* Arm. adds words such as the following: *ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος νοσῶν ἐτύγχανεν, τούτου ἕνεκα ὁ Λέων (sc. Λεόντιος) παρεκάλει τὸν βασιλέα.*

This must be a Greek gloss from the hand of someone who desired to explain why the Novatian bishop, rather than the orthodox Pope of Rome, took the lead in petitioning the emperor to shew clemency to Symmachus.

17 § 1 τοῦ Σαράπιδος λουομένου. Read λυομένου.

17 § 1 τῷ καλουμένῳ ἱερογλυφικῷ. Arm. τῶν καλουμένων ἱερογλυφικῶν. So Latin: quae apud Aegyptos vocantur sacrae.

18 § 2 ὁ τῇ πόλει χορηγούμενος ἄρτος. Arm. ὁ τοῖς πολλοῖς χ. ἄ. The corn dole is spoken of, so that the Arm. reading is suitable; but Latin renders universae civitati, and Nicephorus (VII 22) read τῇ πόλει.

19 § 1 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας περιελεῖν πρεσβυτέρους. Arm. renders ἐπισκόπους, perhaps because in the Armenian Church, where the old penitentiary rite survived for centuries longer, a bishop took the place assigned in it at Rome to a presbyter.

19 § 2 Arm. confirms the reading τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι which Valesius restored.

19 § 11 πρὸς τὸν Εὐδαίμονα πρότερον ἔφην. Arm. renders πρότερον in the sense prorsus, utique, omnino. Valesius notes: quid significet πρότερον, non satis video.

19 § 12 τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀκάρποις.

Arm. ἀκαθάρτοις which is read in Origen and other early witnesses in Ephesians v 11.

21 § 6 Σαββάτιος. Arm. and Latin (quidam) add τίς.

21 § 11 βέλτιον ἦν. Valesius conjectured βέλτιον εἶναι, which Arm. involves.

21 § 12 ἐν Ἀγγάρῳ. Arm. and Latin Σαγγάρῳ, so also Nicephorus.

21 § 14 τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Arm. τ. ἐγ. τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, which must be a blunder.

21 § 17 ἐπετέλει τοῦ πάσχα. Arm. ἐπ. τὸ π. as conjectured by Valesius.

22 § 5 παρατηρεῖσθαι ἡμέρας. Arm. adds καὶ χρόνους. *ibidem* read κολοσσείς for κολασσεῖς.

22 § 8 ὁ ἀπόστολος. Arm. οἱ ἀπόστολοι which better agrees with the plural verb ἐπέθηκαν, though Latin has ὁ ἀπόστολος.

22 § 25 περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα μέρος. Arm. inserts here: εἰ εὐκαιρόν ἐστι λέγειν or similar.

22 § 29 μᾶλλον κατὰ χώρας. Arm. adds ὥσπερ ἔφην.

22 § 30 τὴν αὐτὴν περὶ τούτων δόξαν. Arm. τ. αὐ. περὶ τοῦ θείου δ. which is exactly the restitution conjectured by Valesius, save that he gives θεοῦ for θείου.

22 § 38 διάφορον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐστίασιν. Arm. ἀδιάφορον. Latin: sine discretione.

22 § 38 μυρίαὶ αἰτίαι. Latin renders αἰτίαι by consuetudines, Arm. by "observances."

22 § 39 ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι. Arm. adds δι' ἐγκράτειαν, which is not amiss.

ibidem. ἵνα ἕκαστος μὴ φόβῳ. Arm. adds τοῦ νόμου.

22 § 49 Arm. punctuates thus γενόμενος· ἦν νόμῳ, and has ἐγάμησεν for γαμήσας.

22 § 50 ἀ νέος ὢν ἔταξε. Arm. συνέταξε. Nicephorus here συνετάξατο.

22 § 55 τοῖς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Arm. adds Ναυατιανοῖς—perhaps an explanatory gloss.

22 § 56 After θρησκείαις Arm. omits τῶν εὐχῶν.

22 § 61 τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτες. Arm. adds οἱ πρὸς οἰκείαν πρόληψιν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὑπετύπωσαν or similar, words which do not appear to be a mere gloss.

22 § 64 τοὺς λαοὺς εἰς συμφωνίαν ἐσπούδασαν πρὸς τοὺς πολλῷ πλείονας.

For λαοὺς Arm. has ὀλίγους which is obviously right.

22 § 69 ἀπαγγέλλοντας ταῦτα. Arm. τὰ αὐτά.

22 § 74 περὶ τοὺς τύπους. Arm. τόπους.

22 § 79 τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐν τοῖς σώμασι. Arm. om. ἐν which is superfluous. Nicephorus also omits.

22 § 81 ἡ ἐκκλησία οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τῇ γενομένῃ πρώτῃ διαίρεσει. Arm. read διαιρουμένη or διαιρεθεῖσα for οὐκ, which last stands in the codices and was by error omitted in the text as printed by Valesius and Reading.

23 § 9 τῇ ὁμοουσίῳ πίστει προσέθεντο. Arm. adds: "and were settled in our most holy church being re-ordained bishops by Nectarius," which seems no mere gloss.

23 § 10 ἐπὶ τριακονταπέντε ἔτη. So Sozomen: Arm. has 30; Latin 25 years.

ibidem. ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου. Arm. has ἐπὶ τ. βασιλείας κτλ. So also Latin: sub imperio.

25 § 3 Ἀρβογάστην. Arm. spells: Argobastes.

25 § 4 εὐνούχους ἐπεισελθόντες. Arm. ὑπεισελθόντες. Latin: corrumpentes.

25 § 5 ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν ὑπὸ τυράννου γίνεσθαι. Arm. adds ἄτοπα after τυράννου.

25 § 9 ἡὺτρεπίζετο. Arm. adds ὁ τύραννος—an explanatory gloss.

25 § 10 Arm. omits ὃς ἀπέχει.

ibidem after συνεπλέκοντο Arm. adds κατ' ἐκείνο.

25 § 15 τῇ ἑκτῇ. Latin has septimo decimo die.

BOOK VI.

Prooemium § 6 ἐστι πικρὸν, ὅτι μή. Arm. adds ἦ before ὅτι μή which the sense needs.

2 The Arm. text of ch. 2 § 4—3 § 5 inclusive is lost.

2 § 6 δισσὰς αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὰς ἐνεχείρισεν, ἐντειλάμενος προσενεγκεῖν τῷ νικήσαντι καὶ τὰ δῶρα καὶ τὰ γράμματα.

Latin renders: duplices misit epistolas, mandans ut alteras

litteras non vincenti daret: porro victori et munera et alteras porrigeret litteras.

It would seem as if, after ἐντειλάμενος, a clause had dropt out through similar ending, viz.: τῷ μὴ νικήσαντι τὰ ἕτερα γράμματα προσενεγκεῖν, τῷ δὲ νικήσαντι καὶ τὰ δῶρα καὶ τὰ ἕτερα γράμματα.

The conquered was to receive one letter, the conqueror the other *plus* the gifts.

2 § 8 ἐπικλέψαντος. Latin adds: demonstravit Imperatori, i.e. καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δείξαντος.

2 § 9 ἔφευγεν. Latin adds: caelare volens quod fuerat ei mandatum, which can hardly be a gloss.

2 § 13 ἦ ἐπετέλουν. Correct to ἦν.

3 § 5 Σελευκείας τῆς ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ. Arm. has ἐν Συρίᾳ, wrongly.

3 § 9 Βασιλείῳ τῷ ποτὲ μὲν διακόνῳ. Arm. has τότε for ποτέ. So Latin: tunc.

4 § 3 ἐνήγε δὲ αὐτόν. Arm. ἄλλον for αὐτόν.

4 § 6 τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον συνεσθίειν τινὶ, μηδὲ καλούμενον ἐφ' ἑστίαν παραγίνεσθαι. Arm. has ἐστίασιν, which is clearly right.

4 § 7 ὥς εἴη ἐμπαθής. The epithet ἐμπαθής can only mean "passionate," whereas the context needs the sense "delicate, weak in health." Therefore restore ἀσθενής which Arm. involves and Nicephorus implies, for he paraphrases: ἀσθενῶς περὶ τὸ πέττειν.

4 § 8 ὅπως δὲ ἀληθείας ἂν εἶχε τὸ γινόμενον. Arm. renders τὸ γιν. as if it were οὐκ ἔχομεν λέγειν—erroneously.

4 § 9 σφόδρα. Arm. renders σοφία or σοφῶς, erroneously.

5 § 1 ἐξελέγχειν ἐπείρατο. Arm. uses past tense of ἐπαίρομαι. *ibidem*. φθόνος πλείων ἐξήπτετο. Arm. adds: ὥστε τελειωθῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς σοφίας λόγον ὃν λέγουσι (Prov. ix 8). μὴ ἔλεγχε αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ μισήσωσί σε.

5 § 3 πρῶτος εὐνούχων. Arm. and Latin omit εὐνούχων which is otiose.

5 § 11 Ἰωάννου. Arm. omits the name and substitutes *εὐλάβεια καί*.

6 § 4 τοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείους. Arm. τῶν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείων.

6 § 4 τούτους ἔχειν, Arm. ἀρχὴν ἔχειν. Valesius conjecturally restored the entire passage thus : τοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείους τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὰς ἔχειν παρεσκεύαζεν.

6 § 5 Arm. spells Τριτιβιγίλδου.

6 § 6 ἔπειτα ὁ. Arm. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ.

6 § 7 κινδυνεύειν ἐμελλε. Arm. adds : "unless God had saved the menaced empire of the Romans."

6 § 9 Σατορνῖνον. Arm. Saturnilus.

6 § 9 οὗς ἐπενόει ἐκκόψειν. Arm. οἷς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκκόπτειν, an echo of the words in § 10 τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσει ὑπήκουον. Valesius conjectured ὑπενόει.

6 § 10 ἐν χωρίῳ ἵπποδρόμῳ. Arm. adds καλουμένῳ, which is needed, and might have dropt out owing to similar ending.

6 § 14 πολλῶν μυριάδων. Arm. adds "of Goths," τῶν Γότθων.

6 § 28 μετὰ τὴν τῶν πυλῶν ἀναίρεσιν. Valesius conjectured μετὰ τὴν τῶν πυλωρῶν ἀναίρεσιν, which is what Arm. renders.

6 § 25 βέλη διεκώλυνον. Arm. has βέλη οὐ διεκ.

6 § 31 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφθη. Arm. renders ἔφθη as if ἔφθη γνοὺς πάλιν stood in his text.

6 § 32 ἐτέρων Ῥωμαίων. Arm. αἱ δὲ τῶν.

6 § 35 ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ περὶ τοῦ Γαῖνᾶ. Arm. confirms περὶ, which Valesius conjectured here.

6 § 42 ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐλάβανε. Arm. adds κατ' ἔθος.

7 § 4 ἀσώματον δὲ αὐτοῦ δογματίσαι. Arm. renders ἀσ. δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ αὐτοῦ δογμ. Latin : et deum incorporeum suo dogmate definiret.

7 § 17 πάντα λίθον κινεῖντα. Arm. adds : "in order to

the finding and collecting of property. The pious brethren seeing this."

7 § 20 τὸ προσκείσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀσκητὰς, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν σέβας ἔχειν.

Here Arm. involves αὐτοῖς and αὐτούς. So Latin: quod eos turba diligeret et coleret monachorum.

7 § 29 ὠριγενιστάς. Arm. adds ἄφρονas.

8 § 4 ἐρεθισμούς. Arm. prefixes βλασφημίας καί.

8 § 7 ἐκ τῆς παραλαβούσης. Arm. suggests προλαβούσης. *ibidem*. After συγκρούουσι Arm. adds: "and they began to throw stones."

9 § 9 Ἐξάπτεται οὖν πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ Θεόφιλος καὶ ἀμφοτέρους πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπήλασεν.

The second πρὸς ὀργὴν is otiose. Arm. substitutes ἐκκλησίας. So too Latin: expulit ab ecclesia.

9 § 10 εὐχῶν μετέχειν. Arm. adds κατ' ἐκκλησίαν.

They were admitted into church for the prayers, but not for the sacrament.

10 § 7 διακοσίων καὶ περὶ πον. Arm. excludes καὶ which is superfluous as Valesius saw.

11 § 6 αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ. Arm.: αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ which is better.

11 § 8 The passage καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς ἔριν λύσαι is lost in the Arm. text.

11 § 9 καὶ οὕτω—ἡσύχασαν. Arm. omits and substitutes: "And there arose in consequence dissension in Ephesus on the plea that Heraklides was not worthy of the bishopric."

11 § 13 ἀφελών. Arm. adds: "he united them with most holy church and."

11 § 17 πρὸς τούτοις. Arm. has τοῖς παροῦσι "to those present."

11 § 20 ὥς καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα. Arm. ἕως καὶ ἡ. Valesius conjectured ἕως οὗ ἡ. Sozomen paraphrases: εἰσότε.

12 § 3 οὐκ ἔχων μὲν τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτά, δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θεοφίλῳ ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτά. Arm. confirms ἔχων, which is a conjecture of Valesius for ἔχω. For δοκεῖ it rightly substitutes δοκεῖν. Epiphanius could not say anything against Origen's works, only that he and Theophilus saw fit to condemn them. Valesius conjectured ἐδόκει.

12 § 7 ἔλαθον ἑαυτούς. Arm. adds: καὶ τοὺς προπάτορας ἐκβαλόντες τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐκδεχομένους χρησίμως, or similar.

13 § 1 προσέχειν. Arm. renders "to beware of."

13 § 3 ἐν Λυκίᾳ. Arm.: in Pamphylia.

13 § 8 μαρτυροῦσιν. Arm. prefixes οὐ.

14 § 4 διαβαλεῖν. Arm. ἐκβαλεῖν, which may be correct. *ibidem*. ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τιθέμενον. Arm.: συντιθέμενον, which also Latin involves: velut eorum defensori.

14 § 11 ἀπιὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. Arm. ἀπών. It also renders "in absence died his death" as if τὴν τελευτήν had followed. Epiphanius met his deserved fate away from his country.

15 § 8 γένει Αἰγύπτιος. Arm. γένει Κύπριος. *ibidem*. ὅστις πολλά. Arm. and Latin add κατὰ Ἰωάννου.

15 § 15 Δρῦς. Latin renders Rufini. Sozomen informs us that this oak was called after Rufinus the consul.

15 § 16 παρεγγράφετο. Read παρεγράφετο.

15 § 18 μείζονος συνεδρίου. Arm. adds: "in order that we may know the truth."

15 § 19 τῇ τρίτῃ. Arm.: "on the second day."

16 § 7 Μαριαναί. Masianae, Arm.

16 § 9 διδάσκοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι. Arm. adds the gloss: "the teachings of virtue which he spake by the holy Ghost."

17 § 1 κατὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν. Arm. prefixes τὰ, as conjectured by Valesius.

18 § 3 τῆς παιδιᾶς. Arm. = τῆς δημώδους π.

18 § 4 πάλιν παρασκευάζει. Arm. adds ἐτέραν.

18 § 14 *ιερατικοῦ τάγματος*. Arm. adds *καὶ λαϊκῶν πληῆθος καὶ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα ἐτέλουν* or similar.

18 § 17 *Ἰουνίου μηνός*. Latin has *Ianuarii*.

19 § 1 *Ἀρσάκιος*. Arm. spells *Ursacius*.

19 § 3 *τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπομεῖναι*. Arm. adds *καὶ ἐν κακοῖς ἐτιμωρεῖτο* or similar.

19 § 5 *ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπατείᾳ*. Latin has *consulatu eodem Honorii sexto et Aristaeneti*. Arm. merely adds *Honorii* after *ὑπατεία*.

19 § 7 *ἄλλων τινῶν*. Latin adds *haereticorum*, so also Arm.

19 § 8 *ἀλλὰ πότερον δικαία ἢ καθαίρεσις Ἰωάννου κατὰ τὸν λόγον*. Arm. has *ἀλλὰ λέγω τοῖς τάδε φάσκουσι πότερον δ. ἢ καθ. Ἰωάννου κατὰ τ. λ.*

19 § 8 After *ἡ βασίλισσα ἐτελεύτησεν* Arm. intrudes the following or similar: *τοὺς γὰρ αἵρετικούς δέχεσθαι εἵης (?) καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν στέργειν, εὖ οἶδα, διότι καὶ ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τούτους εὐφραίνεται ἐπὶ τῶν μετανοούντων*.

20 § 2 *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοῦ διαδραμόντος χρόνου*. Arm. has *τετραμήνου* for *πολλοῦ*. Latin: *et propterea cum quatuor vacassent menses*.

22 § 6 *φορεῖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον*. Arm. *φ. τὸν ἱερέα καὶ ἐπ.*

22 § 7 *ἔστωσάν σοι ἱμάτια λευκά*. Arm. has *ἀεὶ* before *λευκά*. So Latin: *semper alba*.

22 § 12 After *πῶς μετανοεῖς* Arm. omits *ἔφη ὁ Σινίννιος* and rejects *ἀπεκρίνατο* in the next clause. So did Sozomen who paraphrases thus: *ἐρουμένου δὲ Λεοντίου· τίνα τρόπον; ὅτι δε τεθέσθαι ἀπεκρίνατο*.

22 § 14 *ὅς τοις ἄλλοις*. Arm. *ὥς τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

22 § 17 Arm. adds *πάντα* before *εἰρημένα*.

22 § 21 *χάρις*. Arm. adds: "of empty manners from being pleasing to mankind."

23 § 5 *φανερώτερόν τε*. Arm. *φαν. τότε*.

ibidem. ἐπηκολούθει. Arm. adds: καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν λέγοντες.

23 § 6 οὕτως ἐγένετο. Arm. adds: καὶ ἐμαρτυρήθη θεοφιλὴς εἶναι ὁ βασιλεύς.

ibidem. Θεοδόσιον. Arm. adds βασιλεύοντα.

Arm. omits the supplementary chapter commencing ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ.

BOOK VII.

1 § 3 οὔσης αὐτῷ σοφίας. Here σοφίας is Valesius' conjecture; it is confirmed by Arm.

2 § 1 ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Arm. has ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ. So Latin: iam tribus annis Atticus habebat episcopatum.

2 § 4 καὶ ἐπαγωγός. Arm. and Latin omit.

3 § 11 ὡς παραλόγως. Arm. παρανόμως. So Latin iniuste, and Nicephorus.

4 § 2 Arm. omits πάσης Ἰουδαϊκῆς εὐχῆς.

4 § 2 πιστεύσας. Arm. adds ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας.

5 § 7 συνέρρεον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἔθους πολλοί. Valesius: delenda sunt haec verba ἐξ ἔθους quae ex sequente linea perperam huc irrepserunt. Arm. substitutes σφόδρα.

5 § 8 ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα. Arm. "over 170."

5 § 9 πολλοὺς τοῦ Σαββατίου. Arm. πολλοὺς τοὺς Σ. or πολλοὺς τῶν τοῦ Σ.

6 § 1 Arm. omits ὡς after Ἀρειανῶν.

ibidem. ἑκατὸν κτλ. Arm. seems to paraphrase: "having become very old, for he survived to the age of 119 years."

ibidem. Arm. and Latin om. Αὐγούστου after Θεοδοσίου.

6 § 6 ὁ δὲ τὸν Ὀριγένην. Latin adds iugiter as if διηνεκῶς or similar had stood in the Greek.

6 § 8 Arm. mistakes λεληθότως for ἐληλυθότες!

7 § 1 ληθαργικῶ. Arm. renders in sense of στραγγουρία or stone, his text giving λιθοεργικῶ.

7 § 3 τῷ μέρει Τιμοθέου. Arm. has τ. μ. Κυρίλλου.

7 § 5 Θεόπεμπτον. Arm. and Latin Θεόπομπον.

8 § 12 εἶπεν τῷ Μαρουθᾶ.... Arm: "Isdigerdes acquiesced the more in Marutha and ordered him to build a church wherever he liked."

8 § 15 εἰώθει προσέρχεσθαι. Arm. προέρχεσθαι.

8 § 18 πείραν δεδωκότος ἑτέραν τοῦ Μαρουθᾶ. Arm. π. δεδ. ἐτ. θαυμάτων τοῦ M. So Latin: aliud miraculum. Perhaps the word fell out through similarity to τοῦ Μαρουθᾶ which followed.

ibidem. σὺν Ἀνλδᾶ. Arm. Ἀβλαβᾶ, with Latin: Ablaten. Nicephorus has Abda.

8 § 19 Βαραράνην. Arm. Barbanis.

10 § 3 Διαβαίνοντι δὲ αὐτῷ Θεσσαλοὶ ἀντέστησαν. Arm. has Θεσσαλίαν. So Latin: et transiens Thessaliam.

10 § 9 μὴ ἐπιχαίρειν ἐν τηλικούτοις κακοῖς μηδὲ χαίρειν. Arm. has ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐν. So Latin: ne mala talia facere tentaret neque caedibus gauderet.

10 § 11 περὶ τούτου. Arm. adds: "But now let us return to our original subject."

12 § 1 Σισιννίου δέ. Arm.: εὐθὺς οὖν ὥς ἔφην Σισιννίου, or similar.

12 § 8 πάντα σκόπον τοῦ παρεισδύναι. Arm. σκόπῳ.

12 § 11 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ γενναιότατον. Arm. τὸν αὐτοῦ γενναιότερον.

13 § 5 καὶ τοῦτο. Correct to καὶ τούτου. So 1853 ed.

ibidem. ἀντιπαθοῦντες. Arm. συμπαθοῦντες.

13 § 7 γραμμάτων μὲν τῶν πεζῶν. Arm. παιδικῶν for πεζῶν. Latin: puerilium.

13 § 11 διηπείλησε. Arm. adds: "and wrote an account of the evils to come upon them."

13 § 16 ἐξελαύνει τῆς πόλεως. Arm. adds: τοὺς πολλοὺς φονεύων αὐτῶν or similar.

13 § 18 Ἀδαμάντιος δέ. Arm. adds τις αὐτῶν, which is needed.

13 § 21 καταιδέσειν. Arm. καταδήσειν, "to bind," which is technical of an oath.

14 § 2 πεντακοσίους. Arm. 300.

14 § 6 ἐξετάσει αὐτὸν ὑπολαβών. Arm. ἐξ. αὐ. ὑποβαλών, of which Valesius notes: procul dubio scribendum est.

15 § 4 πλέον αὐτὴν ἡδοῦντο. Arm.: πλέον ἐφίλουν αὐτὴν καὶ ἡδ.

15 § 8 τὰ Χριστοῦ. In the Armenian's codex was written τὰ χῦ, which he renders "swiftly," i.e. ταχύ!

16 § 1 Ἵνμεστάρ. Arm. Immon, which also appears in Theophanes. Latin: Mestar.

17 § 2 τῇ Ῥωμαικῇ. Arm. γραμματικῇ.

17 § 3 τοιοῦτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐγὼ κατέλαβον ὄντα. Arm. "For such I found to be his faith."

17 § 6 Arm. mistakes μηκύνειν for μὴ κινεῖν!

17 § 14 Παύλου ἐγένετο. Arm. adds as follows: "But I do not pronounce, but it is incumbent on me to say this much, that he had received from Bishop Atticus true and orthodox baptism, and for that reason God permitted him not to sully the true faith. For of the Arians and Macedonians or of the rest of the heretics, not one has the true faith. So much for that.

But about the same time there took place a persecution of the Christians in Persia by the king there."

18 § 7 Arm. mistakes ἀπολλυμένους for ἀπολυομένους.

18 § 13 οὐχ ὅτε σὺ θέλεις πολεμήσουσι Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς. After πολεμήσουσι Arm. supplies the following omitted through similarity of ending in the Greek:

will make battle the Romans,] but whenever they essay to assist their own side. Narses having learned this informed his king of everything, and forthwith, just as he was, the king of Persia made ready to go forth and engage Ardaburius with

a large force. But] the king of the Romans perceiving the Persian to have got ready with all his hosts, entrusting to God, etc.

The omission made havoc of the Greek text, to repair which a scribe changed βασιλεὺς into βασιλεῖς, inserted δὲ after πάση before which he added a full stop, and added ὁ βασιλεὺς after ἐννοῶν.

18 § 14 πιστεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς. Latin and Arm. add τῷ θεῷ.

ibidem. After γέγονε δῆλον Arm. adds διὰ ταύτην λέγω τὴν αἰτίαν, or similar.

18 § 18 Βαραράνης. Latin Barabanes.

18 § 20 Ῥωμαίους τε. Arm. adds πρεσβεῖς, "ambassadors."

18 § 21 περὶ τὰς δέκα μυριάδας. Latin: plus quam centum millia. So Arm.

18 § 22 ἐπεχώρησαν. Latin: reversi sunt, i.e. ὑπεχώρησαν.

18 § 23 Βιτίανος. So Arm. Latin: Beatianus.

18 § 23 παρεκβαίνειν δοκῶ. Arm. adds: "narrating in detail these things."

20 § 2 Μαξιμῖνον. Arm. and Latin have Maximus.

20 § 4 γνωσθέντα νομίζεσθαι. Arm. γενόμενα νόμ.

20 § 10 πάντες ἐδείχθησαν. Arm. adds: ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ πεσόντες.

20 § 10 ἀπέκτειναν. Arm. adds: "who suffered, harassed with divers tortures"—a gloss.

21 § 1 Arm. reads: τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ κληρικούς. Ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ὁ θεός, so Nicephorus and Latin. Valesius already conjectured this reform.

21 § 3—22 § 5 inclusive is lost in Arm.

22 § 5 Add σὺν before ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς.

22 § 6 ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν. Arm.: ἐκ παλαιῶν γραφῶν.

22 § 7 Arm. has τὸ δὲ ἀνεξίκακον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τίς ἐξηγήσεται; πάντας κτλ.

ibidem. φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγειλάμενος. Arm. adds: "and not to retaliate on anyone."

22 § 8 συλλογισμοῖς. Arm. adds: θεοφιλῆς ἰδίᾳ or similar.

22 § 10 οὐ μέγα ἔφη κτλ. Arm. renders: "It is no great thing nor hard to slay a man; but it is not possible for a man, but only for God, to recall the once dead from repentance, and to make him alive, but only for God who also made man."

22 § 13 τῷ θεῷ ἱερωμένους. Arm. renders θεωρουμένους.

22 § 14 πιστεύσας μεταλαβεῖν. Arm. has πιστ. δῆθεν ὁ θεοφιλῆς Θεοδόσιος μεταλ.—probably a gloss.

22 § 16 τῆς θεᾶς κοινῇ. Arm. "the voice of praise."

22 § 19 ἐκ σιτοδείας. Arm. "by good observance."

ibidem. τοῖς σύμπασιν. Arm. adds: "so much did the king's prayer and the multitude's spontaneous obedience avail, praying to our Lord J. C."—a gloss.

23 § 5 χρῆται τύχῃ καθὼς ἐνομίζετο· ἡ τύχῃ δὲ ὡς ὑστερον ἐδείχθη. Arm. has εὐτυχία for ἡ τύχῃ which is better sense. Valesius rendered as if he read εὐτυχεῖ.

23 § 12 περὶ τὸ θεῖον. Arm. adds φιλίαν καί.

23 § 14 τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου. Arm. adds πάντες.

24 § 1 τίνα τῶν ἐσπερίων. Arm. τίνα ἂν τῶν ἐσπ.

24 § 4 τοῖς τυράννοις ῥαδίως. Arm. renders ῥαδίως "hastily" and adds: "but to stand firm and obey the kings vouchsafed to them by God."

25 § 6 τοῖς οἰκονομοῦσι καλῶς. Arm. adds: "make return unto the needy, remembering the saying of our Saviour Christ, who says: give to all who ask of thee."

25 § 6 θελήσης. Arm. θελήσω.

25 § 7 Arm. renders λογιστεύειν in sense of "to muzzle."

25 § 8 κρυβῆναι. Arm. "to be transferred."

25 § 12 καὶ Στράβων τε. Arm. "and especially Strabo the eloquent."

25 § 13 εὐτερπῇ. Read εὐτερπῇ. So 1853 ed.

25 § 19 ἁμαρτίαι πρὸς θάνατον. Latin: *delicta quae ducunt ad mortem*. So Arm.

ibidem. Arm. excludes πρὸς before τοὺς κληρικούς.

ibidem. συγχώρησιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέποντες. Armenian adds the following:

“Atticus however raised the objection afresh to him, that no other (sin) is unto death of soul and body, save only idolatry and avarice. Avarice to wit, cupidity, this many of your (sect) are found to have. I mean that some (of you) tolerate (*lit.* admit) avarice as being supporters of grandees, while others reject because of fornication; and this when they know it (?), but if not, through forgetfulness; children participate in the divine mysteries, because of reverence on the part of their parents, and husbands by reason of their wives’ modesty, and wives because of their husbands. But mark, as you have said, there is no remission (of sins) unto death among you; but, as I have already said, it is that you are holden by fear and shame of men. And having said this he dismissed Asclepiades, for he had come to visit Atticus.”

The above must have formed an integral part of Socrates’ text. It had already fallen out in the copies used by Nicephorus, and by the Latin translator Epiphanius. The sense is somewhat obscure here and there. The general purport of Atticus’ objections was to shew that the Novatianists were not so strict in practice as the rigour of their canons would lead men to suppose. In practice they admitted to the sacraments not only the avaricious, but fornicators. The clause: “and this when they know it, but if not, then through forgetfulness” seems to cohere with what precedes and not with what follows it. Even if they excluded from the sacraments sinners of these two classes, while their sins were notorious, they nevertheless admitted them later on when their delinquencies were forgotten. Things were allowed to blow over in the Novatianist, no less than in the Catholic churches. The word which I render as “supporters” (of grandees) more usually means “regulators,” “constitutors.”

The rest of the passage seems to mean that children, too young for proper initiation, were admitted to the sacraments

by reason of their parents' piety ; men, who were mortal sinners, because of their wives' good repute, and women by reason of the virtues of their husbands. Without such concessions to human nature, it is difficult to understand how the Puritan Churches could have retained their popularity so late as the age of Socrates.

25 § 20 ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν. Arm. adds εἰ θέλεις. So also Latin : Si vivum me denuo videre desideras.

26 § 3 ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. Arm. adds : "to warm," fovere, perhaps rightly.

27 § 3 τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουλιανοῦ. Arm. adds κατὰ Χριστιανῶν.

27 § 9 οἱ ἰδιῶται μὲν γὰρ τὸ κεκομψευμένον τῆς φράσεως ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν.

ἰδεῖν is strange. Arm. has "to bear," "to tolerate." Nicephorus paraphrases thus : τὸ κομψὸν οὐ συννοῶσι τῆς φράσεως. Perhaps συνιδεῖν was written by Socrates.

28 § 1 Πρόκλον. Arm. adds : "whom I mentioned just now."

29 § 3 εἰς διδασκαλίαν ἔγνωσαν. Arm. adds : "and therefore desired," καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα ἐθέλησαν, which may have fallen out by reason of similar ending ; but Nicephorus had the Greek text as it stands.

29 § 10 ἐπειρᾶτο. Arm. as before mistakes this for ἐπήρετο.

30 § 6 κατὰ τῶν τυράννων. Arm. κατὰ τῶν Οὐννων, of which Valesius, *ex conjectura*, noted : procul dubio scribendum est.

ibidem. Οὐπταρος. Latin : Suptarus.

30 § 7 Βάρβας ὁ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν. Arm. has B. ὁ τῶν Ναυατιανῶν.

ibidem. Arm. has the order : Θεοδοσίου τὸ τρίτον καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον.

31 § 1 καὶ ἄλλως ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἑαυτὸν μισεῖσθαι. Valesius conjectured καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τ. τ. ἐ. μιμεῖσθαι, which is exactly what Arm. involves.

31 § 2 καὶ πειθόμενος τῇ Νέστοριου...ὁρμῇ. Arm. καὶ πυνθόμενος τὴν Ν....ὁρμὴν καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς περὶ Γέρμην. The latter words dropt out through the similar endings ὁρμῇ] [γέρμην. Latin testifies that the text ran as above, for it renders: cognoscens instantiam Nestorii...et ipse etc.

31 § 2 τοῦ Πατριάρχου πρόσταξιν. Arm. τοῦ Π. πρᾶξιν.

32 § 4 μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας, ὡς ἄνθρωπον, χωρίζειν ἐκ τῆς θεότητος.

Arm. has: μηδαμῶς αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας ἄνθρωπον χωρίζειν κτλ., which is clearly right. But Latin: nullatenus eum per dispensationem velut hominem.

ibidem. Arm.: ἐγνώκαμεν Χριστὸν ποτε κατὰ σάρκα.

32 § 6 διαίρεσις. Arm. adds "lawless," ἄνομος.

32 § 9 λόγοις δοθείσιν. Arm. ἐκδοθείσιν, as conjectured by Valesius.

32 § 12 παλαιῶν ἐρμηνεύων. Arm. π. ἐρμηνειῶν. Valesius conjectured ἐρμηνέων. Lat.: antiquorum interpretum. Perhaps we should read ἐρμηνευτῶν.

32 § 15 ὁ λύει. Arm. ὁ χωρίζει. So in § 16 χωρίζειν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

33 § 1 ἀπηνοῦς τοῦ δεσπότητος πειρώμενοι. So Nicephorus and Latin: dominum crudelem experti. But the Arm. shifts the blame on to the barbarous slaves and reads: ἀπειθεῖς τῷ δεσπότητι γενόμενοι.

33 § 5 In the first of the iambics Arm. omits τὰ and in the second with Nicephorus reads τι for ἐν before ναοῖς, so restoring the metre. Nicephorus reads σημεῖα καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα in the first.

33 § 6 ὁ εἰπών. Arm. ὁ εἶπεν.

34 § 3 εἶχε πρὸς αὐτόν. Arm. adds: having a grudge against him because he was brave in speech and ready of answer in his utterances.

34 § 4 θεολογούντων τὸν Χριστόν. Arm. θ. τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

34 § 7 κρίναντες εὐτόνως βλασφημήσαντα. Arm. κρ. αὐτὸν ὡς βλ. So Latin: vindicantes eum velut blasphemantem.

34 § 10 εἰς κοινωνίαν προβᾶσαν. Arm.: εἰς πανουργίαν προβ. or similar. Perhaps κακουργίαν. So Latin: ad quendam perniciem.

34 § 12 τῇ εἰκάδι ὀγδόῃ. Arm.: "on the 22nd."

34 § 14 κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Arm. κατὰ τῆς ἐκ.

35 § 2 After πιστευθέν Arm. intrudes ἐπεχείρει or similar. *ibidem*. Μαξιμιανός. Arm. Maximus.

36 § 1 ἤδη τῆς Κυζίκου ὀνομασθέντα ἐπίσκοπον. Arm. εἰ δὴ for ἤδη. So perhaps Latin: cum Cyzici fuisset ordinatus.

36 § 2 ἡ κατασκεύασθαι. Arm.: ἡ καταψεύσασθαι.

36 § 4 χρεία ἐκάλει. Arm. adds: unto the well doing of the Church.

36 § 5 οἱ τὸν Πρόκλον. Arm. οἱ τότε τὸν Π.

36 § 6 ὁ κανὼν οὗτος. Latin adds: Regula xviii.

36 § 7 Arm. orders: τῆς λειτουργίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς μόνον, μηδὲν κτλ.

36 § 13 Δοσίθεον. Arm. Dorotheum.

ibidem. Arm. Ῥεβερέντιος. Reverentius.

ibidem. εἰς Τύρον. Arm.: "those in Tyre desiring him."

36 § 14 Παλλάδιος. Arm. adds: "having in prayer approached the theotokos Mariam in the island called Artak."

36 § 15 Θεόφιλος. Arm. Θεοσέβιος. So Latin.

ibidem. εἰς Ἀδριανούς. Arm. adds τῆς Φρυγίας.

ibidem. Arm. mistakes Ἀπαμείας for ἀπὸ μιᾶς!

ibidem. Εὐδοξίουπόλιν. Arm. adds τῆς Θράκης.

ibidem. Arm. has Silumbria for Σαλαμβρίαν; Strabo and Stephanus call it Σηλυμβρία.

ibidem. Σεξανταπρίστων. Arm. and Latin: Antapristena.

36 § 16 Ἀγδαμίας. Latin: Argadamia. Arm. Gdaniaios.

37 § 3 τρεῖς ἐνιαυτούς. Arm. δύο ἐν. And adds ὅλους.

37 § 17 ἀπήλασεν. Arm. ἀπήλλασσεν or ἀπήλλαξεν, as conjectured by Valesius.

37 § 18 Σιλβανοῦ. Arm. adds: καὶ ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων.

37 § 19 Μαξιμιανοῦ. Arm. Maximus, as above.

38 Arm. omits this chapter.

39 Μικρὸν δὲ μετὰ τόνδε τὸν χρόνον. Arm.: τότε δὲ.

39 § 7 ὁ σύμπας ἐμπρησμός. Arm. ὁ συμβὰς ἐμπ. which is better; cp. τὸ συμβὰν θαῦμα in § 11.

39 § 11 τῶν Ἑλληνιζόντων οἱ πλείονες. Arm. adds:

"For truly is the spot holy, for the reason that in the persecutions of the orthodox faith by the emperors Constantius and Valens, of all the churches under persecution it remained unsullied by the unholy Arians and Macedoniani. Wherefore then we also together with the Novatiani that are orthodox there send up prayers and adoration to God who loveth mankind—this place of the prayers of the rescuer (*or redeemer*) in the midst of the flaming fire."

Perhaps the open adherence to the Novatianist Church here professed by Socrates led to the excision from his text of the above passage.

40 § 1 πέντε μηνίν. Latin: sex.

40 § 4 τοῦτο γὰρ. Arm. τότε γάρ. Valesius conjectured τούτῳ.

41 § 2 προκόψαντα δὲ αὐτόν. Arm. adds "in literary composition."

41 § 4 πλέον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἐξήσκησεν.

Some MSS. have πλ. ἢν ἐκ. εἶχεν. Arm. involves πλέον ἢ ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν.

41 § 5 τούτῳ δέ. Arm. omits δέ. Valesius conjectured δῆ.

42 § 2 ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως. Arm. involves διὰ Μωϋσέως. Valesius suggested περὶ.

43 § 6 Πρόκλος. Arm. Κύριλλος.

43 § 8 Arm. reads ἐπὶ ἄρχοντα Μισόχι, omitting Γώγ and Ῥώς.

43 § 9 μεγαλυνθήσομαι. Arm. adds: "and I will be holy,"
ἀγιασθήσομαι.

43 § 10 Πρόκλος. Arm. Κύριλλος.

45 § 2 ἐν Κομόνοις. Arm. adds τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου.

45 § 4 πεισθέντες οὖν. Arm. has "gladdened."

45 § 6 διήνεγκεν. Arm. "continued," διετέλεσεν.

45 § 7 οὐ διαφεύγει. Arm. adds: "being well aware that
envy can work many ills, but love towards God with virtue
knoweth how to prevent envy and the scandals which arise
therefrom, and renders more illustrious also them that per-
severe in the love and salvation of the Lord."

46 § 1 Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας. Arm. adds ἐπίσκοπος
which is needed.

46 § 9 ἀπεδήμει δὲ τηνικαῦτα. Arm. adds: "in Tiberias
of Phrygia," perhaps an inference on the translator's part from
§ 13 below.

46 § 10 τάδε ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν. Arm. "he said this
appointing him for the task."

ibidem. παρακαταθήκην. Arm. διαθήκην.

46 § 12 τρίτῃ οὖν. Arm. "on the second."

46 § 13 μίαν καὶ εἰκάδα. Arm. "thirty-first."

47 § 2 καὶ γὰρ αὐτήν. Arm. αὐτή. So Latin: hoc enim
et ipsa etc.

ibidem. ἐπόψηται. Arm. adds: "and if she were given to
Valentinus whom the emperor had appointed to the western
regions."

47 § 3 ποικίλως. Arm.: "with divers buildings."

ibidem. ἐπανιούσα. Arm. adds: "she liberally distributed
rations in the name of the poor, until she obtained and was
held worthy of homage, of all holinesses, and returned."

48 § 4 χειρίσας ἀρχήν. Arm. ἐγχειρίσας ἀρχήν. So
Latin: praefecturam Illyrici administraverat.

48 § 6 ἠνυπορήσαμεν. Arm. wrongly: ἡπορήσαμεν.

ibidem. προήρηντο. Arm. adds: μὴ συναψάντες τὸ ἔργον,
or similar.

ON SOME ANCIENT PLANT-NAMES. II.

10. ὄζαινίτις. Plin. *N. H.* 12. 42.

This is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. Pliny after describing nard adds 'alterum ejus genus apud Gangen nascens damnatur in totum ozænitidos nomine, virus redolens.' Liddell and Scott following Valpy's Stephanus invent an adjective ὄζαινίτης, of which they make ὄζαινίτις the feminine, and define it to mean 'smelling like an ὄζαινα, name of a plant.' They explain ὄζαινα itself as (i) a fetid polypus in the nose: (ii) a strong-smelling sea-polypus. Pliny was acquainted with both meanings. In *N. H.* 24. 113, he speaks of 'tætra oris ulcera et ozænas' and in 25. 165 of their treatment. In *N. H.* 9. 89 we have, 'polyporum generis est ozæna dicta a gravi capitis odore, ob hoc maxime murenis eam consectantibus.' Gravis is a favourite word with Pliny and by no means in the sense of offensive; thus we have of wormwood, habrotonum odore jucunde gravi, *N. H.* 21. 60. As a matter of fact the 'sea-polypus' has been identified with a sea-cuttlefish, *Eledone moschata*, presumably smelling of musk. It could not have been very offensive as Aristotle calls it ὄζολις, and Aristophanes ὀσμύλη.

The strength of Pliny's language confirms the generally accepted opinion that it was the first meaning he had in view. It may be remarked that Liddell and Scott are in error in describing ὄζαινα as a nasal polypus. Galen distinctly says it was not. It was in fact an ulceration of the ethmoid bone, the revolting effect of which is amply described by the ancient medical writers. ὄζαινα and cognate words came to be proverbial for something intolerably offensive.

Nard itself was an odoramentum collected in the Himalaya. The plant yielding it belongs to the Valerian family; it was

costly and other Valerians both European and Indian supplied cheaper substitutes. One of these was Celtic nard (*Valeriana celtica*) a native of Styria whence it is still exported to Turkey and the East; it is the *saliunca* of Vergil (*Buc.* 5. 17). It is practically certain that ὄζαινίτις was some Indian Valerian used as a nard-substitute. It must be admitted that the Valerian-odour does not appeal to the modern sense of smell. Yet this is a long way from the horrible suggestion implied by Pliny. One may well look therefore for some more plausible explanation.

We may clear the ground by discarding the non-existent ὄζαινίτης. We have then only ὄζαινίτις to deal with. The first thing that suggests itself is that this is in form a female plant-appellative containing a place-name. We have an example in ἡ καλουμένη βάτος Μοσυλίτις, *Diosc.* 1. 13, the name of a kind of *κασσία*. It is a well-known fact, scarcely needing illustration, that trade-products often take their name, not from their place of origin, but from the entrepôt whence they pass into commerce. That this explains Μοσυλίτις is clear from Pliny, *N. H.* 6. 174, *promunturium et portus Mossylites, quo cinnamum devehitur*.

The *Periplus M. R.* § 48 gives the clue. It records the πόλις λεγομένη Ὀζήνη and continues, *κατάγεται δὲ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἡ...καταφερομένη νάρδος*, and then enumerates the various sorts of which, as of other drugs, it was the entrepôt. It is the modern Ujain, in the State of Gwalior, and now the centre of the opium trade. Some sort of a fully-flavoured nard would find its way westward from it as ὄζηνίτις and someone would hazard the etymology which Pliny accepts with horror.

11. ἐλαίαγνος, *Theophr. H. P.* 4. 10. 2.

Theophrastus was essentially a naturalist; he observes and his conclusions are based on what he has seen. Later science has added to them, but does not disturb their validity. Thus he was the founder of Œcology, the branch of Botany which studies plants in relation to their physical environment. He

lays down the principle:—*διαίρειν δὲ χρή καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, οἷον εἰ τὰ μὲν ἔλεια τὰ δὲ λιμναῖα τὰ δὲ ποτάμια μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ κοινὰ πάντων τῶν τόπων*, *H. P.* 4. 10. 1. Yet it was not till the latter half of the last century that any progress has been made in the detailed study of the subject.

Theophrastus saw that plants widely differing in habit are grouped in what are now called 'Formations.' These are communities, the individuals of which are satisfied by particular local conditions. The commonest of these are wetness and dryness: Theophrastus anticipated the modern distinction into hygrophilous and xerophilous:—*διαίρειν δὲ καὶ ποῖα ταῦτὰ ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ καὶ τῷ ξηρῷ φύεται*.

As an illustration of a hygrophilous formation, he studies the vegetation of Lake Copais. Among the plants he enumerates is *ἐλαίαγνος*. Probably in his time, as now, the lake was drained in summer and only filled with water in winter and spring. One result would be that, as in other cases, soil with vegetation attached would be lifted from the bottom or detached from the sides and form floating islands; on these the *ἐλαίαγνος* grew:—*φύεται δὲ ὁ πλείστος μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων νήσων*, *H. P.* 4. 10. 2.

What was it? Liddell and Scott have, 'a Bœotian marsh-plant, perhaps *myrica*, *sweet gale* (diff. from *μυρίκη*).' Now *μυρίκη* or *myrica* is tamarisk, and it was certainly not that. Nor was it sweet-gale, *Myrica Gale* (Linnæus in his arbitrary fashion having applied the name to a plant of different affinity), for this is only northern and unknown in the South.

The name itself occurs nowhere but in this passage in Theophrastus; one may conjecture that it was a local name just as *σίδη*, which he also mentions with it, was for *νυμφαία*. But according to Stephanus, in its currently accepted form, it was due to Marcellus. Apparently he thought it was a kind of *ἄγνος*, *Vitex Agnus-castus*, with which it can have no affinity or relationship. For *ἄγνος* proper had *φύλλα ὥσπερ ἐλαίας*, *Diosc.* 1. 103; but Theophrastus is careful to say that *ἐλαίαγνος* had *φύλλον...μαλακὸν δὲ ὥσπερ αἱ μηλέαι καὶ χνοῶδες*. As Stephanus acutely points out it is what Pliny, *N. H.* 24. 59, had in view by his second kind of

agnus, 'minor ramosa, foliis candidioribus, lanuginosis.' It is abundantly clear that it had no sort of resemblance either to ἄγνος or the olive.

Bodæus, 461, pointed out as long ago as 1644 that the true form of the name was ἐλέαγνος which is preserved by Hesychius and is given as an alternative by Liddell and Scott without the aspirate. It is simply agnus palustris; as Theophrastus says, φύσει μὲν θαμνώδες καὶ παρόμοιον τοῖς ἄγνοις. Bodæus identifies the plant without difficulty as a willow. It was a dwarf shrub or a floating island would not have carried it; ἄνθος δὲ τῷ τῆς λεύκης ὅμοιον ἔλαττον, it had catkins like the white poplar only smaller. When mature these liberate the white fluffy seeds; the shrub covered with them might well suggest a lamb. It was in fact our common goat-willow, *Salix Caprea*. In Devon it is called lamb's-tails from the catkins. The rustic mind works in such matters everywhere alike.

12. βύσσος, Paus. 5. 5. 2.

This passage is credited with having given rise to "enormous controversy"; it may argue some temerity to attempt finally to dispose of it. But from a botanical point of view there is little difficulty.

In the plant-materials of textiles there is a sharp contrast between the West and the East. In the former from pre-historic times the stems of plants yielded bast-fibres which were extracted by maceration; such were flax and hemp of which only the former was available for a fine fabric. Muslins and cotton-cloths were even finer and found their way from India; for these the material was the long hairs which clothe the seeds of the cotton plant. Silken tissues woven from the unwound thread of the cocoon of a moth came by the same trade route but from farther China. The silk-worm itself did not reach Europe till the time of Justinian. But the cocoon of a large moth in the island of Cos supplied a substitute.

Pausanias states, 6. 26. 6, that at Elis, τὴν μὲν δὴ κανναβίδα καὶ λίνον καὶ τὴν βύσσον σπείρουσιν; he clearly distinguishes βύσσος and λίνον. In 5. 5. 2 he gives further particulars of

βύσσος; ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φύεται, and λεπτότητος μὲν ἔνεκα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ τῆς Ἑβραίων, ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ξανθή.

βύσσος is a loan-word from Semitic, būṣ, but its philology does not help as to its precise meaning (*Encycl. Bibl.* 2800). It is however pretty clear that it was applied generally to any fine textile material including silk. σινδὼν βυσσίνη Hdt. 2. 86, mummy cloth, was as a fact made of linen. It is true that Pliny, *N. H.* 19. 14, describes the existence of a cotton plant in Upper Egypt and says 'vestes inde sacerdotibus Ægypti gratissimæ'; but the statement is destitute of archaeological probability or confirmation. The Greeks knew of the cotton-plant in India and Arabia ἐξ οὗ τὰς σινδόνας ὑφαίνουσι (Theophr. *H. P.* 4. 7. 8). Joret (*Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, ii. 354) is probably right in seeing in σινδόνας βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι, Hdt. 7. 181, the use of muslin or cotton-cloth by the Persians.

The Flax plant as we have it, *Linum usitatissimum*, is an annual plant, apparently of West Asiatic origin and only known elsewhere in the cultivated state. De Candolle traces its home to the area South of the Caucasus (*Géogr. Bot.* 835) whence it was carried West to Syria and Egypt and East to India. The Hebrews and Egyptians had the practical monopoly of the manufacture of linen, while the natives of India only grew flax as an oil-seed.

But Europe had its own indigenous flax, a perennial species, *Linum angustifolium*, and in the prehistoric age this supplied a textile material. It finds its Eastern limit in Syria and it seems reasonable to suppose that it was used by the Hebrews till displaced by the more robust and more readily cultivated Caucasian plant.

The use of the prehistoric perennial flax lingers in Siberia (*Kew Bulletin*, 1890, 106). According to Halácsy it still grows at Elis. It may be identified with some certainty as the βύσσος of Pausanias; its cultivation and use would be an archaic survival. It is to be noticed that Pausanias uses βύσσος both of the plant and of its product and contrasts the latter with the βύσσος Ἑβραίων which of course was

ordinary 'flax' the product of *λίνον*. Pliny (*N. H.* 19. 20) adds another particular:—*quaternis denariis scripula ejus* [sc. *byssini lini*]. *permutata quondam ut auri reperio*. This is paralleled by the fact that Siberian flax as sold in Petrograd is 'more expensive'; in either case the explanation is probably that the preparation is more laborious. It is further to be noticed that the Siberian product is distinguished 'by its whiteness and softness' which again fits in with the account of Pausanias.

Liddell and Scott state that *βύσσος* was 'also used of *silk*, which was supposed to be a kind of cotton, *τὰ Σηρικὰ ἐκ τινῶν φλοιῶν ξαινομένης βύσσου*, Strabo 693.' But this cannot be sustained; what Strabo means is that silk was combed from some bark, in other words that like flax it was technically a bast-fibre. But Pausanias knew better; *τὰς ἐσθῆτας ποιοῦσιν οἱ Σῆρες, ἀπὸ οὐδενὸς φλοιοῦ*. Taking the passage as a whole, the implication is that though *βύσσος* was a bast-fibre, silk was not.

13. *κερασκόμη*, Pseud. Diosc. 3. 52.

Liddell and Scott cite this as a name for the parsnip; they were doubtless misled by the Latin *pastinaca*. But the word itself is a scribal invention. This would only be a lexicographical matter were it not that some other points of interest are involved.

The passage may be quoted:—*σταφυλῖνος ἄγριος, οἱ δὲ κέρας* [*οἱ δὲ κέρας κόμην καλοῦσιν*] *Ῥωμαῖοι καρώταμ, οἱ δὲ παστινάκα ρούστικα* (Wellmann's recension). The last synonym is confirmed by Pliny *N. H.* 25. 112, *simile staphylino, quod pastinacam erraticam appellat*, and by Columella, 9. 4, *agrestis pastinaca et ejusdem nominis edomita quam Græci σταφυλῖνον vocant*. *Σταφυλῖνος* was the Carrot, *Daucus Carota*, which the Romans called *pastinaca*.

So useful an esculent would not escape a vulgar name and *κέρας* is appropriate enough. Appuleius has *ceras* = *pastinaca*. *κέρας κόμη* is explained by Salmasius, 704 c, as originating in *κόμη* being a gloss on *κέρας* 'additum a Græculo,' and after-

wards incorporated in the text; Wellmann accepts this. The only authority for the equation κέρας = κόμη which is not found in modern lexicons is Il. 11. 385, κέρα ἀγλαέ. Salmasius supports a similar sense of cornu by Juv. 13, 165, madido torquentem cornua cirro. Whether sustainable or not is immaterial for the present purpose; it is sufficient that such a view was held by the ancient commentators. Cowper rendered κέρα ἀγλαέ by 'man of curls' as an appellation of contempt.

Κερασκόμιον is also given by Liddell and Scott as a synonym of οἰνάνθη, Ps. Diosc. 3. 120. This was primarily the inflorescence of the wild vine, *Vitis silvestris*, Diosc. 5. 4, used for the ἔλαιον οἰνάνθινον in Cyprus. In Diosc. 3. 120 it is our dropwort, *Spiraea Filipendula*, the flowers of which had a similar odour, 'odor idem...inde nomen,' Plin. *N. H.* 21. 65. But κερασκόμιον is merely a f. l. in Sprengel, Diosc. vol. 1. 468, for κερασκόμην which Wellmann again rejects for κέρας. The root however does not justify the name, for it has κεφαλὰς πλείονας στρογγύλας, many round tubers. But it has φύλλα ὥσπερ σταφυλίνος and it may be conjectured that κέρας was a gloss on this.

Apicius gives Carota, whence we derive carrot, as a synonym of pastinaca. But this must be a loan-word from Greek καρωτόν which is now restored in Ath. 371 E from Diphilus, μέγας καὶ εὐαυξὴς σταφυλίνος; Casaubon read κάρτον, but this was tonsile porrum, the cropped leaves of the leek. The New English Dictionary suggests a derivation from κάρᾱ, but this is unconvincing. One would like if it were possible to find one from Attic κέρας, κέρᾱτος. But it is probably allied to καρῶ, the caraway, which yielded in cultivation a root ἐδώδιμος ὥσπερ σταφυλίνος, Diosc. 3. 57. It may be noted that Galen, *Alim.* 2. 67, remarks εὐχυμότερός γε μὴν ἔστιν ἢ κάρους [sc. ῥίζα] τοῦ σταφυλίνου.

14. βίβλος, Theophr. 4. 8. 4.

The manufacture of writing material from the papyrus-plant is now thoroughly understood. But this was not the case till recently and the statements about it, those of Hehn

for example, showed a complete misapprehension of the botanical facts. From that point of view it may be useful to examine some of the passages relating to papyrus.

We may begin with Theophrastus who within the limits of his knowledge is always exact. He tells us, *H. P.* 4. 8. 4, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ πάπυρος πρὸς πλείστα χρήσιμος· καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα ποιοῦσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου ἰστία τε πλέκουσι καὶ ψιᾶθους καὶ ἐσθῆτά τινα καὶ στρωμνὰς καὶ σχοινία τε καὶ ἕτερα πλείω. This is translated by Pliny, *N. H.* 13. 72, ex ipso quidem papyro navigia texunt et e libro vela tegetesque, necnon et vestem, etiam stragula ac funes. This gives us the equation βίβλος = liber.

The papyrus-plant, *Cyperus Papyrus*, is a gigantic sedge¹ with stems triangular in section; these consist of pith surrounded by a thin, rather brittle, weakly fibrous and inseparable rind or cortex, the βίβλος. This remained as a waste-product when the pith had been cut into thin strips which when glued together and dried formed the writing material.

But besides the rind the slender tops of the stems were also useless for making papyrus. Pliny, *N. H.* 13. 76, has a rather obscure statement, post hanc papyrum est extremumque ejus scirpo simile, ac ne funibus quidem nisi in umore utile, the meaning of which has been differently construed. But extremum is fixed by scirpo simile, rush-like. We may conclude therefore that the slender tops were used for making rough hawsers which only preserved their tenacity if kept in water: it is obvious that they could not be used for rigging. This perhaps throws light on a passage in Theophrastus, *H. P.* 4. 8. 4. He says that the Papyrus γίνεται καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ; it must have been introduced there early and still grows in the Jordan valley. He adds ὅθεν καὶ Ἀντίγονος εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐποιεῖτο τὰ σχοινία.

It is well known that the πλοῖα were simply rafts of papyrus stems tied together; thus Lucan, 4. 136, conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro. It is physically impossible that anything but the rind could have been used for the other purposes except the σχοινία. It could be split into strips of

¹ In Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities it is called 'the papyrus-tree'!

varying size and woven into a rough fabric or a coarse matting. The fabric, and not as Maclean seems to think an inferior writing material, supplied clothing to the Egyptian peasant; *succinctus patria...papyro*, Juv. 4. 24. The matting was used for sails, *ιστίοισι βυβλίνοισι* Hdt. 2. 96, which shows that *βίβλος* and *βύβλος* are the same word. But they were only available for light river craft; the *navium armamenta* of sea-going ships were made of flax (Plin. *N. H.* 19. 25) and Hermippus describes Egypt as supplying the world.

The economic argument is equally strong. The papyrus-plant was brought from Nubia to Egypt where the primary purpose of its cultivation was the production of writing material; when its cultivation ceased it disappeared. Wilkinson remarks (*Anc. Egypt.* 2. 121) that, except of course incidentally, "it cannot have been employed for so many purposes, the cultivation being limited and a government monopoly."

Pliny tells us (*N. H.* 13. 69) in *palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum, dein quarundum arborum libris*. It seems incontestable that whether in Greek, *βίβλος*, or in Latin, *liber*, 'bark' passed into 'book.' *βύβλων ἐργαστικάι*, Plat. *Polit.* 288 E, refers, as Liddell and Scott are no doubt right in stating, to 'bark' and not to papyrus which was not a Greek industry.

ὄπλον βύβλινον, *Od.* 21. 390, must be considered. It may be inferred from Pliny that Papyrus rope had little tensile strength as it required to be kept wet. Eustathius probably knowing this scouts the idea that the Homeric *ὄπλον* was made from *πάπυρος*. He adds, *οἱ δὲ καννάβινον ἕτεροι δὲ, τὸ ἐκ φιλύρας*; neither source is probable. A more likely material would be supplied by the date-palm; the sheathing bases of the leaves break up into a coarse fibre and this would be looked upon as a bark or *βίβλος*. Palms have no separable bark or *φλοιός*; when Theophrastus, *H. P.* 1. 5. 2, calls *φοῖνιξ, τραχύφλοιος*, he could only have in mind the persistent bases of the leaves. Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* 29, can have meant nothing else; *πλέκουσι [δίκτυα] ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ τῶν φοινίκων στρέφοντες τὸν φλοιὸν ὥσπερ λίνον*. According to Wilkinson ropes made from date-fibre have been found in Egyptian tombs, and though the date was only grown exceptionally in Greece,

the use of such rope, probably imported from Egypt, was known to the Greeks; Græcos ad funes usos...palmarum foliis (Plin. *N. H.* 19. 31). Still more incredible is the supposition that the ὄπλα βύβλινα, Hdt. 7. 25, with which Xerxes bridged the Hellespont could have been made from papyrus. They must have been gigantic cables which from the calculation of W. Leaf (*Troy*, 370) were a mile and a third long. It may be conjectured with some certainty that they were made of palm-fibre and obtained from Egypt.

Papyrus the name of the plant was applied by metonymy to its products, writing material and matting; conversely βύβλος its cortex was used for the plant πάπυρος. βύβλος στεφανωτρίς was not, as Liddell and Scott suppose, 'another plant' but merely the flowering head of the papyrus. This is clear from Pliny, *N. H.* 13. 71, thyrsi modo cacumen includens, nullo semine aut usu ejus alio quam floris ad deos coronandos.

15. περσέα, Theophr. *H. P.* 4. 2. 5.

Three plants, papyrus, nelumbium and perseæ, were foreign to Egypt. They were cultivated, played an important part in ancient Egyptian life and disappeared from the country when that life decayed. Though its fruit was edible, the main use of perseæ was ritualistic. For its 'Egyptology' reference may be made to De Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, 2. 284; Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der Gr. Mythologie*, 74; and Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, 321. The last enumerates the various attempts which have been made to identify it botanically. Of these the most recent and most certain is that of Schweinfurth who has found the material of wreaths of perseæ from tombs to be derived from *Mimusops Schimperii*, a tree native of Abyssinia. Liddell and Scott have 'a kind of Egyptian tree with the fruit growing from the stem' which points to some confusion with the sycamore.

But although the identity of περσέα is now settled, the problem still remains which perplexed antiquity. It makes its first appearance in Dioscorides, 1. 129: περσαία δένδρον ἐστὶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ...τοῦτο δὲ ἰστόρησάν τινες ἐν Περσίδι ἀναιρετικὸν εἶναι, μετατιθὲν δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀλλοιωθῆναι

καὶ ἐδώδιμον γενέσθαι. Paulus Aegineta also has *περσαία* with the same statement as Dioscorides that it was an Egyptian tree the leaves of which were a remedy for hæmorrhage. But he drops the story as to its origin. This survived as late as Galen (*Alim.* 2. 36) who repeats it without comment beyond saying that he had seen the tree at Alexandria.

The problem then is to account for the myth that *persea* was of Persian origin and originally poisonous; certainly neither statement has any foundation in fact. The scholiast on Nicander (*Ther.* 764) gives the current belief as to its real native country which we now know to be the true one: *τὴν δὲ περσείαν φασίν, ἣν ῥοδακινέαν καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον μεταφυτευθῆναι*, and he then adds what apparently is the earliest version of the myth. *Βῶλος δὲ ὁ Δημοκρίτειος ἐν τῷ περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν Πέρσας φησὶν ἔχοντας παρ' ἑαυτοῖς θανάσιμον φυτὸν φυτεῦσαι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὡς πολλῶν μελλόντων ἀναιρεθῆσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀγαθὴν οὔσαν εἰς τοῦναντίον μεταβαλεῖν ποιῆσαί τε τὸ φυτὸν καρπὸν γλυκύτατον.*

Nicander himself, *Alex.* 100–2, gives another myth about the *περσεία*—*Περσεὺς ἦν... ῥεῖα Μυκηναίῃσιν ἐνῆξεν ἀρούραις*. But Theophrastus only speaks of it as *ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ* and there is no evidence that it ever crossed the Mediterranean, or that any Greek or Roman had ever seen the tree unless in Egypt. We learn from Theophrastus, *C. P.* 2. 3. 7, that an attempt had been made to introduce it into the island of Rhodes but it failed as it became sterile; *ἄκαρπα δὲ γίνεται καθάπερ ἡ περσεά ἡ αἰγυπτία περὶ Ῥόδον*. Murr, *l.c.* p. 75, suggests probably enough that Nicander has confused Mycene with Memphis.

The *Persea* produces a plum-like fruit though its botanical affinity is widely remote from that of any plum. The scholiast was evidently quite ignorant of what *περσεά* really was and thought it was the peach which is what he meant by *ῥοδακινέα*.

But the peach did not come from Ethiopia and only towards the Christian era found its way westward through Persia from China. It was called (as well as the Citron) *περσικὸν μῆλον* and, as *persica* in Latin, promptly became confounded with

persea. The supposed original poisonous properties of the latter were transferred to the peach. Thus, Columella, 10. 405 et seq.

pomis, quæ barbara Persis
miserat, ut fama est, patriis armata venenis,
ac nunc expositi parvo discrimine lethi
ambrosios præbent succos, oblita nocendi.
quin etiam ejusdem gentis de nomine dicta
exiguo properant mitescere Persica malo.

Daubeny, who was more chemist than botanist, enquires (*Rom. Husbandry*, 258) 'could this mistake arise from a knowledge of the poisonous properties of the prussic acid existing in the kernels of the peach?' A serious answer is scarcely needful. Pliny (*N. H.* 15. 45) explodes the story: *falsum est [persica] venenata cum cruciatu in Persis gigni et pœnarum causa ab regibus translata in Ægyptum terra mitigata. id enim de Persea diligentiores tradunt, quæ in totum alia est... nec extra orientem nasci voluit.* And he proceeds to give us some interesting information (*l.c.* 46): *eam quoque eruditiores negaverunt ex Perside propter supplicia translata, sed a Perseo Memphi satam, et ob id Alexandrum illa coronari victores ibi instituisse in honorem atavi sui.*

The poets kept the myth of Perseus; thus Callimachus quoted by the scholiast on Nicander, *Alex.* 101: *καὶ τριτάτῃ Περσῆος ἐπώνυμος, ἧς ὀρόδαμνον | Αἰγύπτῳ κατέπηξεν*; this gives the traditional etymology. But the 'eruditiores' abandoned the myth. Diodorus Siculus, 1. 34, gives a more prosaic story: *καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν ὀνομαζόμεναι περσαῖαι καρπὸν διάφορον ἔχουσι τῇ γλυκύτητι, μετενεχθέντος ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ὑπὸ Περσῶν τοῦ φυτοῦ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Καμβύσης ἐκράτησεν ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων.* This may well be historical though there appears to be some evidence that remains of persea have been found in Egyptian tombs of a far earlier date. But if the Persians brought it to Egypt the belief would easily arise that it was a native of Persia. They are credited with the introduction of Nelumbium into Egypt; it is an Asiatic plant nowhere native of Africa (cf. Woenig, *l.c.* 45).

It may be concluded that persea really meant the Persian

tree. For Theophrastus in stating that it was sterile in the island of Rhodes calls it *περσέα* in *C. P.* 2. 3. 7 and *τὸ πέρσιον* in *H. P.* 2. 2. 10. Pliny reproduces both as *persica arbor* (*N. H.* 15. 45; 16. 111).

Three passages in Athenæus relate to *πέρσεα* and deal with matters of fact and not with myth. They have been much discussed and require examination. As long as the identity of *περσέα* was only conjectural its result could only be uncertain.

Posidonius who lived in the 1st century B.C. states, *Ath.* 649 D, *φέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ πέρσειον ἢ Ἀραβία καὶ ἡ Συρία καὶ τὸ καλούμενον βιστάκιον*. Joret (*Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, 2. 76) first corrected *πέρσειον* to *περσικόν* but abandoned this at the suggestion of Schweinfurth who amended the passage by omitting the last *καί*. Joret then translates it:—‘l’Arabie produit aussi le *πέρσειον* (perseae) et la Syrie le soi-disant *βιστάκιον* (pistachier).’ This is in agreement with the botanical facts. For Schweinfurth in 1891 had announced the discovery of *Mimusops Schimperii* in Southern Arabia and had used it in support of a supposed racial migration from that country into the Nile Valley (cf. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 35). But as the tree is undoubtedly native in Abyssinia this does not carry much weight; the Flora of Western Arabia is essentially African. But the existence of *περσέα* in South Arabia emphasizes the fact that it was semi-tropical: it reached its climatic limit at Memphis and failed to establish itself spontaneously when its culture was abandoned.

Athenæus 649 A also cites from Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεύς a list of *τραγήματα* which includes according to the early texts *περσία*, *μηλέα*. Casaubon printed the passage as prose, but Salmasius, 427 E, apparently discovered that it was in verse and remarks with his usual vigour: ‘male legitur *περσία*, quod versus respuit’; he then restores the line:—

Ἴσχας, ἄπιος, πέρσεια, μῆλ', ἀμύγδαλα

which Kaibel adopts. Salmasius adds, ‘ubi τὰ πέρσεια sunt mala Persica.’ He discusses the whole perseae problem at

enormous length (pp. 427—429) but he is mostly 'bombinans in vacuo' for want of a botanical standpoint. I must confess to some uncertainty as to his conclusion but suppose him to mean that Clearchus intended the peach. He thinks that this was 'temporibus Theophrasti passim in Græcia' though he admits there is not a particle of evidence to support it.

Liddell and Scott cite *πέρσειον* from Clearchus as the fruit of *περσέα*. But this cannot be sustained. If the tree failed in cultivation in Rhodes, it would not succeed in Cilicia. And it is in the highest degree improbable that the fruit was imported from Egypt. Further Clearchus is said to have been a pupil of Aristotle and therefore was a contemporary of Theophrastus who could not be ignorant of the use of persea-fruit by the Greeks as a *τράγημα* if it were a fact. A simple solution is to suppose that Clearchus intended the Citron, the *τὸ μῆλον τὸ μηδικὸν ἢ τὸ περσικόν* of Theophrastus, *H. P.* 4. 4. 2. Like all its tribe the Citron travels well and we know from Antiphanes (*Ath.* 84 B), who speaks of it as an *ὄψον*, that it was brought overland from Persia to Greece:—

νεωστὶ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτ' ἀφιγμένον
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

I venture to take the words *πέρσεια μῆλα* together; for *μηλέα*, the apple, is a native of Pontus and I know of no evidence of its growing in Cilicia.

The last reference to persea in Athenæus (198 B) is not of much importance or of interest except for the ingenious deduction which Murr has drawn from it. A procession organized by Antiochus Epiphanes contained a female performer who is thus described:—*φέρουσα τῇ μὲν μιᾷ τῶν χειρῶν στέφανον περσαίας, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ ῥάβδον φοίνικος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὕτη Πεντετηρίς*. Murr's comment (*l.c.* 75) is, 'dass die Früchte des Baumes fünfkantig sind, wodurch es erklärlich wird.' But he has got hold of a long discarded identification and his ingenuity is on the wrong track. The personification was of a quinquennium or lustrum. The palm was reminiscent of the Delia held every five years, and the persea of the crown founded by Alexander at Memphis.

If as seems probable persea was sometimes called, though erroneously, τὸ πέρσιον [φυτόν] it might easily be confused with another πέρσιον which was θανάσιμον, especially if both were imperfectly known. Sprengel (*Diosc.* vol. 2. 424) long ago suggested that this was the case. Dioscorides in fact gives us (4. 73) στρύχνον μανικόν, δ' ἔνιοι πέρσειον (πέρσιον in some MSS.); he borrows his description from the μανικός of Theophrastus, *H. P.* 9. 11. 6. But Sprengel failed in a convincing identification of the plant. This De Candolle (*Géogr. Bot. Rais.* 2. 731) points out had been effected by Fabius Columna as long ago as 1592 (*Φυτοβάσανος*, 46); it is the thorn-apple, *Datura Stramonium*. But De Candolle missed the light it threw on the persea-problem.

The thorn-apple is a native of the countries bordering the Caspian whence it has spread eastward to India and westward to Europe. In India it is the commonest poison for criminal purposes. In moderate doses it is a narcotic. It may be conjectured that Nicander's ἦν πέρσειον ἔπουσιν (*Alex.* 429) which was apparently an ingredient in a sedative application was thorn-apple, though the scholiast has nothing to say about it.

The upshot is that there were two plants which probably enough the Persians had a hand in bringing to Egypt: the πέρσιον θανάσιμον and the πέρσιον ἐδώδιμον. Popular usage thought that identity in name implied an actual one. It is a common pitfall in Greek botany. Cedar and Citron in a reverse way got the same name from a common use.

A story told by Galen, 11. 681, lends some support to the identification of πέρσιον with thorn-apple. He examined a plant, ὃν ἐκατόνταρχός τις ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Αἴγυπτον βαρβάρου χώρας ἐκόμισεν. οὕτως δ' ἦν βαρὺς καὶ ἀηδὴς τὴν ὁσμὴν ὡς μηδὲ γεένεσθαι τολμᾶν, ἀλλ' εἰκάζειν θανάσιμον ὑπάρχειν. It has never been identified, but could only be *Hyoscyamus muticus*, a Solanaceous plant nearly related to the thorn-apple. Campbell Thompson met with it in the Sinatic Desert, *Pilgrim's Scrip*, 165, and states that it was known to the Babylonians as producing madness. Schweinfurth gives tatoûrah as its Arabic name and datoûrah as that of thorn-apple. Galen

says ὄνομα τῆς βοτάνης...λυκοπέρσιον ἔφασκεν εἶναι. Both Greeks and Arabs had therefore a common name for the two plants; the prefix λυκο- is probably intensive.

16. ἀφάρκη, Theophr. *H. P.* 1. 9. 3.

This is the name of a native Greek tree which occurs six times in Theophrastus and is quoted once by Pliny as *apharce*, *N. H.* 13. 121. Beyond this we have nothing. Its identity has never been ascertained. It invites an attempt.

In *H. P.* 1. 9. 3 it is grouped with κόμαρος and ἀνδράχλη; all three occurred wild, ἀγρία, and were evergreen, αἰφύλλα. As to the two former there can be no doubt; κόμαρος was *Arbutus Unedo*, the Strawberry-tree, and its fruit was μιμαί-κυλον; ἀνδράχλη was *Arbutus Andrachne*. Both ἀνδράχλη and ἀφάρκη were ὀρεινά, *H. P.* 3. 3. 1, and so as a matter of fact is κόμαρος.

Theophrastus was himself evidently a little perplexed about ἀφάρκη. He says that it and ἀνδράχλη put out fresh leaves simultaneously, *H. P.* 3. 4. 2. While κόμαρος produced good charcoal, ἀφάρκη was used εἰς τὸ καλεῖν. The crucial fact about it is that it was δίκαρπος, *H. P.* 3. 4. 4, that is, that it shared the almost unique peculiarity of the Strawberry-tree and carried the fruit of one year while flowering in the next. This fixes it as an *Arbutus*. But there are only two species in Greece and they are both provided with names. The difficulty would be insoluble but for the closer knowledge we now possess of the Greek flora. The two species cross readily in our nurseries and the hybrid is found to occur on the Greek mountains. It has distinctive characters from either parent and we may therefore safely conclude that ἀφάρκη was *Arbutus hybrida*.

17. τὸ τοῦ βολβοῦ κώδυνον, Theophr. *H. P.* 6. 8. 1.

Theophrastus in describing the flowering time of various conspicuous plants adds after the anemone, καὶ τὸ τοῦ βολβοῦ κώδυνον· ἐμπλέκουσι γὰρ ἔνιοι καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους. What he meant has never been clearly ascertained and the difficulty is not diminished by Pliny's version of the passage

(*N. H.* 21. 64) 'anemone; est autem haec silvestrium bulborum flos.' It is true that an anemone springs from a tuberous root which would be a *βολβός*; but this was also *κατ' ἐξοχήν* the name of a frequent Greek plant, a Grape-hyacinth, *Muscari comosum* the bulb of which was, and still is, a common article of food; *βολβοὺς ἄρα ζητοῦσι*, *Ar. Nub.* 188. Pliny was misled by the ambiguity into identifying it with anemone.

One attempt of the early editors was to write *τὸ βολβουκώδιον* which was treated as an unknown plant name; as *Bulbocodium* it has been identified with a plant which does not grow in Greece. Another was to identify it with codiaminon, *Pl. N. H.* 21. 64, but this is f. l. for cyclaminum. Schneider simply translates 'bulbi capitulum' which is meaningless. These were the counsels of despair. Yet the solution as often happens lies on the surface and for that reason has been overlooked.

κώδυνον only occurs in this passage apparently. But *κωδύα* which is supposed to be a variant is used several times by Theophrastus and others. In *H. P.* 4. 8. 7 it is the seed-vessel (or *κιβώριον*) of *Nelumbium*; in 4. 8. 10 and 11 of *Nymphæa*; in 9. 12. 4 of a poppy. Aristophanes who like Martial contains a good deal of popular botany has, *Fr.* 166, *κωδία* in the same sense. The general meaning would be 'head' which does not give much help, except that *κώδεια*, *κωδία* and *κωδύα* all appear to be the same word.

We get a clue from another source. Gaza was a fifteenth century Greek who first translated Theophrastus into Latin. It is interesting to see how the passage struck a Greek, especially one who might have some traditional knowledge of its meaning. He translates the words in Theophrastus 'ad hoc bulbi flos.' We may render this 'the inflorescence of *Muscari comosum*.' It was necessary to specify this because to a Greek *βολβός* would only mean an edible root which would not be suitable for a chaplet and Theophrastus always aims at precise statement.

The inflorescence is almost unique and difficult to describe without an illustration to anyone who is not familiar with the plant in some old-fashioned garden; a stem bears small and

inconspicuous flowers but terminates in a fluffy mass of brightly coloured filamentous abortive ones, hence the specific name *comosum*. The difficulty now arises that this bears no resemblance to a 'poppy-head,' *κωδύα*. But the earlier editions of Theophrastus as of Athenæus who, 680 E, quotes the passage, have *κώδιον*, a diminutive which means a 'fleece.' And although Stephanus, 5518 B, says that here 'non possum non suspectum habere' it is perhaps not unduly straining the meaning to suppose that Theophrastus had in mind a 'tuft of wool.' This would not be far from the old popular English name for the plant, 'purple tassel.'

18. *σησάμινα ξύλα*, Diosc. 1. 98.

Dioscorides in describing Ebony (*ἔβενος*) tells us:—*ἐνιοι δὲ τὰ ἀκάνθινα ἢ καὶ σησάμινα καλούμενα ξύλα, ἐμφερῇ ὄντα, ἀντὶ ἐβένου πωλοῦσι*. This is the text of most of the MSS. But on the authority of one, and that late, Sprengel corrects *σησάμινα* to *συκάμινα* and he is followed by Wellmann who is rarely at fault. It may be premised that *ἀκάνθικον ξύλον* is the product of *ἄκανθα αἰγυπτία*, Shittah wood (*Acacia arabica*), *συκάμινον ξύλον* of the Sycamore (*Ficus Sycomorus*). It is quite true that these two trees were the only native sources of timber in Egypt (cf. Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, p. 282). But Dioscorides is speaking of substitutes for ebony; Shittah wood is dark-coloured and heavy and would serve, sycamore wood on the other hand has no quality in any way comparable. The correction therefore robs the statement of Dioscorides of any intelligible meaning. Why then was it made? It was because apart from this passage *σησάμινος* has a not uncommon and quite incompatible meaning. It is the adjective of *σησαμῆ*, sesame, the most important oil-plant of India (*Sesamum indicum*) and a herb but not a tree. It may be noted that *σησαμῆ* is a loan word, hellenized from Arabic *semsem*.

But *σησάμινος* occurs again associated with ebony in the *Periplus M. R.* 36 and *σησάμινα ξύλα* is quoted from Cosmas. In the former case Fabricius following Sprengel corrects *φαλάγ-*

γων σησαμίνων to φαλάγγων συκαμίνων. But this is frankly impossible. The Sycamore is confined to North Africa and its wood could not be an article of Indian export as ebony was.

The problem was solved by McCrindle (cf. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 152). The wood was that of an Indian tree, the Sissoo or Shisham (*Dalbergia Sissoo*); it was exported from India in the remotest antiquity as it has been found in the ruins of Babylonian buildings. In this case σησάμινος traces back through Arabic sāsīm to Hindi sīsū. It is the result of a double process of hellenization and assimilation in both of which the Greeks were adepts.

When once a truth gets side-tracked it is apt to meet with fresh disaster. Joret (*Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii, p. 369) seeing that the correction of Fabricius was untenable, corrects in turn συκαμίνων to σακαμίνων, a non-existent Greek word which he constructs from sāka the Sanscrit name of Teak. But as Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, 692) shows conclusively teak is already mentioned in the same passage of the *Periplus* as σαγαλίνα ξύλα. It may be noted that teak was the ξύλον ἐν Τύλῳ...ἐξ οὗ τὰ πλοῖα ναυπηγοῦνται, mentioned by Theophrastus (*H. P.* 5. 4. 7).

Incidentally it is now possible to clear up another passage which has hitherto remained obscure. Theophrastus, after discussing ebony, proceeds (*H. P.* 5. 3. 2):—εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι δένδρον ὃ ἅμα τῇ μελανίᾳ καὶ ποικιλίᾳ τινὰ ἔχει ὑπέρυθρον ὥστε εἶναι τὴν ὄψιν ὡσὰν ἐβένου ποικίλης· ποιεῖσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ κλίνας καὶ δίφρους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ σπουδαζόμενα. τὸ δένδρον μέγα σφόδρα καὶ καλόφυλλον εἶναι ὅμοιον ταῖς ἀπίοις. There can be no doubt that Theophrastus describes the Sissoo with his usual precision. The tree attains a large size and is valued for its shade; the leaflets agree in size and shape with the leaves of the pear. The wood is dark brown with darker veins, and it has always been esteemed for furniture and carving.

W. T. THISELTON-DYER.

THE "BUGONIA" MYTH¹.

In Mr Royds' little book on *The Beasts, Birds and Bees of Virgil*²—which would be altogether charming if only it had an index—the author makes a short reference to the disclosure by Vergil in the Fourth Georgic of the "memorable discovery of the great Arcadian keeper³," and the way in which "oft ere now, from the slaughter of bullocks, tainted gore has generated bees³." For the benefit of any beekeeper whose stock may entirely die out and who may be at a loss how to renew it, Vergil undertakes to expound the legend fully, tracing it to its original source. In Egypt, he says, men have unbounded faith in it. He describes the process as follows:—

"exiguus primum atque ipsos contractus ad usus,
eligitur locus; hunc angustique imbrice tecti
parietibusque premunt artis, et quattuor addunt,
quattuor a ventis, obliqua luce fenestras.
tum vitulus bima curvans iam cornua fronte
quaeritur; huic geminae nares et spiritus oris
multa reluctanti obstruitur, plagisque perempto
tunsa per integram solvontur viscera pellem.

¹ Osten Sacken's exhaustive treatise on the Bugonia myth is to be found in the xxvth annual volume of the *Bullettino della Società Entomologica Italiana*, Firenze, 1893, a journal very hard to come by in this country. I am indebted to it for many references, and to Mr H. Rackham, Classical Tutor, to Mr A. Rogers, of the University Library, and to Mr J. T. Yarde, all of Christ's College, for much needed help with the quotations. [There is

also an English treatise by Osten Sacken "On the Oxen-born bees of the Ancients," Heidelberg, 1894, an enlarged edition of the Italian article. A copy is in the library of the Zoological Society. J. A. P.]

² Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1914.

³ Verg. *Georg.* iv. 281 foll. See also *Miscellaneous Writings of John Conington*, Vol. II. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1872.

sic positum in clauso linquunt, et ramea costis
 subiciunt fragmenta, thymum, casiasque recentis.
 hoc geritur Zephyris primum impellentibus undas,
 ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus, ante
 garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo.
 interea teneris tepefactus in ossibus umor
 aestuat, et visenda modis animalia miris,
 trunca pedum primo, mox et stridentia pinnis,
 miscentur, tenuemque magis magis aera carpunt,
 donec, ut aestivis effusus nubibus imber,
 erupere, aut ut nervo pulsante sagittae,
 prima leves ineunt si quando proelia Parthi."

The poet then turns to the origin of the process, and tells how it was first discovered by Aristaeus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene. The first production of bees by this method is briefly described at the end of the poem.

The legend of the ox-born bees, by some expanded to explain Samson's well-known riddle¹, was carefully investigated towards the close of the last century by C. R. Osten Sacken. He has shown that it prevailed around the Mediterranean, throughout Northern Africa, and in some parts of Asia, and even as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was accepted without query. "Melanchthon considered it as a divine provision," the great naturalist Aldrovandus (1522-1605) accepted it without contradiction, the English naturalist Moufet (1634) spoke of it as a common occurrence and Bochart (1663) admitted it as an undoubted fact. Sacken designates it by the convenient term which appears as the title of this paper, and which was the name of a poem by the Alexandrian Eumelus², who was possibly the authority followed by Vergil. It was a very widely spread legend throughout classical times and indeed it lasted until well on in the sixteenth century.

We will first deal with Samson. Now it might very well happen that the dead body of an ox—or as a matter of fact of

¹ Judges xiv. 14.

² Eusebius, *Chronicon* 250, see Conington on *Georgic* iv. 317. Vergil

may also have used the poems on Bee-keeping by Aratus and Nicander.

a lion—lying on the sun-parched sands of Palestine or of Egypt would form a convenient hollow in which bees would gladly establish a hive. The bodies of animals do not always decay, often they dry up. And this most frequently happens in deserts and dry regions. Recently in the Lodge of this College, we found, under the floor of one of the apartments of the Foundress, Lady Margaret—mother of Henry VII—later the drawing-room, the mummies of four rats, rats of the old *Mus rattus* or black-rat species, now practically extinct in England: and judging from the literature with which they had lined their death-beds they must have perished early in the sixteenth century. They may indeed have died of plague, for England in the first half of the sixteenth century was seldom free from plague, as the Venetian Ambassadors, Erasmus, and others have recorded. The bodies of the rats were in no way decayed; they had simply dried, and had retained so well their outward shape that it was easy to recognise those specific characters which distinguish them from their successor, the *Mus decumanus*, the brown, Hanoverian or Norwegian rat.

The effort to connect the story of Samson with the classical myth of Bugonia, in my opinion, breaks down¹. It has been said that bees being cleanly insects would not build in a dead body, and yet the normal hives of the inhabitants of Palestine are plastered with cow-dung, and we have it on the evidence of J. G. Wood² that bees still build their hives in the carcases of desiccated camels. The really important thing in Samson's story is the honey. The later writers about Bugonia never mention honey or the comb or even the hive. And after all what did the Greek and Roman writers know of Samson? We are told that Samson killed a lion and after a while "he turned aside to see the carcase of the lion and behold there was a swarm of bees in the body of the lion, and honey; and he took it into his hands and went on eating³." If we believe in this honey (and why should we doubt it?), we must remove

¹ The view here put forward is supported by the best commentators on the Book of Judges. (Cf. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*,

by Dr G. F. Moore.)

² *Bible Animals*, p. 608 (cited by Royds, p. 95).

³ Judges xiv. 8, 9.

Samson's riddle from the circle of the Bugonia legends, where Osten Sacken has placed it.

But the fact that from time to time a bee-hive might occasionally be found in the mummified carcase of an animal is hardly sufficient to explain so widely spread and long-enduring a myth. Neither does it correspond with the description given by Vergil and many other authors of what they conceived to happen.

Vergil's account quoted above corresponds fairly closely with the version given in the *Geoponica*, which is as follows:—

Ἰόβας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Λιβύων ἐν λάρνακι ξυλίνη φησὶ δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι μελίσσας· καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Βάρων, ἐν Ῥωμαίᾳ γλώσση, ἐν οἴκῳ φασὶ χρή ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄμεινον. ὁ δὲ τρόπος οὗτος. οἶκός σοι ἔστω ὑψηλὸς δεκαπηχυαῖος, καὶ εὖρος πηχῶν ἰ', καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς πλευραῖς ἴσος. εἴσοδος δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν περιποιεῖσθω μία, καὶ θυρίδες τέσσαρες, ἐν ἐκάστῳ τοίχῳ μία. εἰς τοῦτον ἀγαγὼν βοῦν τριακοντάμηνον, εὐσαρκον, λιπαρὸν μάλιστα, περίστησον αὐτῷ νεανίας πολλοὺς καὶ τυπτέτωσαν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν ῥοπάλοις ἀποκτενιάτωσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς σαρκὶ τὰ ὀστέα συναλοῦντες· φυλακὴν δὲ ἐχέτωσαν τὸ μὴ αἰμάξαι τι τοῦ βοός (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξ αἵματος κυηθεῖν ἢ μέλισσα), ταῖς δὲ πρώταις πληγαῖς μὴ βιαίως ἐμπεσόντες. εὐθὺς δὲ ἀποπεφράχθω πᾶς τοῦ βοός πόρος ὀθόνην καθααῖς καὶ λεπταῖς πίσση κεχρισμέναις· οἶον ὄμματα καὶ ῥῖνες καὶ στόμα, καὶ ὅσα τῇ φύσει πεποιήται εἰς κένωσιν ἀναγκαίαν. ἔπειτα θύμον ὑποστρώσαντες πολύν, καὶ ὑπτίον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καταθέντες τὸν βοῦν, ἐξελθόντες τοῦ οἴκου εὐθὺς τὴν θύραν καὶ τὰς θυρίδας ἐπιχρισάτωσαν πηλῷ στεγανῷ, ὥς μήτε ἀέρι μήτε ἀνέμῳ μηδ' ἡντινοῦν εἰσδυσιν ἢ διάπνευσιν εἶναι. τρίτῃ δὲ ἐβδομάδι χρή πάντοθεν ἐξανοίξαντα εἰσεᾶσαι φῶς τε καὶ ἀέρα καθάρων, πλὴν ὁπόθεν ἂν καθίῃ σφοδρὸν πνεῦμα· εἰ γὰρ ὧδε ἔχοι, τὴν κατὰ τοῦτο εἴσοδον κεκλεισμένην χρή εᾶσαι. ἐπὰν δὲ δόξωσιν ἐψυχῶσθαι αἱ ὕλαι πνεῦμα αὐταρκὲς ἐπισπασάμεναι, αὐθις χρή συγκλείσαι τῷ πηλῷ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν κρίσιν. ἐνδεκάτῃ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ ἀνοίξας εὐρήσεις πλήρη μελισσῶν βοτρυδὸν ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις συνηγμένων

καὶ τοῦ βοὸς λειπόμενα τὰ κέρατα καὶ τὰ ὀστά καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν¹.

Can the Democritus of the *Geoponica* be the great man of science of the fifth century B.C.? He wrote a treatise on the *Causes of Animals*; but no mention of the birth of bees from oxen occurs in any of his extant fragments; and the absence of any reference to the belief in Aristotle's exhaustive discussion² of the generation of bees makes it unlikely that Democritus mentioned it. But at any rate it was accepted as a familiar scientific fact by the time of the Alexandrian poets, with whom 'ox-born' was a stock epithet for bees. For instance Antigonus Carystius, in his reference to the belief, attests this for Philetas:—

Ἴδια δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς συγκρίσεις καὶ ἀλλοιώσεις τῶν ζώων, ἔτι δὲ γενέσεις. οἶον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν βοῦν ἐὰν κατορύξῃς ἐν τόποις τισίν, ὥστε αὐτὰ τὰ κέρατα τῆς γῆς ὑπερέχειν, εἰθ' ὕστερον ἀποπρίσῃς, λέγουσιν μελίττας ἐκπέτεσθαι· σαπέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦτο διαλύεσθαι τὸ ζῶον. ᾧ καὶ φαίνεται Φιλητᾶς προσέχειν, ἱκανῶς ὦν περιέργος· προσαγορεύει οὖν αὐτὰς βουγενεῖς λέγων·

βουγενέας φάμενος προσεβήσαο μακρὰ μελίσσας³.

Varro, 'the most learned of the Romans,' twice mentions the subject in his extant works, although neither passage appears to be the one referred to in the *Geoponica*:—

Scio...ex hoc putrefacto nasci dulcissimas apes, mellis matres, a quo eas Graeci bugenes appellant⁴.

... Apes nascuntur partim ex apibus partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto⁵.

¹ *Geoponica*, p. 440 § 21–p. 442 § 29.

² *De Generatione animalium*, III x.

³ Antigoni Carystii *Historiarum Mirabilium Collectanea*, cap. xix. (23). Cf. Meleager *Anth. Pal.* ix. 363 βουγενέσσι μελίσσαις, Erycius *Anth. Pal.* vii. 36 βούπαισι μελίσσαις, Archelaus *ap. Varro* iii. 16 βοὸς φθιμένης πεπλανη-

μένα τέκνα, Theocritus *Syrinx* 3 ταυροπάτωρ = 'bee.' Also Nicander *Ther.* 741 ἵπποι γὰρ σφηκῶν γενέσις, ταύρων δὲ μελίσσαι...ἐξεγένοντο.

⁴ Varro, *de Re Rustica*, lib. 2, c. 5 § 5.

⁵ Varro, *de Re Rustica*, lib. 3, c. 16 § 4.

Ovid also has the story :—

Cognita res usu—de putri viscere passim
Florilegae nascuntur apes...¹,

and although he ignores the wasps he knew where the hornets came from :—

Pressus humo bellator equus crabronis origo est².

Pliny, the most uncritical of writers on Natural History, records :—

... in totum vero amissas reparari ventribus bubulis recentibus cum fimo obrutis³.

The following quotation from Lampridius, who wrote towards the end of the third century, seems to indicate that Heliogabalus, or some of his court, were acquainted with the flies that mimic bees, 'tame-bees' Lampridius calls them :—

"Mittebat parasitis per cellarios salaria annua vasa cum ranis et scorpiis, et cum serpentibus, et huiusmodi monstribus. Claudebat in ejusmodi vasis infinitum muscarum *apes mansuetas* eas appellans⁴."

Servius, who flourished a century later, ascribes to Pliny a further development of the theory :—

"Sane sciendum Plinium dicere de bobus apes, de equis crabrones, de mulis fucos, de asinis vespas procreari⁵."

Aelian elaborated the myth :—

"Ἴππος ἐρριμμένος σφηκῶν γένεσις ἐστίν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ὑποσέπεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μυελοῦ ἐκπέτονται οἱ θῆρες οὗτοι, ὠκίστου ζώου πτηνὰ ἔκγονα, τοῦ ἵππου οἱ σφήκες⁶."

We have seen how the Bugonia legend was widely spread in classical and later times. By the date of Aldrovandus, the ruler of the hive—who was till the time of the Stewarts still

¹ Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 365, 366.

c. 26, p. 110 c. Paris, 1620.

² Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 368.

⁵ Servius ad Virg. *Georg.* 4. 286.

³ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, lib. xi. sect. xx.

Thilo III. p. 342.

⁴ Lampridius, *Life of Heliogabalus*,

⁶ Aelianus *de Natura Animalium*, Lib. I. xxviii.

thought to be a male—was derived from the brain of the bee-bearing beasts:—

"Aiunt ex cerebro gigni Reges, ex carnibus vero alias Apes¹."

Ulysses Aldrovandus was a learned man and, as was the manner of his time, implicitly trusted the written word of the ancients. He was obviously worried at the absence of any reference to Bugonia in Aristotle:—

"Mirum insuper cur Aristoteles e boue nasci etiam non scripserit, quin nescierit. nam Plinius Virgilium citat, non Aristotelem":

and he further in the following quotation sets forth the non-committal views of Galen as to how the thing happens:—

"Cur vero ex bobus putrefactis generentur apes occulta ratio est vel Galeno testante his verbis: 'Si quispiam vero a nobis naturae rationes quaerat, eam omnia a se ipsa doctam ex seque discentem agere sciat. Neque enim quo pacto vermes in plantis gignuntur, aut ex equis bobusque vespae atque apes, facile nos dicere licet, verum a natura simpliciter fiunt. Nam neque aves docet volare quispiam, neque nos intelligere, aut audire, videreve².'"

The explanation that Osten Sacken puts forward of the classical myth of Bugonia (apart from the Samson story) is indeed a very reasonable one. He believes that the legend has arisen from a confusion of two quite distinct insects, the Honey-Bee, *Apis mellifica*, and the Drone-Fly, *Eristalis tenax*, a fly which in coloration, size and behaviour is very like a bee. The thesis that Osten Sacken maintains is, that it is to this fly that the origin of the belief in Bugonia or, in other words, in ox-born bees, is due. In fact he holds that had this fly not existed the myth would never have arisen.

To begin with, he argues that *E. tenax* is very like a bee, more like a honey-bee than any other fly, the *Oestridae* being

¹ Aldrovandus *de Animalibus Insectis*. Bononiae, 1602, p. 58.

² This quotation is from the section

entitled: "An Animal sit id, quod in utero est," cap. v. *Works*, Vol. xix. Leipzig, 1830.

more like bumble-bees. Then, again, *E. tenax* lays its eggs on carcasses which are decomposing, in the softening flesh of which their maggots crawl and feed. As Vergil tells us, these larvae 'at first are legless,' and this 'leglessness' of the larvae is very characteristic of the Diptera or flies. Further the larvae of flies do crawl, whereas the larvae of bees are motionless in their waxen cells. Finally the very common occurrence of *E. tenax* and the amazing rapidity of its reproduction have made it conspicuous even to the uninformed.

The common British name of the *Eristalis* and its allies is "Drone-fly," and the very name is an indication of the resemblance it shows to the honey-bee. This indeed is so marked as to make it difficult to persuade anyone but a trained entomologist to handle the fly, and the resemblance even deceives spiders: for should an *Eristalis* become involved in a spider's web, the spider will keep as far out of his victim's reach as though he were dealing with a bee. By letting out threads and rushing round and round the prey at a distance, the spider will immesh both a stinging-bee and an *Eristalis*. But it is an extraordinary thing that the spider, who apparently recognises its prey by touch and not by sight, recoils with alarm when he touches the harmless *Eristalis*, just as he does when he touches a bee.

The great naturalist Réaumur never dared to take one of these drone-flies into his hand without hesitation. "The colour, the size, the conformation and the proportions of the different parts of the body of these two insects...are very much alike." Both insects infest flowers and treat them in more or less the same manner. One could multiply, to almost any extent, quotations testifying to the resemblance of the Honey-bee to the Drone-fly.

One peculiarity of the larva or maggot of *Eristalis*, which has earned it the name of the "rat-tailed" larva (ver à queue de rat), is the long tail-like appendage at the end of the body. The tip of this tail bears the breathing orifice and the animal with this flexible and even telescopic tail, whose orifice is ever kept above the surface, is able to wallow deep in the decaying tissues of a carcase, in sewage or in other organic refuse, and

still maintain the communication of its interior with the outside air.

The maggot of *Eristalis* is very tenacious of life, and according to Geoffroy¹ "Cette larve vient aussi dans la bouillie des chiffons dont on fait le papier, sur quoi M. Linnæus observe un fait singulier, qu'on auroit peine à croire, s'il n'étoit assuré par un aussi grand Naturaliste. C'est que lorsqu'on bat cette bouillie pour en faire du papier la larve quoique fortement frappée à coups de marteau, n'est point écrasée, ne périt point, et donne ensuite sa mouche." This extraordinary tenacity of life may possibly account for the success of *Eristalis tenax* in the struggle for existence. It has in quite recent times spread round the earth, and is now practically cosmopolitan in its distribution and, as Geoffroy points out, the progress of civilisation has simply offered it new breeding places. In ancient days a stray carcase or some rotting vegetation afforded it a home, but at the present time, with the indefinite extension of drains, sewers, cesspools and dung-heaps, it has infinite possibilities before it.

Not only in appearance and colour does this fly resemble the bee, but it has that peculiarly attractive habit of twitching its abdomen, probably the expression of its breathing movements, which is so characteristic of the members of the Order Hymenoptera.

We have seen how widely the myth of ox-born bees was held among the Greeks and Romans. There must have been some explanation of such a curious and firmly rooted belief, and Osten Sacken's explanation of the Drone-fly seems to fit all the recorded passages which I have been able to find in Classical literature. But I think he goes beyond his brief when he extends the theory to include Samson and his riddle. I believe that Samson did find a hive in the dried and mummified carcase of a lion and that the honey he ate was real—not imaginary—honey.

A. E. SHIPLEY.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE LODGE,
CAMBRIDGE. July 1914.

¹ *Histoire abrégée des Insectes*, Vol. II. p. 521, 1764.

FRAGMENTS OF GREEK POETRY FROM PAPYRI
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO.

(Read before the Oxford Philological Society.)

COLUMN I.

.

κα]λῶν ὕμεναίων

] θιασεΐαις

ἀ]νδράσι τερπνοῖς

] αἰοδῆν

] ἀρίστοις

5

]να καὶ καλὰ τησῃ

·]ν βασιλῆα

]α πελοιο μεγ[

]σι πλεύροι[ς

χθον]ὸς ἡμετέρη[ς

10

] μηλοιο

]μοιο

μ]εγισστο[

]·[

.

COLUMN II.

σὺν δ' ἀλ[ό]χοις σεμναῖς[ι] φίλαις καὶ παῖδας ἐφήβους
 σεμνοῖς μεγαλο[.] . ρχησομαι . [.] . αε[. .] . νη
 χαίρετ' ἀλ . . τιωτ . . ταμακ[. .]ον[. .]ν πολ[. .] . . νη[
 σὺν χθονὶ κα[ῖ] μερόπεσσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι με[γ]ίστοις
 Ἀρσινόα Πτολεμα[ῖ] παλαιγενὲς οὔνομα [.] . ον 5
 ἦν μάκαρες προβ . . . [.]ν πανδ[.]αλ[.] . ον
 ὦ μερόπων . [.]τ . [. .]γει . η καλῶς τε . ο[12 letters] . s
 Ζηνὶ σὺν ἀθανάτων μάλα δα . [13 letters]s
 τοῖς κα . ακ . [.] . μονα πᾶσι βροτ[οῖ]ς φ[11 letters]a
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεν πρόσθεν ποντ[.]στου 10
 ε . . [.]μ . νομενας νήων τὸ πολυσσθενὲς ὄπλον
 μέχρι ννα . τον ἀλαίκκυπον ἢ γεγαῶσα
 ου τ[. .]ν προμο . χρ[ο]σσους χθονὸς ἡδὲ πολήων
 φο[. .]ν [. .] πρόπασα κρατοῦσα σὺ πόντον ὀπάξεις
 α [. .] περὶ νῶτα καλοῖς τε . [. ὀ]πλίξῃ 15
 [. .] . ὦν ἀμφιπόλων σὺν κλε[9 letters]οεσσα[
 [. .] . δε . . ἀθανάτων προκαθηγ . [9 letters] . τ . [
 [ἀ]μφίπολοι σσκοπέλοισιν ὁμοῦ τ[
 [. .] ἀναφυλάσσουσιν πτόλιν ἡμετέ[ρην
 [. .]ρμαχ[. .]εν πρῶτα πατὴρ ἀνδρ[ῶν] τε θεῶν τε 20
 [. .]τειχ[. .] . φαεσνὰ περισσστη . . . [. .]θ[
 [. .]κειθ[. .]σιολ[. .]γως [σ]ὺν καλλ[ι]πυρο[
 [13 letters ε]ν οὐρανῷ ἀσστε[ρόεντι
 [10 letters] . τοιο Κροναίου πα[
 [7 letters ἀθα]νάτων ὑπερέξσοχ[ος] ἄλλων 25
 [10 letters] καλῶν κόλπων μα[

COLUMN III.

λ[10 letters] ἀσστ[ρ]άππτουσα γελᾶ τ[ε]ρπνοῖσι προσώποις

κ[10 letters] θαλασσόπορον χαροποῦ δ' ἀπ[ὸ] πόντου

ε[10 letters] α. αποστ[....]. π[...]. [.] δ' ἀθανάτων τε

α[10 letters]. ει θυμο[.....]φεν ἀν' ἀφρόν.

ὦ [καλὴ Ἀφρ]ογένεια γαμο[σ]στόλε καὶ χάρι τερπνὴ 5

χ[10 letters] α τύπον γλυκεραῖσι παρηιάδεσσιν

τω[10 letters]. ε... βλεφάρων θαλεροὶ πηδῶσι[ν] ἔρωτες

ἐκγ δ[ἐ....]νέων μαζῶν δροσεραὶ θάμα δα. αι

καὶ ἐκ[.....]ων ξανθοῖο κόμη[.] μυροβοσστρυχέεντος

ἡδυτατ. [...]. ωρσ ἰδανόχροα ἵππταται ἄνθη 10

ἡ [κ]αὶ πρὸς θαλά[μ]οις μείξασα καλῶν ὑμεναίων

[...]. νως μὲν νύνφην παπα πασσάσιν ἀνδρὶ ποθητήν

[ἐνθ]άδε τῇ νύνφῃ πρὸς λε...τ...λον σὺ χαρίζε

ω[.] μὲν χῆ. ε...ων τειμᾶν σε φύσις νενόμισσται

σεμνοτ[άτη...]γαι τὸν σὸν συνόμενον ἄνασσα 15

. [...]. [.....] ἀνθρώποισι φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ὄντα

[10 letters] ντον ταμ. [...]. ρος αἰθ[.] ρ[

[10 letters]. γοισ. [...]. [.....] γορ[

[12 letters]. μ[.....]ειρ[

[13 letters]. οτ[

[12 letters]. ε. [

.

COLUMN IV.

τοὺς ἱεροὺς τη[
 ἄρμα ἀνάγων δια[
 ἡέλιος φαέθων [...]α ... [
 ὦ φιλοκέρτομε δ[...]ον . [
 αἰεὶ γὰρ μύθοισι πα . ν[.] ... [. 5
 πτηνοὺς ἐς πάντας ἔρωτας μὴ φαινομένους δ . [.] .
 τοὺς μερόπων μεταλλωντας . [.]γοις φρένα καρτερόεσσιν
 μῦθον μὲν τοῦτον παρελώμεθα εἰσὶ δ' ἔρωτες
 σεμνῶς οἱ κατὰ κόσσμον ἐπ' ἀνδράσι δῶρα φέροντες
 πρῶτα μὲν Ἡέλ[ι]ος μετέπειτά τε [δ]ῖα Σελήνη 10
 μόχθοις ρα . [. . . .]ολλ . . [.]μαλ . . . α[.]να [φ]έροντες
 ο[.]εν μὲν θνησκοντ[11 letters] ἀπολείψαι
 τερπνῶν στοιχισοντ[13 letters] αδικαίως
 ου[. . .]ατηρασγ . πα[15 letters] . ες ἡμεῖν
 αμ [.] α θνητοῖς 15
 [.] ἔργων
 [. ,] οιο

COLUMN V.

α[

τ[

ο[

ω[

α[

5

δ[

α . [

σεμ[

π[

τ . [

10

καρμηλω[ν

τον τρις πο[

κα . . [. . .]ω . [

τοῖς νε[

ων κα . [

15

σούς ἀρε[

πρωτα[

Ζεῦ [

κ[

. . . .

COLUMN VI.

-] πολὺν ἡέρα καὶ χθόνα δείαν
] καὶ σύσπορα τερπνὰ τὰ γαίης
] αὐρ ὁμοῦ χλοεροῖς σπορ[ί]μοισιν
] δροσερῶν ἀνέμοιο λαβόντα
] αἰ καιροῖς ἰδίοισι δοθέντων 5
] μέγαν οὐρανὸν ὀλβίοντα Ζεῦ
] . ο Κρονείονος ἀνκυλομήτου
] . . εοι δέ τ' ἔχοι πρὸς Ὀλυμπον
] ταν ἐρανοβίην γόνον ὠκύν
] ραν ἱερᾶς χθονὸς ἡμετέρησιν 10
] αἰ . ἀστέρον ἡγεμονῆα
] καὶ ἀριστέας ἧς παλάμησιν
] κρατερώτατα φοῖλα γιγάντ[ω]ν
]ων γένος ἄγριον ἀνδρῶν
] . . [. .] . . [. .] . . . αλων κατὰ κύμα θαλάττης 15
] ε . [. . . .] τον ἐπὶ κχθονὶ <καὶ> κατὰ πόντον
] ασεινας[. . . .] τον ἐκγ Διὸς ὀβριμεφν . της
] . . [. .] νσ[. . ἐ]κατηβελέταο ἀνακτος
 τὸ]ν ἡύκομος τέκε Δητώ
] κορυφαῖς λασιωτίδος ὕλης 20
] . α βροτοῖς καὶ σε νωγοι
] . . . ν[.] μοι . προ πων
] ν[.] ρκον[.] δε[.] . [δ]αίμων
] . . τὸν κλαδὸνα σφιν ἐλαίας
] ωντο πολυσσταφυλ[.] . ων . . 25
] . ἐπ' ἀγνώστοις ἐπιλοιβαί·
] μαντικὸν οἱ δ' ἐκάλουν τε

COLUMN VII.

τὸν κα[
ὄν δὲ κα[
πρὸς μ[
νυκκτ[
ἀνδρα[	5
ἀλλ . . [
πρωτ[
σεμν[
ἐν μακ[
θυμός [	10
υ . . η[
τοῖς κ[
ὦ παῖ τ[
χρυσο[
βαχχ[	15
καὶ π[
παντ[
κυμα[
σεμν[
πληκτ[	20
κολπ[
ξανθ[
ευρο[
ἡδὺν [
εἰν δω[	25
καὶ ἐκ[

COLUMN VIII.

κηθα συν[

πόντον α[

οὐχὶ ἐλ[

γαίην δ[

μὴ πον[

5

τὰς πλ[

ἦστο μ[

νάματ[

κλειθ[

ἀλλὰ σ[

10

τὸν στ[υγερόν

ἄσσον [

η[

δ[

[

15

α[

χ[

Probably nine lines are wanting.

COLUMN IX.

[14 letters] καθ[

[14 letters]πιφ[

ἐνθα δ' ἐν ὀπφ[θ]α[λ]μοῖς[ι

ὄχλον ἐπερχομένων α . [

θηπτο μαν ἐς μέγα κύμα π[

5

καλήν τε Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐν[

θηρα δὲ καὶ βύθιον στυγεροῦ [

ἄγγελον οὐχὶ καλῆς βουλῆς

[. .]αρ ἐστὶν ὁ δὴ κατεπλε . . [

[τοῦ]ς μὲν γὰρ φεύγοντας [

10

[.] . τος δὴ καμάτο[ι]ο συ[

[τ]ήν δὲ σιδηρεέεσσι βρόχ[οις

[ἀ]λκονοῖς χήρα παρὰ κύμ[ατα

[τ]ῶν κα[ι]νῶν μύθων ε . [

[ἀν]τιλάλων γενετῶν μ[

15

[ἐκ]γδοτον Ἀν[δ]ρομέδαν τ[

[. . . .]η [.]ταχει να[

[.]νόστου τοῦτον [

[.]ννε[.]νετ[. . .]ομ[

[10 letters]ταιση . [. .]κχ[

20

[10 letters]ογιω[

[10 letters]τοσπο[

[10 letters]ησαντ[

[10 letters]αραπ[

.

COLUMN X.

] . [. . .] ἀνηχους
] . . Ἄρτεμ[ι]ν ἀγνήν
] δ' ἄρα τήν τρισὶ μορφαῖς
] ἦον ἀγλαήν κούραν
] εσιν ὀπφθαλμοῖσιν 5
 τ]ετακγμένοι μύσσται
] σοφὸν κικλήσκουσιν
 μαν]τικὸν ὄντα προφήτη[ν
] λαροισιν ἐν ἄθλοις
] ριησιν 10
 σ]ελασσφόρον ἄρμα
] παρέχεις φάος ἡδὺν
] μαντικὴ Παιάν
] ακλονω [.] Διόνυσε

Traces of one line, then probably eleven lines wanting.

COLUMN XI.

Probably three lines wanting.

] ησκεισ[
] . σ' ἔφυσ . [
] αδε καὶ [
] μεοιο βυ[. . . .] . δα . . λο[
] κληρο . [.] . δ[. .] μ . . . κτ[5
 ἀργ]υρέου γελα δ ἀνδρα[
] μοκχθούσά τέ μητρητ . [
] α θαλασσοπ . . . ο . θ . ω[

με]γάλην [. .] . τ . ενα[
]ντ ετι . . [.] καλη[10
]αιν . α[. .] [. .] Ποσειδ[ῶν
] . αφθ . . ν στοις δαν[
]σ ἀνθρῶπ [.] . . [.
]αδουμ σι θαλάττη[
]θρονο[. . .] . . οιοσ[. .] . ον[15
]πεστο[. . .]δεον με . μ[
]μαλλ[. .] ἄνηκε βροτο[
]ἔφν δ [.]ο . . ο . παλλησε . [.
]ανα[. . .] . . [.] ἱερὰν π[
] . ογα . [.]τ ερισας λα[20
] . κο . [. . .] συνηφ[
]ουρ[. . . .] . να πολυχ[
] . [. .] . [.]οιο φίλοι[

Frag. i. GOODSPEED'S FRAGMENT H.

.
] . . [.
]ποντ[
]οτ . υσχον . [. .]ας
]ρες η . πε βέλεμνα
 ἐ]πὶ τῷδε φαρέτρας 5
 π]τερόεν[τ]ας οἰστούς
] ρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
]αλλα . . . [. .]ς
] . [.
] . [. 10

Frag. ii. GOODSPEED'S FRAGMENT I.

. . . .
]τον δ[
]νεαπο[
] ἄρμα κυμ[
]τ' αἰγίδας α[
 χα]λεποῖο [

5

Frag. iii.

Top of column.

ὁ]λλβίστου [
]α[.]εσοορτ[
]τ[

These papyri, which were written about the end of the second century A.D., were acquired in Egypt by Professor Goodspeed, of the University of Chicago, who first transcribed, published, and described them in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1903, p. 237 sqq., adding a few suggestions which had been made by Professor Blass; but Blass had only copies or photographs to work with, and not the originals. Professor Goodspeed published them again in 1908 in a collection called *Chicago Literary Papyri*, and incorporated some suggestions by Dr Ludwich, but he too had only photographs: Professor Schubart also made suggestions, but the condition in which the text was left was still incomplete and unsatisfactory. It is owing to this fact that the fragments have not received much notice. My attention was directed to them in collecting the fragments of poetry of the Alexandrian age, and it seemed likely that a fresh collation would clear up some of the doubtful points. The only course open was to ask Professor Goodspeed to send the papyri to Oxford, and with the greatest generosity

he consented, and Professor Hunt was kind enough to collate them. I take this opportunity of thanking Professor Goodspeed for his singular courtesy, and Professor Hunt for his ungrudging co-operation and valuable suggestions.

The work of Professor Hunt has been :

(1) To determine the order and position of these fragments. His discovery that Fragment A and B of Goodspeed in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are the same; that is, that A preserves the beginning of the lines, and B the ends of them, has been one of the most important. These put together now form Col. ii in this paper.

(2) To recollate the lines. This was absolutely necessary, and great changes have been made in the Goodspeed text. The revised text of Professor Hunt supersedes it.

(3) To make it probable that all the fragments formed part of one book which contained several poems; and he has been the first to notice two parallel lines in Col. xi, which mark the beginning of a new poem.

We have here then another Florilegium, to be added to the six which have been already discovered among papyri. But in spite of Professor Hunt's work, the text remains provokingly obscure and tantalising. Maas s.v. *Hymenaios* in Pauly-Wissowa, having only Goodspeed's first recension in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, calls the fragment "a still unexplained papyrus." It remains to be seen whether the new collation throws more light upon it.

It appears to be a collection of Hymns; Cols. iii, iv, and perhaps ii containing a Hymn to Aphrodite¹; Col. vi one to Apollo; Col. vii perhaps one to Dionysus (cf. l. 15); Col. x to Artemis-Hecate; Col. xi possibly to Aphrodite; Col. xii possibly to Apollo. A development of this view will be found in the commentary.

¹ Or Aphrodite-Isis. The Hymn to Isis (Abel p. 295, Kaibel 1028) found at Andros, l. 37, 38 γενέθλας | ἀρχὰν ἀνδρὶ γυναιῖκα συνήγαγον, and still more the fragments of column iii in

Abel (not given by Kaibel) - θελγέος ἥδ' ἀμαρτυγᾶς (104), παστῶς (110), ὑμεναίους (111), show a similarity with our fragments.

Column I. There is no necessary connection with Col. ii, which is a separate fragment, but the diction is similar.

Column II is composed of Goodspeed's Fragments A and B, put together by Professor Hunt.

2. ὀρχήσομαι is possible.

5. ἄμεμπτον H. W. Garrod.

9. Probably τοῖς κατὰ κόσμον ἅπασι.

For κόσμον and κατὰ κόσμον, cf. Col. iv, 9, 10. βροτοῖσι φιλοφρονέουσα, H. W. Garrod. φ[ίλα δῶρα φέροντ]α, J. A. Smith, φέρουσα, M. N. Tod.

10. Probably πόντ[ιοιο μεγίσ]του.

11. The ductus litterarum suggests ἐξαναδυόμενας, but there is no accusative plural for it to agree with, and there are no Doric forms of the genitive feminine in the papyrus.

νήων τὸ πολυσσθενὲς ὄπλον might be a steering-paddle, or an anchor, or a cable, but hardly oars, for the plural would be required.

12. ἀλίκτυπον is meant.

17. προκαθηγέτις occurs as a title of Athene, CIG 4332, προκαθηγέτης in CIG 5039 = Kaibel 1023, as an epithet of the god Μανδοῦλις who was identified with Apollo; προκαθηγή-τειρα, W. R. Hardie, is possible.

18. ἀμφιπόλοις σκοπέλοισιν, Goodspeed.

Possibly ἀμφίπολοι σκοπέλοισιν: Buck, *Greek Dialects*, s. 101, quotes τὸ σσκέλος, τοῦ σστεφάνου for the doubling of σ at the beginning of a word, which is rarer than the doubling in the middle.

19. [οῖ] or [καὶ] ἀναφυλάσσουν.

20. ἔρμα, M. N. Tod, ἔρμα χέεν, W. R. Hardie.

⟨μὲν⟩ πρῶτα, T. C. Snow, ἀνδ[ρῶν τε θεῶν τε], Goodspeed.

21. φαεσνὰ is a mistake for φαεινὰ or φαεννὰ.

22. καλλιπυλο[H. W. Garrod.

24. Perhaps ὑπά]τοι.

The Π of ΠΑ[is certain in Pap., but wrong.

20—26. Professor W. R. Hardie suggests the following as giving the general sense :

ἔρμα χέεν μὲν πρῶτα πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,
καὶ τείχιζε φαεινὰ περιστήσας λιθάδεσσι
.....ὁδοῖς σὺν καλλιπόροισι
μήνης ἡύτε κύκλον ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι·
τοῖον ἔην ὑπάτοιο Κρονίου ἀφθιτον ἔργον
ἔξοχον, ὥσπερ ὁ γ' ἀθανάτων ὑπερέξοχος ἄλλων.

Col. i is not necessarily connected with Col. ii, but the words preserved in it point to a connection. In Col. ii, *παλαιγενές* is certain: the reading must be, and Pap. permits it, Ἀρσινόα Πτολεμαῖ, "Arsinoe of Ptolemaeus, an ancient name." What does this mean? (1) It might be an address to one of the towns in Egypt, Cyprus, or elsewhere, called Arsinoe, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus. In Egypt there was one, the capital of the Arsinoite Nome, and another near Canopus; in Cyprus there were at least three, one on the north-west coast; one on the south-east near Salamis; the other is unimportant. Arsinoe on the north-west coast is in the middle of the cult-districts of Aphrodite, and not far from Paphos, where the myth of Aphrodite Ἀναδυομένη was localised. Strabo, xiv, 6. 3, says that there was an annual Panegyris with a procession of men and women from Paphus to Palaepaphus: *πανηγυρίζουσι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαίπαφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶ συνιόντες, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων*. These words illustrate Col. ii, lines 1, 2, an address to the country with all its inhabitants: cf. *Orphic Hymn*, 55, 26.

Strabo, *ib.*, further says that there are many temples of Aphrodite on the heights of Cyprus (cf. *σκοπέλοισιν*, Col. ii, 18), e.g. the promontory Olympus on the north-east ἔχουσα Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας ναὸν ἄδυτον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀόρατον.

The Arsinoe on SE. is near Salamis: it is curious that a little south of it is Cap Greco, the ancient Pedalium. Now Pedalium is Πηδάλιον, "oar-paddle," and that is perhaps the meaning of the words in line 11 *νήων τὸ πολυσθενές ὄπλον* "ship's powerful tool." Strabo, (*ib.*) εἰτ' Ἀρσινόη πόλις καὶ λιμὴν· εἰτ' ἄλλος λιμὴν Λεύκολλα· εἰτ' ἄκρα Πηδάλιον, ἧς ὑπέρκειται

λόφος τραχὺς ὑψηλὸς τραπεζοειδῆς ἱερὸς Ἀφροδίτης. If this interpretation is correct, it is curious that di Cesnola, *Salaminia*, p. 124, gives from pre-Hellenic cylinders several figures of a personage holding what is probably a ship's steering-oar, to judge by the cross handle; a view which is taken by Professor Sayce.

Hymns to localities are not unknown. Besides Callimachus' Hymn to Delos there is a *Προσόδιον εἰς Δῆλον* by Eumelus, Bergk, *PLG*, iii, and one to the river, or the river-god, Alpheus, *A. P.* ix, 362, and one to Rome, by Melinno, ap. Stob. vii 13, in Sapphics (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Hymnos).

Secondly: one naturally thought at first, seeing the names of Ptolemy and Arsinoe in the same line, followed by many references to Aphrodite and marriage, that here were fragments of the lost poem of Callimachus on the marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus and his sister Arsinoe in 278 or 274—authorities differ. A line of this, the only line known, is preserved in Schol. to Pindar, *Nem.* ii 1 (Schneider, *Call. Frag.* 196). Ἀρσινόης, ὦ ξεῖνε, γάμον καταβάλλομ' αἰεῖδεν. This line shows that it was not an Epithalamium as Bloch thinks, that is, a Hymn sung to the married pair, but a Hymn on the occasion of the wedding. I will return to this view presently.

But putting together (1) Ἀρσινόα Πτολεμαί ii, 5, (2) νύμφην iii, 12, συνόμενον ἄνασσα iii, 15, (3) Ἀφροδίτη and the description of her birth, (4) ἀμφίπολοι (?) ii, 18, I am inclined to think that Arsinoe the wife and sister of Ptolemy Philadelphus is meant: and that this poem was not written on the occasion of her marriage, but that she is here addressed as the deified Arsinoe Aphrodite. Now Arsinoe was deified as Ἀφροδίτη probably during her life-time, though there has been some controversy on this point. And since Cyprus was full of temples to Aphrodite, it follows that Arsinoe might well be worshipped there. There was a special reason why Arsinoe should be identified with and deified as Aphrodite. "One of the things" says Mr Tarn in his recent book on Antigonos "on which Arsinoe had left the distinct mark of her strenuous personality, was Egypt's rule of the sea. It is significant that one of the best harbours in the Aegean, which the Egyptian fleet was

to use as its base in the Chremonidean war, was re-christened by her name, as was the naval port which Egypt was to seize later in the Argolid." (Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, p. 292.) This makes her identification with Aphrodite *Θαλασσία*, the sea-goddess, very appropriate. There are many traces of her in the islands: many stones have been found, some in Cyprus, bearing the words *Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου*, of which various interpretations have been given.

In Delos Arsinoe took a special interest (Tarn, *Antigonus*, p. 201—2): "there was erected on the island, either by her or in her honour, a building called the Philadelphion, which contained her picture; and it was no doubt at her request that Callimachus wrote his Hymn to Delos to be sung at the federal Ptolemaieia, with its allusion to the events of 274 and its curious attempt to show that Ptolemy had borne his part in the contest against the Gauls" by drowning his Gallic mercenaries who revolted in that year. And it is noticeable that Col. vi has names of two of the three gods of Delos, Apollo, Artemis and Leto. Does Col. vi 14 refer to the Gauls? Pausanias and the Delphic Hymns lately discovered speak of the defence of Delphi by Apollo. Line 4 might very well refer to Cyprus. *χθονί* and *σκοπέλοισι* show that it cannot be either of the places in Egypt named Arsinoe, for there are no cliffs there: but the country round Arsinoe in the north-west of Cyprus has *σκόπελοι*, nor would it be incorrect to call *Πηδάλιον*, Cap Greco, which is near the south-eastern Arsinoe, *σκόπελος*, and Strabo's words justify this.

As then Callimachus wrote a Hymn to Delos introducing into it references to the greatness of Ptolemy, so this composition might be a Hymn to Cyprus, to be sung at some festival, and introducing the deification of Arsinoe, and that is the title which I should be disposed to give it.

One other point may be added in support of Cyprus. In Col. iv, line 5 sqq., there is a reference to some *μῦθος* which the poet checks himself from giving fully. The text is unfortunately fragmentary. Salamis is the locality of the story of Iphis and Anaxarete as Ovid tells it in *Metam.* xiv 698—760, and Hermesianax in his second poem to Leontion (we

have no fragments of it); it is summarised in Antoninus Liberalis, 39, who gives the names as Arceophon and Arsinoe. Arsinoe rejected Arceophon's secret passion, he died, and she after watching his funeral out of curiosity was turned into a stone, which was shown at Salamis.

dominae sub imagine signum

Servat adhuc Salamis; Veneris quoque nomine templum
Prospicientis habet; (l. 759)

that is, 'Ἀφροδίτη παρακύπτουσα, "the Peeping Aphrodite." See Farnell, *Cults*, II 754. Can this be the μῦθος referred to here?

We now come to the question of the authorship of the fragment. Two poems on the deification of Arsinoe are extant: they are by the contemporary epigrammatist Posidippus. The first is a comparatively recent discovery (Schott, Posidipp. 2, *Anthol. Pal.* Cougny, III, 80), having been first published by H. Weil from a papyrus in 1879. The subject is the dedication to her of a temple at Zephyrium near Canopus.

Ep. 2. ἔνθα με Καλλικράτης ἰδρύσατο καὶ βασιλίσσης
ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης Κυπρίδος ὠνόμασεν κ.τ.λ.

Ep. 3 (ap. Athen. iii, 318 D)

Κυπρίδος ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης
.....ἐπὶ Ζεφυριτίδος ἄκτης.

There is reason for thinking that Posidippus wrote a poem in hexameters probably called *Αἰσώπεια*; there is also a Posidippus who wrote about Cyprus: Mueller thinks he was the epigrammatist, Susemihl does not; Schott, the recent editor of Posidippus, leaves it uncertain. But Posidippus' extant epigrams have no points of similarity with this poem; and though he mentions above the deified Arsinoe, there is no further reason for supposing him to be the author of it.

It would be a satisfaction if we could show that this fragment is from the lost poem by Callimachus on the marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, particularly as Wilamowitz has lately published in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* (1912, XXIX, p. 524 sqq.) fragments of a lyric poem by Callimachus on her death

in 270. No doubt in Col. i ὑμέναιοι and θιάσεται occur, but it is not certain whether Col. ii succeeds i immediately, nor does the fragment in the Pindar Scholium with its address ὦ ξείνε cohere with the address χαίρετε in our fragment line 3, although it is true that the opening of our fragment has been lost.

But the chief argument against the Callimachean authorship is the style, which is free, flowing, and artless; and the treatment of the metre, especially the caesura in the 4th foot, is not Callimachean¹. On the other hand, μῦθον μὲν παρελώμεθα reminds one, if παρελώμεθα means "praetereamus," of the way in which Callimachus checks himself at the opening of the long fragment of the Αἴτια published by Professor Hunt in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. VII, l. 4

"Ἡρην γάρ κοτέ φασι—κύνον, κύον, ἴσχεο.

The question of the authorship must at present be left undetermined. The diction sometimes recalls the Orphica, and the tone resembles the Hymn to Adonis in Theocritus xv. The poem may be not much earlier than the papyrus: but we may provisionally assign it to the first century B.C., possibly the first century A.D.

Column III. 1, 2, suppl. Goodspeed.

1—4 probably are an aetiological account of the name Ἀφροδίτη (E. A. Barber).

2. For χαροπός in connection with Aphrodite cf. Antipater, *Anth. Pal.* IX, 143, 5

Ἰλάσκειν τὴν Κύπριν, ἐγὼ δέ σοι ἥ ἐν ἔρωτι
οὔριος, ἥ χαροπῶ πλεύσομαι ἐν πελάγει

and Anacreonta, 54, 11.

5. Suppl. Goodspeed.

6. χαρτὸν ἐνείσα, H. W. Garrod.

παρημία δ' ἐστίν, Goodspeed; but σσ and στ resemble each

¹ On this as a mark of an inartistic metrician, see Diels on the Paean of

Isyllus, in *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 61: it is frequent in Isyllus.

other in this Pap., cf. *πασσάσιν* in l. 12, and we may with certainty read *παρηιάδεσσιν*.

7. *βλεφάρων*, conj. E. A. Barber (afterwards verified from Pap.), *τῶν ἀπὸ καὶ ἐκ βλεφάρων*, H. W. Garrod; rather short, unless there was some dittography.

8. *ἔκ γε δὴ εὐαγέων μαζῶν δροσέρ' ἄνθεμ' ὄδωδε* H. W. Garrod, but this is rather far from Pap. Perhaps *ἐκ δ' ἄρα χιονέων* and *θάμα*, or *ἀμαρυναί*, cf. n. on p. 118, and Theocr. xxiii, 7.

9. Perhaps *ἐκ κροτάφων*.

ξανθοὶ πλόκαμοι μυροβοστρυχόεντες, H. W. Garrod.

10. *ρόδανόχροα*, E. A. Barber.

ἡδύτατ' ἀμφ' ὄμους ἰδανόχροας, H. W. Garrod.

11. *καὶ* and *θαλάμοις*, Goodspeed; *ῆσαι*, H. W. Garrod.

12. *σεμνῶς*, J. A. Smith; *παρὰ πασστάσιν* (E. A. Barber) is convincing, cf. 6.

13. *ἐνθάδε*, Goodspeed; *ἄνδρα δὲ τῇ νύμφῃ πρὸς λέκτρα φίλον σὺ χαρίζει*, W. R. Hardie.

14. *μερόπων*, Hunt.

15. Suppl. Goodspeed. Perhaps *θέλγει*.

17. Perhaps *πόντον τ'*.

πρὸς αἰθέρα διάν, J. A. Smith.

Column IV follows Col. iii directly; presumably it is a part of the same poem.

4. Perhaps *δαῖμον*, Hermes; vid. Roscher, *Epith. Deor.*

5. Perhaps *πλαν-*.

6. The scribe has dislocated the line: *πτηνοὺς ἐς πάντας ἔρωτας* is clearly the end.

7. *μεταλλωντας* has not yet been cleared up. Perhaps *ἄγεις*. H. W. Garrod suggests *τοὺς μερόπων ἔργοις φρένα καρτερόεσσι πλανῶντας*: the dislocation may well have affected this line also.

8. *παρελώμεθα* may mean "let us withdraw"; less probably "let us adopt." H. W. Garrod would take it = *praetervehamur*, from *παρελάομαι*.

14. *ἡμῖν*.

Column V follows iv directly.

Column VI. Its relation to the preceding columns is unknown. This appears to be from a Hymn to Apollo: the first five lines may refer to Egypt and may be compared with the praises of Egypt in Theocritus xvii. Line 26 contains a new reference to *Θεοὶ ἄγνωστοι* which may be added to Norden's instances. Lines 9—13 may contain a reference to the retreat of the Gauls from Delphi (*γένος ἄγριον ἀνδρῶν*).

3. Suppl. Hunt.

6. *ὀλβίοτα* Pap. may be right, *ὄλβιστε*, ap. Goodspeed, *ὄλβιέ τε Ζεῦ*, A. D. Godley.

9. *κεραυνοβίην*, Goodspeed.

13. *φύλα*, Goodspeed.

16. *〈καὶ〉*, Goodspeed.

17. The new collation here is important, as destroying the word *βριαρεοφόντης* which Herwerden had inserted in the Appendix to his Lexicon, from this place.

23. Perhaps *δαίμων*.

24. *κλαδόνες· κλάδοι*. Hesych.

26. Suppl. *θεοῖσιν*. The stop is in Pap.

Column VII is continuous with Col. vi.

Column VIII. A loose fragment, the relation of which to the preceding column is unknown; but *πόντον*, l. 2, *γαίην* 4, *ἦστο* 7, *νᾶμα* 8, point to a connection with Col. ix, and render probable *τὸν στυγερόν* (Hunt) sc. *θῆρα* in l. 11 (cf. ix, 7).

Column IX. 5. *ὦρτο* cannot be read, although the words suggest Frag. Anon. ap. Callim. Schneider, vol. II, p. 738, no. 136 *ὦρτο μὲν μέγα κύμα*, but that fragment needs correction.

9. *ἄρ' ἄρ'?*

10—16. Supplements by Goodspeed.

11. ὄντος Hunt.

The column contains the account of Andromeda and the sea-monster, and suggests a question of some interest to Latin scholars. There is a marked similarity to the episode of Perseus and Andromeda in Manilius v, 540 sqq., the only romantic part of his poem: cf. 569 sqq.

Ter circum Alcyones pennis planxere volantes,
Fleueruntque tuos miserando carmine casus,
Et tibi contextas umbram fecere per alas:
Ad tua sustinuit fluctus spectacula pontus,
Adsuetasque sibi desiit perfundere rupes.

1. 13 ἀλκυονὶς χήρα may well have been the original of v. 559, 560, for such a touch could hardly have been invented by Manilius. Other phrases also are like Manilius; Ἑκδοτον 16, cf. Man. v, 540 dirorum culpa parentum | Prodidit; βρόχοις 12, cf. Man. v, 552 iniectaue vincla: μέγα κύμα 5, cf. Man. v, 580 gravidus iam surgere pontus | coeperat. The connection with Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 662 sqq., is less apparent; but the felicitous new compound ἀντιλάλων (ἀντιλάλων γενετῶν, l. 15) is like *Metam.* iv, 669 maternae pendere linguae | Andromedan poenas. It appears likely therefore that we can date this poem as earlier than Manilius, and possibly earlier than Ovid, and that we may consider it as the Alexandrian Ἐπύλλιον from which they drew.

Column X is a loose fragment unconnected with the others and is apparently from a Hymn to Isis (who was assimilated to many Greek deities as early as the Ptolemaic age), to Apollo and to Dionysus. Professor Hunt first pointed out the curious and unparalleled mixture of Hexameters and Scazons: lines 4, 6, 7, are apparently Scazons.

2. Ἄρτεμιν, Hunt.

1. 3 refers to Hecate τρικάρηνος; cf. e.g. Abel, *Orph. Hymni Magici*, v, 23 sq. Ἄρτεμι Περσεφόνη...τρικάρανε...τριπρόσωπε, τριαύχενε.

5. λιπαυγέσιν, Goodspeed.

8. μαντικόν, Hunt.

12. ἡδύν is a mistake in Pap. for ἡδύ.

13, 14. Text, Hunt.

Column XI. Its relation to the previous columns is unknown. The surface of this fragment is much worn, and no general sense can be made out: possibly l. 6 refers to Aphrodite. Professor Hunt first noticed two parallel lines after l. 3, which point to the beginning of a new poem.

6. Perhaps ἀργυρέου.

8. θαλασσοπόροιο, Goodspeed.

9. μεγάλην, Hunt.

Frag. i is a loose fragment. 4, 5, 6 may refer to Apollo.

Frag. ii is a loose fragment. χαλεποῖο, Hunt.

Frag. iii is a loose fragment, not printed by Goodspeed.

J. U. POWELL.

APOLLONIUS AGAIN.

i 8. *δηρὸν δ' οὐ μετέπειτα τεὴν κατὰ βάζιν Ἰήσων.*

This has been defended on the supposition that *τεὴν* refers to Apollo, but I agree with Mr Seaton in thinking this impossible. "The objection to *τεὴν* appears to be that the ancient poets, after the invocation is over, do not recur to it" (*Cl. Rev.* 1903, p. 69). Merkel's *ἐτεὴν* is highly improbable, because the only oblique case of the word known is the adverb *ἐτεῇ*. Mr Mooney has successfully restored *ἐτεῇ* for *αἰτεῖ* at ii 1179; should we not restore it here also? "And not long thereafter in very truth came Jason according to the oracle."

ἐτεῇ was a rare word and liable to corruption; so the *ἐτεῇ* of Democritus was corrupted to *αἰτίη* in Diog. Laert. ix 72.

i 82. *ὥς οὐκ ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μήκιστον ἐπαυρεῖν.*

The meaning required is "no evil is too remote for men to meet with," but it is not easy to get this out of the Greek. The only way I can construe it is: "no evil can be counted most distant for men to meet with," i.e. "however remote a contingency you can imagine, it is possible that a yet more remote one may arise." This is proved by the fate of Canthus and Mopsus, who went on a dangerous errand to Colchis, and yet perished not there, but at the most distant place from it that can be thought of.

Something like this is ii 524, *οὐδέ τις αἶα τηλουργός*, "no land is distant to a man's imagination."

i 272. *ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρυνῇ βίοτον βαρὺν ἡγηλάζει·
καὶ ἐ νέον πολέεσσιν ὀνειδέσιν ἐστυφέλιξεν,
τῇ δέ τ' ὀδυρομένη δέδεται κέαρ ἔνδοθεν ἄτη.*

If *ἐστυφέλιξεν* were a gnomic aorist, *νέον* would be unconstruable. The meaning is "and she has just overwhelmed

her with reproaches." Köchly's $\eta \epsilon$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon$ is certainly the natural epic idiom, η being not relative but demonstrative. I do not know what Merkel means by saying " $\kappa\alpha\iota$ est B 361." As we are changing the subject in 273 we should expect some other connexion than $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in Apollonius, who is very particular in such matters and does not in the least follow the Homeric licence about changing the subject without any warning.

Look at the very first simile in Homer, B 87: $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon \epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\alpha \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota \mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu \dots \alpha\acute{\iota} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau' \epsilon\nu\theta\alpha \acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma \pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\eta\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha\iota \alpha\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\epsilon \epsilon\nu\theta\alpha$. So here we should expect $\eta \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu \dots \tau\eta \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\epsilon$. And of course the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ might be suppressed.

i 517. $\eta \theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma$.

It has been much disputed whether we should read η or $\eta\iota$ in such phrases in Homer. Modern editors of Apollonius seem always to read η . The MSS. can hardly be quoted seriously on such a point; if any one does appeal to them he will soon think better of it, for L reads η at i 517, 692, η at i 960, iv 1129, and $\eta\pi\epsilon\rho \epsilon\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\iota$ at iii 189! G has η at i 517, 960, 1061, ii 840, iii 189, 991, 1062, iv 479, 1129. Though G often enough drops the iota subscript, still this constant habit with η seems to denote a deliberate theory that η was the right form. For such a theory no support is to be found in Ebeling, who does however mention one to the effect that η is "an adverb like $\nu\eta \mu\eta \phi\eta$." Nor is G supported by the superior authority of L. So far as the evidence of these two MSS. does go, L is for η in the main and G may be said to point rather to $\eta\iota$. And I suppose we may neglect the theory that η was an adverb.

We must consider the passages in the *Argonautica* on their own merits, when it will appear that they may be divided into three groups.

(1) η clearly right: i 692 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma \eta \theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma \epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$, iii 991 $\eta \theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma, \acute{\omega}\varsigma \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$. Here there can hardly be a doubt, and η is surely better also at i 959 $\iota\delta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu, \eta \theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma \eta\epsilon\nu$, 1060 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron} \tau' \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\theta\lambda\omega\nu, \eta \theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma$. This η is also very strongly supported by iii 189 $\eta\pi\epsilon\rho \epsilon\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\iota$, 1062 $\eta \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu, \eta \tau\omicron\iota \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\nu$, where by the way $\eta \tau\omicron\iota$, not $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\iota$, is apparently right; cp. the

repeated $\pi\eta$ directly after in 1071, 1072 and other repetitions of the kind¹.

(2) η clearly right: iv 684 η τε δίκη λυγροῖς ικέτῃσι τέτυκται, though η is not impossible there. But η is supported by two places where η is indisputable as a demonstrative: ii 800 η γὰρ θέμις, iii 209 η γάρ τε δίκη θεσμοῖο τέτυκται.

(3) Doubtful: i 517, ii 840, iv 1129. In these three Brunck reads η , rightly I think upon the whole.

And now the reader will be surprised to hear that all these passages are correctly printed by Brunck. Merkel is responsible for introducing η where Brunck had sense enough to see that η was required. Either Merkel simply followed L with a difference, or else argued that η was right in Homer, and therefore in Apollonius. But nobody knows what view Ap. took of the question as concerning the text of Homer, and he varies from Homer in all sorts of ways. Of course he could use sometimes the one and sometimes the other as he pleased, but if we are to force uniformity upon him, what I have said shews abundantly that we shall have to read η wherever the relative is used.

We can however draw a conclusion from this about the Homeric use. If η is so often required in Apollonius, why is it never required by the sense in Homer? Why is η always sufficient in him? If he had meant η some passage or other would have shewn his meaning, as in Ap. i 692. It may be inferred therefore that in Homer η is always the true reading.

i 671. παρθενικαὶ...λευκῇσιν ἐπιχνοάουσαι ἐθείραις. Miss Lorimer has called my attention to Eur. *Hel.* 283, πολλὰ παρθευέεται, a phrase which goes a long way to supporting the text, and is the only good parallel yet adduced.

i 689. η μὲν ἐγών, εἰ καί με τὰ νῦν ἔτι πεφρίκασιν
Κῆρες, ἐπερχόμενόν που οἶομαι εἰς ἔτος ἥδη
γαῖαν ἐφέσσεσθαι, κτερέων ἀπὸ μοῖραν ἐλοῦσαν.

It is really astonishing how long the most glaring bad grammar will escape one's notice. ἐλοῦσαν refers to the subject

¹ η τοι however, the reading of L etc., has now the strong support of Ox. Pap. 1243.

of *οἶομαι* and therefore is a corruption of *ἐλοῦσα*, and I never saw it till now!

- ii 506. *ἔνθα δ' Ἀρισταῖον Φοῖβω τέκεν, δν καλέουσιν
Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον πολυλήιοι Αἰμονίηες.
τὴν μὲν γὰρ φιλότῃτι θεὸς ποιήσατο νύμφην
αὐτοῦ μακραίωνα καὶ ἀγρότιν· νῖα δ' ἔνεικεν
νηπίαχον Χείρωνος ὑπ' ἄντροισιν κομέεσθαι.*

The connexion of this passage is pretty clear if only we pay heed to *μὲν* and *δέ*. Ap. is explaining the curious fact that Aristaeus is specially connected with Haemonia, and yet he was born in Libya and his mother is one of the Libyan "earth-nymphs," *χθονίη νύμφη*. "In Libya she bore Aristaeus, whom the Haemonians call Agreus and Nomius, for though the god made her a nymph *αὐτοῦ*, there in Libya, still he brought his son back to be bred up in the cave of Chiron," and so the apparent discrepancy is explained.

The mention of Sirius in 517, 524 in connexion with Aristaeus may be illustrated from Callimachus *Aitia* 35 (Oxyrh. Pap. 1011):

πρῆνεν χαλεπὴν Μαῖραν ἀνερχομένην.

Aristaeus is a bee hero and Sirius is specially connected with bees. Pliny *Hist. Nat.* xi 12, venit hoc (mel) ex aere et maxime siderum exortu, praecipueque ipso Sirio exsplendescente fit. xi 14, alterum genus est mellis aestivi, quod ideo vocatur *ώραῖον*, a tempestivitate praecipua, ipso Sirio exsplendescente post solstitium diebus tricenis fere. See Mr Ticknor Edwardes' quaint romance *The Honey Star*, to which I owe the reference to Pliny. Virgil *Georg.* iv 425.

- ii 972 *τῷ δ' οὐτις ποταμῶν ἐναλίγκιος, οὐδὲ ῥέεθρα
τόσσ' ἐπὶ γαίαν ἴησι παρέξ ἔθεν ἄνδιχα βάλλων.
τετράκις εἰς ἑκατὸν δεύοιτό κεν εἴ τις ἕκαστα*
975 *πεμπάζοι, μία δ' οἴῃ ἐτήτυμος ἔπλετο πηγῇ.
ἢ μὲν τ' ἐξ ὀρέων κατανίσσεται ἡπειρόνδε
ὑψηλῶν, ἃ τέ φασιν Ἀμαζόνια κλείεσθαι,
ἔνθεν δ' αἰπυτέρην ἐπικίδναται ἔνδοθι γαίαν
ἀντικρύ· τῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπίστροφοί εἰσι κέλευθοι,*

980 αἰεὶ δ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη, ὅπη κύρσειε μάλιστα
 ἠπείρου χθαμαλῆς, εἰλίσσεται, ἥ μὲν ἄπωθεν
 ἡ δὲ πέλας· πολέες δὲ πόροι νώνυμοι ἔασιν
 ὅππη ὑπεξαφύονται, ὁ δ' ἀμφαδὸν ἄμμιγα παύροις
 Πόντον ἐς Ἀξεινον κυρτὴν ὑπερεύγεται ἄκρην.

This passage appears to need explanation, for those which I have looked at are very unsatisfactory. The river is the Thermodon, which is like no other because it splits up into such a multitude of streams. There are no less than ninety-six of them, but only one real source. The original river flows down from the high Amazonian range of mountains into a plain, *ἠπείρου*, a curious use of the word to which I know no parallel except ii 372, 399. Then the difficulties begin for both Thermodon and the translators. Manifestly the river cannot spread over higher ground, even though it is a river in Apollonius; *αἰπυτέρην ἐπικίδναται γαίαν ἀντικρὺ* can only mean one thing; after flowing across the plain, the water comes straight against a range of higher ground; *αἰπυτέρην* has its proper comparative force. In such a case, what can the river do? Either it forms a lake if all outlet is barred, or else it has to wander about till it finds a way through, and Thermodon contrives to find no less than ninety-six of them; *τῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπίστροφοὶ εἰσι κέλευθοι*, "therefore its streams have to twist about, and each of them flows where it can find low enough ground to get through the hills." Some have to go further for this purpose, others find a channel at once. Many of them *νώνυμοι ἔασιν ὅππη ὑπεξαφύονται*; this is certainly hard to understand; Liddell and Scott say that *ὑπεξαφύονται* means "are lost in the sands," but there is not a word about sand in the context, nor is the scenery described, a plain rising into hills, one where streams would be so swallowed up. And *ὑπεξαφύω* can mean nothing except "draw off"; *οἶνον ἀφύσσω* does not mean "I swallow wine." Nor is it any sense to say that a stream is nameless where it is swallowed up. Again, what is *νώνυμοι*? does it mean "nameless" at all? The two forms *νώνυμος* and *νώνυμνος* were thought by the ancients to be distinct, and it was a popular idea that the latter was

derived from ὕμνος. Ap. then perhaps means "they are not celebrated where they split off," and yet this does not seem much better, if at all. Possibly we should go further still; if we look at the way in which νώνυμνος is used by Homer, we shall be struck by its frequent combination with ἀπολέσθαι. M 70, N 227 (Ξ 70 ?), νωνύμνους ἀπολέσθαι ἀπ' Ἀργεος ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοῖς; ξ 182, ὅπως ἀπὸ φύλον ὀληται νώνυμον. The last is the shorter form of the word no doubt, but anyhow Ap. knew of this connexion in at least three and perhaps four passages of Homer, for he may have known the doubtful line Ξ 70. When we consider the sort of colouring an obsolete word gets in old poetry from its context, and when we reflect on the absurd errors made about the meaning of words by the Alexandrines, is it too much to think that νώνυμοι ἔασιν ὅππῃ ὑπεξαφύονται really is meant to suggest something like "perish where they leave the parent stream"? The consequence of this would be that only a few survive to reach the sea with the main river, as he goes on to say.

So after all these streams are swallowed up somehow, it appears, but Ap. does not tell us what happens to them; in fact he was describing a nonsensical business and knew it, and so gets out of the trouble perfunctorily. Such is too often his custom; why could he not avail himself of the freedom granted to poets and leave alone geographical problems which neither he nor any one else can make head or tail of?

I do not understand ἔνδοθι in 978. In 984 the MSS. are quite right; Ruhnken's ἄχνην for ἄκρην is a strange misapprehension on the part of a scholar from whom one is always loth to differ. See ii 371: Θεμισκύρειον ὑπ' ἄκρην μύρεται, spoken of the same river.

ii 1127. ἦ ἐνι τειρόμενοι ἅμ' ἐπὶ χρέος ἐμβεβαῶτες.

πείρομεν οἶδμα Köchly. Why did Merkel want to spoil this by reading πείρομεν οἶμον? The following passages throw some light upon Apollonian usage in the matter. iv 838, οἶμον ὁδεύειν (cf. Tryph. 102); iii 388, iv 457, οἶδμα περῆσαι; iv 980, πείρον ἄλδος μέγα λαίτμα; ii 775, πείρετε πλόον; iv 496, πέραν πλόον. Evidently πείρειν οἶδμα goes together much

better than *πείρειν οἶμον*, and palaeographically there can be no question between them. Perhaps Merkel objected to the hiatus, and certainly there are only eleven other instances of hiatus in the weak caesura of the third foot in our poet: i 332, 543, 705, 714, 1176, ii 693, 955, iii 263, 492, 591, 738 (for I cannot include ii 1268, iii 409, 495), but are not these enough to defend it? We are bound then to accept *οἶδμα*.

But Köchly went further, and changed *ἐπὶ* to *κατά*. Well, he was quite right again; he knew far more about epic usage and Greek in general than Merkel did, who for all his industry and learning had but little feeling for Greek usage. What is *ἐπὶ χρέος*? What does it go with? It cannot go with *πείρομεν οἶδμα* or *οἶμον*, for nobody says *πλεῖν ἐπὶ χρέος* for to "sail on business"; still less can it go with *ἐμβεβαῶτες*, which simply means "being on board." If *χρέος* means merely "a thing" we can say *ἰέναι ἐπὶ χρέος*, "to go for a thing," but here of course the meaning is "on business" and that is *κατὰ χρέος*, and sure enough we have *κατὰ χρέος* in one sense or another at iii 189, iv 530, 889, *κατὰ χρεῖω* at i 660.

πειρομενοιαμακατα, however written, would not scan and was stupidly altered in consequence.

iii 80. εἰ δὴ σείω λιλαιομένης ἀθερίζω
ἦ ἔπος ἤέ τι ἔργον, ὃ κεν χέρες αἶγε κάμοιεν
ἠπεδαναί.

It is very difficult to feel any security about the use of *ὅδε*, *ὄγε* in epic verse, but *αἶγε* seems here to trespass the bounds of belief. Probably we should read *αἶδε*, for of course this confusion is very common.

iii 215. ἔσταν δ' ἐν προμολῇσι τεθηπότες ἔρκε' ἀνακτος
εὐρείας τε πύλας, καὶ κίονας οἱ περὶ τοίχους
ἐξείης ἀνεχον, θριγκὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε δόμοιο
λαίνεος χαλκέησιν ἐπὶ γλυφίδεσσιν ἀρήρει.

Is *ἀνεχον* transitive or intransitive? Transitive, I think, for the statement that pillars stood all round the walls seems feeble and contrary to one's poetic feeling. If a poet says that "a pillar stands," he calls up the picture of a pillar like that of

Simeon Stylites, supporting nothing; now a row of such pillars here would be absurd. Again τοίχους means not the wall round the court, for that would be τεῖχος or τειχίον, but the wall of the palace itself. Ap. then is thinking of a sort of cloister in which a row of columns supports a wall rising above them, as in the Doge's Palace. Knowing his business as a painter in verse, he leads the eye upwards from the columns along the palace wall above them to the θριγκὸς at the top of the whole building. περὶ is adverbial.

So Tennyson describing the Palace of Art:

And round the cool green courts there ran a row
Of cloisters branched like mighty woods...
And round the roofs a gilded gallery.

He leads the eye up in just the same way.

iii 248.

τῇ μὲν ἄρ' οὔγε

ἐκ θαλάμου θάλαμόνδε κασιγνήτην μετιούσαν—
"Ἦρῃ γάρ μιν ἔρυκε δόμῳ· πρὶν δ' οὔτι θάμιζεν
ἐν μεγάροις, Ἐκάτης δὲ πανήμερος ἀμφεπονεῖτο
νῆόν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεᾶς αὐτὴ πέλεν ἀρήτειρα—
καὶ σφεας ὥς ἴδεν ἄσσον, ἀνίαχεν.

So LG, τὴν μὲν ἄρ' οὔγε...μετιούσαν or ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ἡει... μετιούσα inferior MSS. These are probably attempts at correction, at any rate they are quite worthless. "Emendatio, si qua opus est, non optime processit," says Merkel, quoting three monstrosities in that way. Surely all we want is τῇ μὲν ἄρ' ἡγε...μετιούσα. The anacoluthon, considering the three parenthetic lines, is extremely slight; Merkel (who reads τὴν μὲν ἄρ' οὔ γε...μετιούσαν) refers to two other places, iv 435, 852. Now in both those places Ap. begins with ἡ δὲ in the nominative, and they are closely parallel to my proposal, but they do not come anywhere near such a violent piece of grammar as τὴν οὔγε μετιούσαν καὶ σφεας ὥς ἴδεν ἀνίαχεν, which is surely impossible in such a poet as this and would astonish us even in Aeschylus.

I suppose that μετιούσαν was the first stage in the corruption, either by attraction to κασιγνήτην or by the irrational addition of ν at the end of a line of which I have spoken

before. $\tau\eta$ was then altered by some MSS. to $\tau\eta\nu$ to agree with it. When or why $\eta\gamma\epsilon$ became $\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ I will not guess, but I do not think that $\eta\epsilon\iota$ of some other MSS. is anything but an interpolation. I should add that Gerhard came very near the truth with $\beta\eta$ (which however is impossible) $\eta\gamma\epsilon$ *μετιοῦσα*.

iii 287.

ἀντία δ' αἰεὶ

*βάλλεν ἐπ' Αἰσονίδην ἀμαρύγματα, καὶ οἱ ἄηντο
στηθέων ἐκ πυκινὰ καμάτῳ φρένες.*

$\epsilon\pi'$ G, $\upsilon\pi'$ L, which is nonsense, nor can any true parallel to it be quoted from Ap. $\acute{\alpha}\eta\nu\tau\omicron$. $\pi\nu\omicron\eta\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\nu$ η $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$, says the scholiast— $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\omicron$. $\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron$ Hesych.; the former may be philologically right, but the latter is what Ap. meant. He misunderstood Homer's use of $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\omicron$ in Φ 386 $\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha$ $\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\omicron$, and supposed it to mean "jumped" or the like; so at iii 688, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$ $\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, "my heart is agitated(?)." But at ii 81 he plainly connects it with $\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$, $\epsilon\pi'$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ $\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$, and so the scholiast says $\epsilon\zeta\eta\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. Here (iii 288) the meaning is "her heart jumped into her mouth"; contrast iii 634: $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ δ' $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\tau\omicron$ $\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$.

There is nothing wonderful in his adventures with these words; before Aristarchus fancy ran riot on the Homeric vocabulary; $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\tau\eta\tau\eta\nu$ (*sic*) in A 6 was supposed by some to mean "on account of a woman," and $\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha$ in I 324 "a locust." Another word where I think I see Ap. speculating is $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Orpheus sang against the Sirens (iv 909):

*παρθενικὴν δ' ἐνοπὴν ἐβιήσατο φόρμιγξ,
νῆα δ' ὁμοῦ ζέφυρός τε καὶ ἠχῆεν φέρε κύμα
πρυμνόθεν ὀρνύμενον· τὰ δ' ἄκριτον ἔσαν αὐδὴν.*

Is it not very flat and pointless to say "they went on singing unceasingly"? Surely the context demands: "sang in vain," especially as the poet goes on with $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha}$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, "but in spite of this one of the Argonauts jumped overboard and swam off to them." To say that "they sang unceasingly, but in spite of this etc." is no connexion at all. And the meaning "in vain" exactly suits the use of the word at σ 124, τ 170, $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\acute{\iota}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, though of course I do not intend

to say that Homer so meant it. In truth to this day we are in the dark about many such Homeric words, and the orthodox views which we accept and have come to believe in are not always infallible; I am not at all so sure that Ap. may not be right about ἀκριτον after all.

iii 891. ὦ φίλαι, ἦ μέγα δὴ τι παρήλιτον, οὐδ' ἐνόησα
μὴ ἔμεν ἀλλοδαποῖσι μετ' ἀνδρασιν, οἳ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
ἡμετέρην στρωφῶσιν.

The hiatus in the first foot is of a kind unparalleled in Ap., the meaning is obscure, the construction of ἔμεν μετ' ἀνδρασιν is doubtful. But Merkel's μῆνιμ' makes it all worse than ever; Samuelsson's ἔμμεναι is much better and is supported by i 779, μετ' ἀλλοδαποῖσιν ἐόντος ἀνδράσι (Mooney). Compare however also ii 870, γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ δὴν ἔμμεναι; did not Ap. then here say δὴν ἔμεν? It is rather nearer than ἔμμεναι to μὴ ἔμεν, and Medea might well enough say: "I did not bethink me of being *all this time* among the strangers."

iii 932. ἀκλειῆς ὃδε μάντις, ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα παῖδες ἴσασιν
οἶδε νόῳ φράσσασθαι.

Because Callimachus said that Envy did not love a poet ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἰείδει, it is supposed that there must here be a reference to Callimachus. But nobody can explain intelligibly what the point of the reference may be, and where is the necessity for supposing any reference at all? Cannot two poets use the words οὐδ' ὅσα without being accused of imitating or parodying one another? To say that the crow who calls Mopsus ἀκλειῆς μάντις is Callimachus, and that Mopsus is Apollonius himself who only replies with a smile of disdain, is a theory which breaks down at once, because Mopsus takes the advice of the crow. Besides, the crow is the mouthpiece of Hera herself.

No doubt Callimachus was attacking Apollonius in what *he* said, but I altogether deny that Ap. is here answering him.

iv 208. πρυμναῖα νεὼς ἀπο πείσματ' ἔκοψεν.

We should think a good deal before altering νεὼς to νεός, although it is certainly true that Ap. does use νεὰς in i 1201.

I transcribe Schneider's note on Callimachus *Hymn.* iii 37 (vol. i, p. 209):

"Quum II 65 Callimachus *βαθύγειος* dixisset, nunc atticam formam *μεσόγεως* versui accommodavit non aliam ob causam nisi quod metro facilius constringebatur. idem fecit in forma item attica *νεώς* in frag. CX *ἐν στομάτεσσι νεώς Ἀχεροντείης ἐπίβαθρον*, quod imitatus est Apoll. Rhod. IV 208 *σπασσάμενος πρυμναῖα νεώς ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψεν*. nec desunt alia atticismi vestigia (ut fortasse etiam *μακράν* II 7), qualia prudens et sciens admisit Callimachus erravitque hac quoque in re Cobet. l. l. p. 420 seq." (l. l. is *Mnemosyne* vol. x.)

Atticism is a very fine thing in connexion with Attic writers, but it is a mistake to apply this engine reversed without discrimination to Alexandrines. At the same time I deplore Schneider's assumption that Ap. was imitating Callimachus. It is too ridiculous that these two authors can never say that two and two make four without being accused of imitating or criticizing one another. They both wrote *νεώς* before a vowel because it was a form perfectly familiar to them and they did not care to use metrical ictus freely. Though a good many instances of it can be collected from Ap., still he obviously does not court it. If a papyrus should turn up with *νεὸς* in either passage, it will be another story; at present we are bound to adhere to the MSS.

νεὸς is also read in *Orph. Arg.* 442.

iv 259. *ἔστιν γὰρ πλόος ἄλλος, ὃν ἀθανάτων ἱερῆες
πέφραδον, οἱ Θήβης Τριτωνίδος ἐκγεγάασιν.*

Thebe must here be a goddess or nymph, daughter of Triton, from whom the priests of Egyptian Thebes are said to be descended. I do not see how *Θήβης ἐκγεγάασιν* can mean simply "are inhabitants of Thebes," or how it can mean less than "are descendants of Thebe¹."

iv 270. *Διόθεν δέ μιν οὔποτε δεύει
ὄμβρος ἄλιν προχοῇσι δ' ἀνασταχύνουσιν ἄρουραι.*

The scholiast raises the question whether we should punc-

¹ "eine ägyptische Nympe, Nonn. 4, 304; 5, 86; 41, 270." Pape, *Eigenamen.* H. J.

tuatē before or after ἄλις. The position of δὲ ought to settle it; Ap. hardly ever places it third in its sentence. I have only noted two instances, and even they are of no avail. i 756, σὺν τῷ δ' Οἰνόμαος, where σὺν τῷ is nothing like ἄλις προχοῇσι; iv 511, ὕστατον αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτε, where the reading is very doubtful; δεῖ γάρ τε *Et. Mag.* whence Merkel ὕστατον αὐ, δὴ γάρ τε.

For position of ἄλις see iv 656, ἰδρῶ ἄλις · χροίῃ δέ. In both places it means "in abundance," and though this is a very unnecessary addition to the words οὐποτε δεύει ὄμβρος, still there is no objection to it.

iv 336. ὥς δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀκτὰς πληθύν λῖπεν ἀγχόθι νήσους.

ἀκτὰς Vind., Vrat. in marg., ἀητὰς L, ἄλλας L corr., vulg. ἀκτὰς then is plainly the original, ἄλλας is only a desperate attempt to get sense, which fails ignominiously because all the "other islands" for which we have any room have just been mentioned. For νήσους Vrat. in marg. gives νήσων. It is not very probable that this is anything but a conjecture, if we consider the whole context. For 330 ends with ἀγχόθι νήσους, 333 with λῖπον ἔνδοθι νήσους. To end 336 then with λῖπεν (or λῖπον; MSS. vary and both readings make sense) ἀγχόθι νήσων is altogether out of the question, and this cannot have been the original reading. Merkel is obviously right in saying: "verba postrema vitio satis vetusto, ut scriptura ἄλλας pro ἀκτὰς indicat, ex v. 333 aut 330 repetita." When however he goes on to suggest possibilities for supplying the last two feet of the line, he has omitted to observe that whatever he supplies must be wrong for the simple reason that the first four feet will not construe. λῖπεν εἰς ἀκτὰς is not Greek for anything whatever, and it is clear that the whole phrase λῖπεν ἀγχόθι νήσους has come in from above; all we can now do is to leave a lacuna after πληθύν.

iv 377. τῷ ἐπίσχετε τάσδ' ἀλεγεινὰς
ἄμφω συνθεσίας.

I can find no parallel to ἐπέχω or ἐπίσχω συνθεσίην. ἄμφω means Jason and Absyrtus, who are to submit their case to be tried by some impartial potentate. ἐπίσχετε?

ὑπίσχετε συνθεσίας then is poetical for ὑπίσχετε δίκην κατὰ συνθεσίην.

iv 485. Κόλχον δ' ὄλεκον στόλον.

Κόλχων G, vulg. I might well say Merkel had not too much feeling for Greek usage, but he knew that Κόλχον was in L, so out Κόλχων had to go. The adjectives of Κόλχος are Κολχικός, Κόλχης and Κολχηίς; Κόλχον στόλον is as bad as Ἴνδον χρυσόν would be. No doubt in late or dubious Greek we may find such abominations, and so we may actually read Ἴνδην βήρυλλον in *Anth. Pal.* ix 544, Ἰταλὴν θυμέλην *ibid.* iv 290, and so on, but I should like some clear evidence against Apollonius before accusing him of such a crime.

iv 967. δύνον, ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἀλόχοιο Διὸς πόρσυνον ἐφετμάς.

They dived into the sea since they *had* fulfilled the behest of Hera. The imperfect does not give the only sense possible; should we read πόρσυναν? The first aorist is used in the indicative passive by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 267, *Cho.* 990), participle active by Sophocles (*O. T.* 1476), and Hesychius has πορσύναι; for the indicative active I can only quote *Orph. Arg.* 1305.

A scholion on Homer μ 453 is quoted by Merkel on page clxxv of his prolegomena. ἀριζήλως] ἀριδήλως. οὐ γὰρ ἐκτέταται ὁ ζήλος. Merkel suggests ἔγκειται for ἐκτέταται, but clearly ἐκτέταται means "is lengthened," and we should read ἐκτέταται τὸ ἰ. The scholiast meant to say that "ἀριζήλως is a poetic form for ἀριδήλως, which we cannot read, as some wish to do, because the ἰ is not lengthened before δ." When τὸ ἰ had been lost after ἐκτέταται, thereupon ὁ ζήλος was wrongly added, or else there is a considerable lacuna before ὁ ζήλος.

ARTHUR PLATT.

P.S.—Aeschylus uses νώνυμοι in the sense I assume above (p. 134). βεβᾶσιν, οἳ, νώνυμοι, "they are gone to destruction," *Pers.* 1003.

BUCOLICA.

Th. ii 149.

κεῖπέ μοι ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ὡς ἄρα Δέλφιν ἔραται.

Apart from the quantity of *ἔραται* or *ἐράται*, it seems to me that we want a genitive with it; qu. *ἐράτῃ* *τεν*? At i 78 the form *ἔρασσαι* appears easier to understand, *σ* being doubled on false Homeric analogy.

ἐράται could hardly be used in active sense by Theocritus, *ὁ ἐρώμενος* is common enough and nobody would ever use it for *ὁ ἐρώων*; so *ἐράται* could only mean "he is loved." It is no use for Hiller to quote Constantine's Anacreontics.

Th. viii 55.

*ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῇ πέτρῃ τᾷδ' ᾄσομαι ἀγκὰς ἔχων τυ,
σύννομα μᾶλ' ἐσορῶν τὰν Σικελὰν ἐς ἄλα.*

Most critics are agreed that the quatrain of which these are the last two lines is to be assigned to Daphnis, not to Menalcas. If so the correction *σύννομε κάλ'* cannot be right because of the gender; it is Menalcas who praises Milo, Daphnis is throughout *γυναικοφίλας*. But 56 as it stands is unconstruable; Fritzsche indeed gets grammar out of it by taking *ᾄσομαι ἐς ἄλα* together, but "sing into the sea"—! Besides compare xi 18, *ἐς πόντον ὀρῶν ᾄειδε*. All that is necessary is to read *Σικελάν τ' ἐς ἄλα*.

But K and some other MSS. read *τὰν Σικελικὰν*; it is clear enough that *τὰν Σικελὰν* is only a correction of this, and I much doubt whether it be the right one. The first syllable of *Σικελικὸς* is certainly lengthened by late poets and the lengthening may well have begun before Theocritus; in fact

he himself has *Σικελίδαν* as a choriambus at vii 40. I would much prefer then to read *Σικελικάν τ' ἐς ἄλλα*.

As Daphnis sits under the shelter of a rock he is presumably some way back from the cliff; he looks down a sloping green upon his sheep feeding together and beyond them the Sicilian sea, and the whole makes a beautiful picture. *ὑπὸ πέτρῳ* certainly does not mean "under the cliff"; when the Cyclops was melancholy and had found no remedy for his pain he mooned about under the cliff *ἐπ' αἰόνος*, but when he *εὔρε τὸ φάρμακον* he sat on the top of the cliff singing and looking out to sea (vii 14—18).

Th. xiii 68.

*ναῦς μὲν ἄρμεν' ἔχοισα μετάρσια τῶν παρεόντων
 ἰστία δ' ἡμίθεοι μεσονύκτιον ἐξεκάθαιρον
 Ἑρακλῆα μένοντες.*

μετάρσια must refer to the ship and therefore Graefius' *μεταρσία* is right; nobody ever heard of *ἰστία μετέωρα* whereas *ναῦς μετέωρος* is common. *ἄρμενα* and *ἰστία* mean too much the same thing and one or other must be wrong; Reiske proposed *ἱκρία* for *ἰστία*, but the presumption certainly is that *ἄρμενα* is the word to alter, both because of the scansion which shews corruption to be in that neighbourhood and because *ἄρμεν' ἔχοισα* is so feeble without *μετάρσια*. What we want with *μεταρσία* is something like *ὄρμουσα*; read then *ναῦς μὲν ἄρ' ὄρμον ἔχοισα*. The reading of Callierges, *ναῦς μένεν*, can hardly be right, since *μένοντες* comes in 70.

The verb must have followed *μεταρσία*; *τῶν παρεόντων* is evidently a desperate attempt to get some Greek words, no matter what, out of a chaotic original. The end was perhaps *πόντῳ*; *ἐνπρεπε πόντῳ*, "was to be seen on the sea," might give rise possibly to the text. 69 seems to me right as it stands; the heroes would occupy themselves with doing something, and to clean the sails is a sensible thing enough.

Th. xvi 71.

*οὐπω μῆνας ἄγων ἔκαμ' οὐρανὸς οὐδ' ἐνιαυτούς·
 πολλοὶ κινήσουσιν ἔτι τροχὸν ἄματος ἵπποι·
 ἔσσεται οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐμεῦ κεχρήσεται ἀοιδοῦ.*

ἄματος Wilamowitz for ἄρματος. What led me to see the truth about these lines was a feeling that οὐδ' ἐνιαυτοὺς is wrong somehow as it stands, but what definitely proves correction to be needed is the absurd πολλοὶ ἵπποι. The steeds of day are immortal, "many horses" of the sun is pure nonsense. Read :

οὐπω μῆνας ἄγων ἔκαμ' οὐρανὸς, οὐδ' ἐνιαυτοὺς
πολλοὺς κινήσουσιν ἔτι τροχὸν ἄματος ἵπποι

and the meaning is: "Time is not yet played out, nor shall the sun traverse the sky for many years to come before a man will arise to need my praise." It is clear that the poet must have meant to say that Hiero would do great deeds *before long*, and therefore the οὐδὲ must go with the second of these lines. As they stand he only prophesies that time will go on for a long time, and at some *far-distant* date, you would suppose, a man will appear. It is very probable too that Theocritus had in mind Sophocles *Ant.* 1064:

ἀλλ' εὖ γέ τοι κάτισθι μὴ πολλοὺς ἔτι
τρόχους ἀμιλλητῆρας ἡλίου τελῶν

(*τρόχους* Erfurdt, *τροχοὺς* MSS., and *τροχοὺς* may have been the reading of Theocritus likely enough). The resemblance of the two passages to one another is at any rate very close.

Th. xvii 28.

τῷ καὶ ἐπεὶ δαίτηθεν ἴοι κεκορημένος ἤδη
...τῷ μὲν τόξον ἔδωκεν...οἱ δὲ...ἄγουσι.

"ἴη Call." Ahrens, and ἴη is the right reading, for ἔδωκε is a gnomic aorist as is shewn by the whole context. At *Odyssey* v 490 there is an ancient variation between αὔοι and αὔη after a gnomic aorist, but there can be no doubt that αὔη is there right, and there is no authority for an optative in such a consecution anywhere else in the *Bucolica*.

Th. xvii 44.

ῥήιδιοι δὲ γοναί, τέκνα δ' οὐ ποτεικότα πατρί.

ῥήιδιοι is unintelligible. Read probably ἀλιθίαι. The Alexandrines held that ἡλιθα had two meanings, "abundantly"

and "idly" or "at random." Apollonius ii 283, ἐπέχραον ἤλιθα χερσὶν, Hesychius, οἱ δὲ μάτην, εἰκῇ. So the adjective meant "vain," "random" = εἰκαῖος. Theocr. xvi 9, ἀλιθίην ὁδὸν (=Homer's τηυσίην ὁδὸν) and there it is corrupted to ἀλλοτρίην in Φ. ἡλίθιοι, ἡλίδιοι, ῥηίδιοι are easy stages.

Th. xxi 58.

καὶ τὸν μὲν πιστεύσασα καλὰ γε τὸν ἡπήρατον.

Hermann's ἀπειρώταν has met with much favour, but I cannot see the sense of talking of this golden fish as a "land fish," nor can any one suggest a rational context for it. The meaning certainly cannot be "when I had drawn the fish to land," because the fisherman has already taken him off the hook. It seems to me obvious rather that ἡπήρατον is a corruption of ἀσπαίροντα, and that the meaning was "when I had laid him panting on the ground" or something of that kind. Eg. καὶ τὸν ἐπεὶ γ' ἐτάνυσσα κατὰ χθονὸς ἀσπαίροντα is the sort of thing that would make sense, but I despair of the actual words.

Th. xxiv 15.

ᾠρσεν ἐπὶ πλατὺν οὐδὸν, ὅθι σταθμὰ κοῖλα θυράων
οἴκου, ἀπειλήσασα φαγεῖν βρέφος Ἑρακλῆα.

Fritzsche follows Paley in ejecting 16, partly because οἴκου is so feeble, partly because he does not understand ἀπειλήσασα and does not like φαγεῖν. ἀπειλέω in Homer means both "vow" and "boast," here and at Apoll. Rhod. iii 607 it means "order"; like other verbs of speaking it can be used very freely. φαγεῖν cannot be reasonably objected to. For οἴκου Stadtmüller proposes εἶκεν; Hera surely opened the doors miraculously, and it is rather absurd to suppose that they "yielded" before the battering snouts of the serpents: also the aorist is required rather than the imperfect. On these grounds I would rather read οἶξεν, or anyhow οἶγεν is as near as εἶκεν. I take the meaning to be "opened the posts of the doors so as to make a hollow space," σταθμὰ θυράων being only a poetical expansion of θύρας.

Th. xxiv 125.

δούρατι δὲ προβολαίῳ, ὑπ' ἀσπίδι νῶτον ἔχοντα,
ἀνδρὸς ὀρέξασθαι.

Ahrens thought νῶτον corrupt, and I cannot make anything of it. The Greek warrior certainly did not shift his shield on to his back when he lunged with his spear; Lynceus at xxii 184 advances

σείων καρτερὸν ἔγχος ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄντυγα πρῶτην;
the Homeric heroes always hold the shield in front and lunge round it; qu. ὑπασπίδιον προέχοντα? or ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄντυγ' here also?

Th. xxv 162.

ξεῖνε πάλαι τινὰ πάγχυ σέθεν πέρι μῦθον ἀκούσας,
εἰ περὶ σεῦ, σφετέρησιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλομαι ἄρτι.
ἦλυθε γὰρ στείχων τις ἀπ' Ἀργεος ὥς μέσος ἀκμῆς
ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ Ἑλίκης ἐξ ἀγχιάλοιο,
ὃς δὴ τοι μυθεῖτο καὶ ἐν πλεόνεσσιν Ἐπειῶν
οὔνεκεν Ἀργείων τις ἔθεν παρῶντος ὄλεσσε
θηρίον, αἰνολέοντα.

It is with the last half of 164 that I propose to deal. The following points are to be noted. (1) ἀπ' Ἀργεος cannot be right; it was an Achaean from Helice, which is of course in Achaea, not Argos, who came and told Phyleus of the slaying of the Nemean lion. Doubtless it is possible to come from Argos through Helice to Elis, but surely no poet would ever say that there "came an Achaean from Helice from Argos" or anything of this kind. Besides the man came to Helice from Nemea, for it was in his presence that the lion was killed. (2) ὥς μέσος ἀκμῆς is explained by some commentators to mean "about at the middle of his prime," but this is impossible, nor can any parallel to it be adduced. We can say, as Herodotus does, that an island is μέση τῆς θαλάσσης; we might say that a particular ἐνιαυτὸς was μέσος "della nostra vita"; that a man is μέσος τῆς ἀκμῆς we cannot say. An island really is in the middle of the sea, a year really is in the middle of our mortal span, and a man might be in the middle

of the sea, or might be said to be μέσος τῶν ἐταίρων, but he cannot be μέσος τοῦ βίου. The mid point of life is not the man but a point of time. Nor does the variant ὥς νέος ἀκμὴν help us. And how irrelevant and futile to tell us what the man's age was! (3) It was "quite a long time ago" that he came; this need not in poetical language mean more than a month or two. But clearly if you begin by saying "I heard of you long ago" and then go on "for a man came," we expect rather to be told when he came. Wilamowitz then is right in saying "dictum erat, quando ille venisset," though he does not suspect ἀπ' Ἀργεος.

When then did he come? Presumably directly after the slaying of the lion. And when was that? There has been much disputing over the time of year at which the Nemean games were held, but the only really relevant statement about it is that of the scholiast on Pindar, who says they were celebrated in the month Panemus "which is July." Perhaps I may add another proof of this; the games were instituted in connexion with the lion according to one story, with the death of Archemorus according to another. Both these mythical events must have been alleged to have happened at the same time of year at which the games were held, and if we can date any one of the three we date thereby the other two also. Now Archemorus died at the summer solstice (Statius *Theb.* iv 690) and the first celebration of the games was at his obsequies. Therefore it was in the height of summer, ὅπως θέρος ἄκμασε μέσσον; and that or something similar to that is what Theocritus said. ὅτ' ἄρ' θέρος ἦν μέσον ἀκμὴν is pretty near the text; for ἀκμὴν cf. iv 60; "when it was still mid-summer."

Th. xxv 216.

ἡματος ἦν τὸ μεσηγνὺ, καὶ οὐδ' ὅπη ἔχνια τοῖο
φρασθῆναι δυνάμην.

οὐδ' ὅπη Π, οὐδενὸς Φ, τοῖο Π, τοῖα Φ. If all the MSS. had οὐδ' ὅπη one might manage to swallow it; indeed Meineke and others do; but where then does οὐδενὸς come from? We cannot say that it is an irrational attraction to τοῖο because Φ does not read τοῖο. I believe that οὐδενὸς is an easy enough corruption

of οὐδ' ὅσον, a common Alexandrine use ; it is absurdly corrupted by cod. Guelf. at Apoll. Rh. ii 181 ; and that οὐδ' ὅπη is an attempt at correcting this.

οὐδ' ὅπη itself will hardly do, for the meaning then could only be "I could not see where his spoor was," which is a thing no poet would say when he meant simply "I could not see his spoor," and the order of words is bad besides. Very similar is the confusion caused by the reading ὅπου for ὅτου, which used to be the vulgate in Soph. *Ajax* 33.

Th. xxv 270.

μέχρι οἱ ἐξετάνυσσα βραχίονας ὀρθὸν αἰέρας
ἄπνευστον.

"βραχίονας Iunt.: βραχίωνος DC: -ονα Φ Call." Wilamowitz. There is thus, it seems, no real authority for βραχίονας, and there are serious objections to it. Heracles has got upon the lion from behind, embracing him round the neck ; he then throttles him until he dies of strangulation, ἄπνευστον. Reading βραχίονας we get instead of that the portentous picture of a man at one and the same moment embracing the lion's neck and stretching out his fore-legs ; try the experiment on any good-sized lion. Secondly the use of βραχίονας as applied to an animal is strange ; it seems not to occur anywhere else except in one passage of Aristotle. βραχίοσιν would be a better correction of the MSS., and for οἱ read καὶ. "Until I actually stretched him out dead, raising him in my arms," for the natural thing to do would be to lift up the body and throw it down as soon as he felt it to be dead.

Th. xxvi 4.

κισσὸν τε ζῶοντα καὶ ἀσφόδελον τὸν ὑπὲρ γᾶς.

Commentators are strange folk ; "ζῶοντα, *vivaces hederas*," says Fritzsche, "wie Sen. Oed. 455 sagt." Fritzsche knew as well as you or I do that ζῶων does not mean *vivax*. We can put it straight by changing one letter, κισσὸν ἀὲ ζῶοντα, "ivy never sere" ; Aeschylus spoke twice of αἰείζως πόα in *Glaucus Pontius*.

But I am not particular about a letter or two myself, and

doubt whether Theocritus would have used the form *ἀέ* at all. *κισσὸν ἀείζωόν τε* commends itself to me a little more than *κισσὸν ἀεὶ ζῶοντα* (not "ivy and house-leek" but "and ever-green ivy").

Bion i 61.

καλὸς ἐὼν τοσσούτον ἐμήναο θηρὶ παλαίειν;

Koechly saw that something was wrong in this, and proposed *τί τοσσούτον*, which is accepted by Ahrens. *τοσσούτῳ* seems to me much more likely, marking an antithesis between the beauty of Adonis and the monstrosity of the beast.

Bion i 72.

*κάτθεό νιν μαλακοῖς ἐνὶ φάρεσιν οἷς ἐνίαυεν,
οἷς μετὰ τεύς ἀνὰ νύκτα τὸν ἱερὸν ὕπνον ἐμόχθει
παγχρυσέφ κλιντῆρι· ποθεῖ καὶ στυγνὸν Ἄδωνιν.
βάλλε δέ νιν στεφάνοισι καὶ ἄνθεσι.*

Various minutiae have here been contributed by various scholars; *ποθεῖ* remains unexplained and inexplicable. The lines are addressed to Aphrodite, *κάτθεο*, *τεύς*, *βάλλε*; how can *ποθεῖ* fit in among them? Who or what yearns after dead Adonis? The bed indeed! It is plain that what *we* yearn after is another imperative; read therefore *πόθες καὶ στυγνὸν Ἄδωνιν*, "receive him to thy couch even in death." The middle is doubtless commoner in this sense, but *ποθοῦ* is not necessary.

Moschus i 6.

ἔστι δ' ὁ παῖς περίσαμος· ἐν εἴκοσι πᾶσι μάθοις νιν.

It may be my stupidity, but I cannot conceive what *ἐν εἴκοσι πᾶσι* is supposed to mean¹; then too the Doric form is *εἴκατι*. The old reading *περίσαμος ἐν εἰκόσι* seems to me excellent; it is a way of saying that he is more beautiful than

¹ When Rostand makes his Samari-taine say:

On le reconnaît entre mille à
son calme

Et c'est Celui que j'attendais,
that is worthy of the exquisite poem

in which it is embedded. But to substitute twenty for a thousand would be ridiculous, and to add "tous" would reduce the ridiculous to utter chaos. Heinsius at any rate gets rid of that with his *παισι*.

even statues. Then for μάθοις νιν we have as variants μάθεις νιν, μάθης νιν, μάθοιο. I believe that the original was πᾶς κε μάθοι νιν: cf. Th. vii 13, οὐδέ κε τίς νιν | ἡγνοίησεν ἰδὼν.

Moschus ii 58.

τοῖο δὲ φοινήεντος ἀφ' αἵματος ἐξανέτελλεν
 ὄρνις ἀγαλλόμενος, πτερύγων πολυανθεί χροιῇ,
 ταρσὸν ἀναπλώσας, ὥσεί τέ τις ὠκύαλος νηὺς
 χρυσείου ταλάριοιο περίσκεπε χεῖλεα ταρσοῖς.

The edge of the basket of Europa is adorned with a peacock springing from the blood of Argus and spreading his tail. Two things are plainly wrong; first, the repetition of ταρσὸν, ταρσοῖς, both with reference to the peacock; secondly the statement that the bird covered the rim of the basket "like a swift ship"; and one might add that ὥσεί τε ought not to mean "and as" but simply "as," for ὥσεί τε constantly go together as one word like ὥστε. I conclude then that ταρσὸν ought to refer to the ship, that ὡς νηὺς must not go with περίσκεπε, and that the two verbs can hardly both be right.

Read ἐξανατέλλων ... ταρσὸν ἀναπλώσας' ὥσεί τέ τις ὠκύαλος νηὺς and everything is smooth. ταρσὸν is the sails here, not the oars.

Mosch. ii 82.

οὐδ' οἶος ποιόμνης ἐπιβόσκεται, οὐδὲ μὲν οἶος
 ὅστις ὑποδμηθεὶς ἐρύει πολύφορτον ἀπήνην.

The elegance of οἶος ὅστις is remarkable, and one's suspicion of it is increased by considering the construction of ὑποδμηθεὶς. Do you not feel that it wants a dative with it very badly in this context? "Being tamed" is so bald a comment by itself. Read μάστι for ὅστις.

Th. ii 163, τράπε? Cf. ἔτραχον in 147. xxiii 36, ἀρταμένον as in 54.

εἰς νέκρον Ἀδωνιν 32, for καὶ μεν κατασίναζε qu. καὶ μηκέτι στέναζε?

ARTHUR PLATT.

NOTES ON ARISTOTLE, METAPHYSICS A 6.

(1) 987 b 7–10 οὕτως μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὄντων ἰδέας προσηγόρευσε, τὰ δ' αἰσθητὰ παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι πάντα· κατὰ μέθεξιν γὰρ εἶναι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν συνωνύμων τοῖς εἶδεσιν.

So edd. with Alex., Ab; E and the other MSS. *συνωνύμων ὁμώνυμα τοῖς*.

Eject *τοῖς εἶδεσιν* as a gloss. As the text stands *τῶν συνωνύμων* has to be construed as a genitive defining *τὰ πολλὰ* (Bonitz, Comm., p. 90), which is intolerably harsh. If the words are omitted, a simple meaning is obtained, viz. "The 'many' exist by participation in the (Ideas) of the same name." For the position of the genitive in the sentence, compare E. N. vi. 1142 b 16 *ἀλλ' ὀρθότης τίς ἐστιν ἡ εὐβουλία βουλήs*.

A genitive after *κατὰ μέθεξιν* is required by the sense: the whole phrase *κατὰ μέθεξιν εἶναι τῶν συνωνύμων* is the explanation of *κατὰ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι* above. *Λέγεσθαι* implies that the *πολλά* derive their *names* from the corresponding Ideas; the explanatory clause states that they derive their names, because they derive their *being*, from the Ideas of the same name. The whole passage is excessively condensed, and the sentence as thus emended puts no greater strain on the attention of the reader than its neighbours do. It cannot be said that it is more in Aristotle's manner to speak of the particulars as being of the same name as the Ideas than to speak of the Ideas as of the same name as the particulars: see *Metaph. A 9*, 990 b 6 *καθ' ἑκαστον γὰρ ὁμόνυμόν τί ἐστι καὶ παρὰ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν τε ἄλλων, ὧν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐπὶ πολλῶν*. I 10, 1059 a 13 *καίτοι τῷ εἶδει ταῦτα λέγεται εἶναι τὰ εἶδη τοῖς τισὶ καὶ οὐχ*

ὁμώνυμα, and compare de Lin. Insec. 968 a 9 ἔτι εἰ ἔστιν ἰδέα γραμμῆς, ἥ δ' ἰδέα πρώτη τῶν συνωνύμων.

(2) 987 b 10-14 τὴν δὲ μέθεξιν τοῦνομα μόνον μετέβαλεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειοι μιμήσει τὰ ὄντα φασὶν εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, Πλάτων δὲ μεθέξει, τοῦνομα μόνον μεταβαλὼν. τὴν μέντοι γε μέθεξιν ἢ τὴν μίμησιν ἥτις ἂν εἴη τῶν εἰδῶν ἀφείσαν ἐν κοινῷ ζητεῖν.

The words τῶν εἰδῶν are to be ejected as a gloss. They are awkward in situation and inappropriate to the context. They cannot be construed with μίμησιν but only with μέθεξιν. Aristotle clearly intends to draw a sharp distinction between the Numbers of the Pythagoreans and the Forms of Plato, for he has just stated that Plato is responsible both for the thing he called a Form and for this use of the word "Form." Aristotle never uses the word εἶδος in his account of the Pythagoreans A 5, 985 b 23 sqq., and he never applies the name of Numbers to the Platonic Forms except in their relation to the superior principles of the One and the indeterminate Dyad from which they are derived. Here the context shows that he is thinking of the Pythagorean doctrine as μίμησις τῶν ἀριθμῶν and of the Platonic doctrine as μέθεξις τῶν εἰδῶν and is asserting that the μέθεξις factor of the one is derived from the μίμησις factor of the other: he has just explained that the Platonic Form has an origin independent of the Pythagorean Number. Hence τῶν εἰδῶν can only be connected with μέθεξιν; but such slipshod writing is out of keeping with the clear simple style of the chapter as a whole. Jackson's suggestion (Journal of Philology, vol. 10, p. 292) to transpose the words so as to follow μεθέξει in the preceding clause is unsatisfactory, as no reason can be given for the mistake of the copyist.

(3) 987 b 20-2 ὥς μὲν οὖν ὕλην τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρὸν εἶναι ἀρχάς, ὥς δ' οὐσίαν τὸ ἔν· ἐξ ἐκείνων γὰρ κατὰ μέθεξιν τοῦ ἐνὸς τὰ εἶδη εἶναι τοὺς ἀριθμούς.

Εἶναι τοὺς ἀριθμούς codd. Alex.: Asclepius has καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς in his text, but his comment is taken from Alexander,

with the omission of the sentence explaining that τοὺς ἀριθμούς is in apposition with τὰ εἶδη: so that we cannot be sure that our mss. of Asclepius preserve what that commentator really read. Schwegler (vol. 2, p. 63) deletes τοὺς: Zeller τὰ εἶδη. Jackson (op. cit. p. 293) transposes so as to read ὥς δ' οὐσίαν τὸ ἐν <καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς>... τὰ εἶδη εἶναι.

Zeller is right in removing τὰ εἶδη as a gloss.

Schwegler's suggestion is impossible, because ἐξ ἐκείνων εἶναι must mean are derived from the μέγα-μικρόν as from their ὕλη, so that there can be no predicative ἀριθμούς.

To take τοὺς ἀριθμούς as in explanatory apposition to τὰ εἶδη seems to contravene the ordinary rules of Greek style. One or other of the phrases must go. The transposition suggested by Jackson is to be rejected on more than one ground: thus, (1) no special reasons can be given to account for a copyist's error; (2) it involves the insertion of a καί; (3) the transposition is motivated by Jackson's peculiar theory about the doctrine of εἰδητικοὶ ἀριθμοί; and not only is that theory unacceptable, but the transposition is in contradiction with it; for he holds that the ἀριθμοί are *particulars*, whereas the sentence obviously explains the genesis of the Forms, and all references to the particulars are out of place.

If one of the phrases is to be rejected, it must be τὰ εἶδη: for:

(a) It is the most likely to have been inserted.

(b) τοὺς ἀριθμούς is the most expressive, because it shows that the εἶδη are ἀριθμοί in respect of their *origin*: the reader would fully understand that the ideal numbers were meant. The Forms are spoken of again lower down as numbers, and the most appropriate place for the substitution of the new term is in this sentence.

(c) The sentence without τὰ εἶδη is in exact keeping with the style of Aristotle in this book, the sentence without τοὺς ἀριθμούς is not. The word εἶναι occurs some 112 times in the book: 83 times in the middle of the clause, only 19 times at the end, and of these 7 are cases of phrases like φασὶν εἶναι, ὑπέλαβον εἶναι, while 5 are very short clauses. On the other hand ἐστίν (or εἰσίν) is more frequently put at the end of the

clause: it occurs 80 times, of which 41 are final, 39 medial (but 12 of these seem to be of special type).

In conclusion I wish to draw attention to the fact that apart from these three cases, all including the same words, there are practically no textual difficulties in this chapter. The only disturbances of the clear and even flow of the writing are furnished by the same words three times over. In two of the cases the text can be preserved only at the cost of attributing to Aristotle forms of words which may be grammarians' possibilities, but are utterly foreign to the style of the writer, which in this chapter at least is as limpid grammatically as it could be. On the other hand it is extremely compressed and so specially liable to be glossed; and the words themselves are obviously such as would be most naturally added by a reader.

C. M. GILLESPIE.

THE UNIVERSITY, LEEDS.

April, 1915.

NOTE.—I am glad to have an opportunity of saying that I long ago repented of the transposition which Mr Gillespie criticizes; and that, nearly twenty years ago, in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society, I proposed to write τὰ εἶδη εἶναι τὰ ὡς ἀριθμούς. I am sorry that here, away from my books, I cannot supply the reference to the Society's *Proceedings*.

H. J.

BOURNEMOUTH,

9 September 1915.

EMENDATIONS IN THE EUDEMIAN ETHICS.

I. 1218 b 20 τὸ δ' ὑγιεινὸν τῆς ὑγείας αἴτιον ὥς κινήσαν, καὶ τότε τοῦ εἶναι ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ (τοῦ Bonitz, τὸ MSS.) ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὴν ὑγίειαν.

καὶ τότε is not very satisfactory, and perhaps we should read καίτοι.

II. 1220 a 39 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἦθος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα σημαίνει ὅτι ἀπὸ ἔθους ἔχει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, ἐθίζεται δὲ τὸ ὑπ' ἀγωγῆς μὴ ἐμφύτου τῷ πολλάκις κινεῖσθαι πῶς, οὕτως ἤδη τὸ ἐνεργητικόν, ..., διὸ ἔστω ἦθος τοῦτο ψυχῆς κατὰ ἐπιτακτικὸν λόγον < τοῦ ἀλόγου μέν, > δυναμένου δ' ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ ποιότης.

Some addition like Fritzsche's τοῦ ἀλόγου μέν seems to be needed. But there are other difficulties. The words between ἐνεργητικόν and διὸ are parenthetical and may be ignored. The sentence is then seen to be an anacoluthon of a type common in Aristotle; the ἐπεὶ clause is followed irregularly by a clause beginning with διὸ which states the conclusion. Fritzsche made the beginning of the sentence easier by bracketing ὅτι and reading ἔχον, but this is not necessary; the MS. reading expresses not unnaturally the meaning given more grammatically by Fritzsche's reading—'since character, as its name indicates, is something that derives its growth from habit.'

The following words are difficult. Fritzsche reads ἐθίζεται δὲ ὑπ' ἀγωγῆς τὸ μὴ ἐμφυτον (in his translation, however, he omits μὴ) and abolishes the comma after πῶς, taking τὸ ἐνεργητικόν as the subject of κινεῖσθαι. I.e. besides altering ἐμφύτου he has to transpose τό, and even then he gets a clause

which leaves τὸ ἐνεργητικόν somewhat pointless. Brandis reads ἐθίζεται δὲ τὸ ὑπ' ἀγωγῆς, μὴ ἔμφυτον, τῷ, etc., but this is manifestly very awkward and improbable. Rassow condemns τό, but this is no improvement. Susemihl prints the traditional text without being satisfied with it.

I venture to think that all we have to do is to insert a comma after ἐμφύτου and excise τό before ἐνεργητικόν. 'That is said to be habituated which by virtue of a guidance not innate in it, by being often moved in a certain way, comes to have a tendency to act in that way.'

Fritzsche inserts τό after διὸ ἔστω, but it is simpler and better to put a comma after τοῦτο. 'Wherefore let character be defined as this, a quality,' etc....

(Since I wrote this note, Dr Jackson has pointed out to me a much better way of taking the first two clauses, viz., to insert a comma after σημαίνει, and interpret ὅτι as 'that which.' This is evidently right.)

VII. 1238 a 35 ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ ἡδεῖς ἀλλήλοις εἶναι τοὺς φαύλους, καὶ ἦ (ἦ Int. Vet., ἦ II², οἱ P^b) φαῦλοι ἢ μηδέτεροι, ἀλλ' οἷον ῥῥῖκοι ἄμφω, ἦ ὁ μὲν φιλωδὸς (φιλωδὸς γρ. Victorius, φειδωλὸς MSS.) ὁ δ' ῥῥικός ἐστίν, καὶ ἦ πάντες ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ταύτῃ συναρμόττουσιν ἀλλήλοις· ἔτι χρήσιμοι ἂν εἶεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἢ οὐδέτεροι.

Fritzsche's alteration of καὶ ἦ φαῦλοι to οὐχ ἦ φαῦλοι, in which he follows the *vetus versio* and is followed by Susemihl, does not seem to be right. Bad men may be pleasant to one another (1) (a) qua bad, since like loves like (cf. ll. 33, 34), (b) not qua either good or bad but in virtue of some neutral quality like fondness for singing, (2) in virtue of some good that is left in them.

At the end of the passage ἢ οὐδέτεροι is impossible. Bonitz and Susemihl write ἢ ἢ οὐδέτεροι, but the point of 'or' is by no means clear. It is better to write ἢ οὐδέτεροι simply.

VII. 1246 a 20 καὶ τοῦτο (τοῦτο Fritzsche, τότ' MSS.) ἐπὶ τῶν χειρόνων συμβαίνει (συμβαίνει Camot., συμβαίνειν MSS.)

καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν γίνεσθαι· μάλιστα γὰρ φιλοτιμοῦνται τοὺς φίλους μὴ πράττειν εὖ, μηδ' εἶναι ἀναγκαὶ αὐτοῖς κακῶς. διὸ ἐνίστε τοὺς ἐρωμένους συναποκτιννύασι.

The last clause is clearly impossible, and many attempts have been made to emend it. Fritzsche prints *μηδ' εἶναι ἂν ἀνάγκη...αὐτοῖς κακῶς*, and thinks that perhaps *ἦ εἶναι* should be inserted after *ἀνάγκη*. It occurs to me that *μηδ' εἶναι, ἂν ἀνάγκη* (sc. *ἦ*) *αὐτοῖς κακῶς* (sc. *πράττειν*) may stand alone in the same sense—‘and that their friends should not exist, if they themselves have to fare badly.’

VIII. 1248 a 29 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὃ (ὃ de bona fortuna libellus, Jackson, οἱ MSS.) πάλαι ἔλεγον, εὐτυχεῖς καλοῦνται οἱ ἂν ὀρμήσωσι κατορθοῦσιν (κατορθοῦσιν de bona fortuna libellus, Fritzsche, κατορθοῦν MSS.) ἄλλοι οὖντες.

οἱ ἂν ὀρμήσωσι, ‘who, if they make a start,’ is unsatisfactory, and Dr Jackson proposes οἱ ἂ ἂν ὀρμήσωσι. But οἱ οἱ ἂν ὀρμήσωσι seems more likely to be right.

VIII. 1248 a 40 ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἀπολυομένου τοῦ λόγου (ἀπολυομένου τοῦ λόγου Spengel, ἀπολυομένους τοὺς λόγους MSS.) ἰσχύειν μᾶλλον, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ τυφλοὶ μνημονεύουσι μᾶλλον ἀπολυθέντες τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἶναι τὸ μνημονεῦον.

The author is comparing those who act rightly by an inspiration which is strongest when reason does not interfere, to blind men, who remember better because their memory is freed from attention to things visible. ἀπολυθέντες...μνημονεῦον makes no sense. The Latin tradition has *amissisque hiis que ad visibilia virtuosius esse quod memoratur*. On the strength of this Fritzsche and Susemihl read ἀπολυθέντες τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ὁρατοῖς, τῷ ἐρρωμενέστερον εἶναι τὸ μνημονεῦον, which differs too much from both the Greek and the Latin traditions and is not in itself very probable. Jackson improves on this by reading ἀπολυθέντες τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ὁρατοῖς εἶναι, τῷ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις σπουδαιότερον εἶναι τὸ μνημονεῦον, from which he thinks the Greek and the Latin readings have both been formed by haplography. εἶναι πρὸς, ‘to attend to,’ seems however more natural without an adverb than with one, and

I think it is better to follow the Greek tradition except in one word; *εἰρημένοις* is probably a corruption of *ὀρωμένοις*, which is preserved in the Latin *visibilia*. We thus get the sense 'being freed from any concern of the memory with the visible.'

VIII. 1249 a 21 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶ τις ὁρος καὶ τῷ ἰατρῷ, πρὸς ὃν ἀναφέρων κρίνει τὸ ὑγιαῖνον σῶμα καὶ μή, καὶ (καὶ MSS., om. Ald., Bekker) πρὸς ὃν μέχρι ποσοῦ ποιητέον ἕκαστον καὶ εὖ ὑγιαῖνον, εἰ δὲ ἔλαττον ἢ πλεον, οὐκέτι· οὕτω, etc....

ὑγιαῖνον is applicable to the healthy body, *ὑγιεινόν* to that which is healthy or wholesome for the body. Clearly then in l. 22 *ὑγιαῖνον* (P^b) is preferable to *ὑγιεινόν* of the other MSS.; Fritzsche's *σώματι* for *σῶμα* is then unnecessary. In l. 23, on the other hand, *εὖ ὑγιαῖνον* can hardly stand. *ὑγιεινόν* is what is wanted, not *ὑγιαῖνον*, and *εὖ* must be ejected from the text.

W. D. ROSS.

EUDEMIAN ETHICS 1229 a 14; 1235 a 35; 1244 a 1.

Γ i § 15. 1229 a 14 αὕτη δὲ δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι, οὐχ ὥσπερ Σωκράτης ἔφη τὰ δεινά, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰς βοηθείας τῶν δεινῶν.

"ὅτι secludendum esse ci. Sylburgius," says Susemihl: and this correction secures the right sense. But how did ὅτι find its way into the text? It seems to me that the original text gave ἀλλὰ τὸ τὰς βοηθείας τῶν δεινῶν, sc. εἰδέναι.

Η i § 14. 1235 a 35 τοῖς δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον δοκεῖ φίλον εἶναι μόνον. σημείον δ' ὅτι καὶ διώκουσι ταῦτα πάντες, τὰ δὲ ἄχρηστα καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἀποβάλλουσιν. ὥσπερ Σωκράτης ὁ γέρων κτλ. So Susemihl, who comments "αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν e Xen. Mem. I, 2, 54 Bonitzius Bu., αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν**Π Ald. Bk. Fr., αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν <φύσεων> ci. Sylburgius." In my pamphlet *On some passages in the seventh book of the Eudemean Ethics*, 1900, I proposed, in place of the corrupt καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν, to read καὶ ἅ τοιαῦτ' αὐτῶν, "even those parts of themselves which are so." I now think that ΑΙ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ represents ΑΡΤΟΙ ΑΦ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ; that is to say, that the sentence should read τὰ δὲ ἄχρηστα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀποβάλλουσιν.

Η xi § 1. 1244 a 1 περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν φίλου, σκεπτέον πότερον δεῖ ἐκείνῳ τὰ χρήσιμα ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν ἢ τῷ ἀντιποιοῦντι καὶ δυναμένῳ.

I suspect that τῷ ἀντιποιοῦντι καὶ δυναμένῳ represents τῷ ἀντιποιεῖν τὰ ἴσα δυναμένῳ. The equivalences of ο and ε, of υ and ι, of κ and ισ, and of αι and α, are familiar; and the assimilation of the case of ἀντιποιοῦντα to that of δυναμένῳ is an inevitable consequence, when once the participle has taken the place of the infinitive.

H. J.

9 September 1915.

NOTE ON THE SO-CALLED 'GNOMICA BASILEENSIA.'

Among the many Byzantine Gnomologia is one now known as the *Gnomica Basileensia*, because it appears in the *Scriptores aliquot gnomici* printed in 1521 by Froben at Basel. Attention was drawn to it in 1879 by Curt Wachsmuth in the *Satura philologa* in honour of Sauppe, where a full list is given of its contents; and it was one of his subsidia for his reconstructed 'Gnomologium Byzantinum' (*Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien*, 1882). Hense also has cited it under the same designation in an article in the *Rh. Mus.*, 39, p. 372.

Wachsmuth incidentally observes that Froben does not reveal where he found the collection. It may be as well, therefore, to put it on record that the Basel printer found it easily enough, having simply 'conveyed' it from a volume printed some few years before in France. In 1512 Mathieu Bolsec of Paris published a little quarto of Greek gnostic literature with 'Illustrium quorundam virorum scitu dignissimae sententiae nunquam antea impressae' as part of its contents. For a description of the book I may refer to M. Omont's 'Essai sur les débuts de la typographie grecque à Paris' (Nos. XII and XIV). The editor was no less a person than Jerome Aleander, who explains in a dedication that he required the text for a course of lectures he was about to give. Nothing is said, however, as to the provenance of the 'sententiae nunquam antea impressae'—whether he had come across them in a MS. in some French library, or had brought them with him in a transcript of a MS. then existing in North Italy. The only MS. now known which has any marked affinity to it is one of the Vossiani; but there are differences between the two not by any means easy of explanation. The matter, though in itself supremely unimportant, may be of some moment hereafter, whenever the time comes for a critically edited collection of the great Byzantine Florilegia.

THE EVIDENCE AS TO CAESAR'S LEGAL POSITION IN GAUL.

In a short article in the *Classical Quarterly* (Jan. 1916) Dr Rice Holmes has re-opened for English scholars the intensely interesting question as to the legal issues involved in the senatorial attack on Caesar between 52 and 49 B.C. It is to be supposed that the general acceptance in this country of the main conclusions arrived at nearly 60 years ago by Mommsen was due, not to the authority of his name, but to independent examination of the evidence which he adduced. It is at any rate somewhat surprising to one, who had accepted Mommsen's conclusion on the evidence, but had not followed more recent discussions on the subject, to learn, not only that an essentially different view, propounded by Hirschfeld, has meanwhile dominated the learned world for nearly ten years and has now been itself put out of court by a still more convincing theory on the part of Judeich, but that the few who still hold the earlier view are regarded as the mere devotees of a 'pious faith'¹.

It is some consolation however to find among these devotees a scholar and historian of so much repute as Dr Rice Holmes, and I regard his article as a valuable protest against the tendency to accept the latest German theories at their own valuation. My only regret is that he has been far too lenient and on the defensive with 'Hirschfeld and the rest'², and has

¹ Mommsen's monograph *Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat*, published in 1857, is to be found in *Hist. Schrift.* Vol. I, pp. 92 to 145. Hirschfeld's articles are in *Klio* IV, pp. 76—87 and V, pp. 236—240. That

of Judeich is in *Rhein. Mus.* 1913, pp. 1 to 10.

² The phrase is quoted by Dr Rice Holmes from "the writers of the article on Latin Literature in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*

contented himself with exposing the fallacious interpretation put upon certain crucial passages, instead of carrying the war into the enemies' country by a review of the evidence as a whole.

That is what I propose to attempt. Having read and re-read Hirschfeld's two articles and that of Judeich, I must confess myself unable to comprehend how their reasoning can have convinced any one conversant with the evidence and appreciative of the principles of constitutional law and procedure involved. Much of the evidence, not only of the later writers, but even of Cicero and Caelius, is wholly ignored, while the important passages on which the argument is concentrated are not only in some cases taken apart from their immediate context, but are not viewed in connexion with the situations to which they refer. In order to make my examination of the evidence as far as possible an independent contribution to the problem, I have refrained from consulting Mommsen's treatise, which I have not read for some 25 years, and I have not read the paper in which Holzapfel replied to Hirschfeld's first article in *Klio*.

With a view of making my paper, what is all I claim for it, a study of the evidence, I shall consider the questions involved under the following separate heads; 1. The evidence for the second *quinquennium*; 2. The question *de successione Caesaris*; 3. The second consulship of Caesar and the tribunician law of 52; 4. The evidence derived from Pompey's attitude; and 5. The legal position of Caesar after 52. I had better admit at once that this method will involve a certain amount of repetition. The same passages may have to be cited in different connexions, the same constitutional points will come to the front more than once, and even the same incidents in the chain of events cannot on this method be disposed of once for all. I

(1915)." If Judeich stands for 'the rest,' it might be shown, if it were worth while, that on every essential point the two confute one another. I cannot but feel that Dr Rice Holmes seriously weakens his own position (1) by admitting that in *ad fam.* 8,

8, 4 and *ad Att.* 8, 3, 3 the 'Kalends of March' refer to 50, and (2) by the hesitating attitude which he takes up with regard to the 'Ides of November' in *ad fam.* 8, 11, 3. I deal with the points in their proper place.

am not however without hope that some cumulative weight will be added to my argument, the object of which is not historical exposition, but the sifting of evidence.

Standing out from many minor, though not unimportant points, the main question to be decided is, what was the legal period for which Caesar's provincial command was prorogued by the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* of 55? Was it extended, as Mommsen argued, for a full *quinquennium* from March 1, 54, and so to March 1, 49? Was it prolonged, as Hirschfeld maintains, with no specified legal termination, the senate however being precluded from raising the question *de successione Caesaris* till March 1, 50? Or was it extended, as Judeich pretends, for a nominal *quinquennium*, shortened however, by Caesar's own consent, to an actual period of four years and ten months, and so ending on Dec. 29, 50? Whichever of these three arrangements was agreed upon at the conference of Luca, it is not disputed that, but for the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratum*, passed in 52, there would have been no legal or constitutional question at all, and Caesar, under the operation, as explained below, of the Sullan provincial system and the *lex Sempronia*, would have been entitled to retain his command till the end of 49.

I. THE EVIDENCE FOR THE SECOND QUINQUENNium.

As against Hirschfeld's contention that the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* established no fixed termination of Caesar's command, this is of primary importance. I propose to examine the statements made with some care.

Suetonius. (*Iul.* 24 to 30.) In 56 Caesar, threatened by the candidature of Ahenobarbus and the expressed intention to recall him, *Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem provinciae suae Lucam extractos compulit ut...consulatum alterum peterent, perfecitque per utrumque ut in quinquennium sibi imperium prorogaretur.*

Now Suetonius clearly believed that the command was to last till the end of 49. (a) In mentioning that Caesar started for his province soon after laying down his consulship (c. 23),

he presumably takes this as the beginning of the first *quinquennium*. (b) In c. 25 he speaks of the nine years *quibus in imperio fuit*; i.e. to the end of 50, so that he must have regarded 49 as the tenth year. (c) When in 52 the tribunes wished to make Caesar Pompey's colleague, he urged them *id potius ad populum ferrent, absenti sibi, quandoque imperii tempus expleri coepisset, ut petitio secundi consulatus daretur, ne ea causa maturius decederet* (c. 26). As the *absentis ratio* was certainly, as we shall see, for the elections in 49, that was the time when the command was beginning to expire, and the privilege prevented it from being shortened by the last six months of the year (conf. *semenstre imperium*). (d) In c. 28 Marcellus, consul in 51, is said to have made two proposals; 1. *ut ei succederetur ante tempus*; 2. *ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, quando nec plebiscito Pompeius postea abrogasset* (i.e. since Pompey's subsequent action in 52 had not really cancelled the privilege). Suetonius evidently supposed that Caesar's recall would have taken place, if the proposal of Marcellus had been carried, about the time when he would make use of the tribunician law, i.e. in the first half of 49. This is consistent with Cicero's statement that Marcellus tried to terminate the command *Kalendarum Martiarum die* (ad Att. 8, 3, 3) and it would be *ante tempus*, if 49 was the tenth year of the command. If Marcellus had really thought, as Hirschfeld supposes, that Caesar could be recalled on March 1, 50, his second proposal would have been unnecessary, since conditions under which the *absentis ratio* could be exercised would have been extinguished for 16 months before July 49. Suetonius did not make this blunder, though Hirschfeld's guide, Dio, makes a far worse one, but his statement is vitiated (a) by the false *terminus a quo*, 58 instead of 59, and (b) by the assumption that in any case a proposal could have been seriously considered for recalling Caesar before the expiration of his legal period. We may take it as absolutely certain that, whatever that period was, no attempt was made by the constitutionalist party to curtail it. We need not decide at this point whether the motion of Marcellus was wrecked by the veto of tribunes (c. 29) or by a vote of the senate (Hirt. b. g.

8, 53) or by the resistance of Pompey (*ad Att.* 8, 3, 3), while the exact meaning of the phrase *ut Caesari succederetur* will be discussed in the next section.

In c. 29 Suetonius distinctly says that in 50 C. Marcellus made the same attempt as his predecessor, i.e. to recall Caesar *ante tempus*. If so, it was certainly not, in the opinion of Suetonius, a proposal to recall Caesar at once after March 1, 50, as Hirschfeld contends, but in 49. Caesar's reply, according to Suetonius, was to demand *ne sibi beneficium populi adimeretur*. Whether the *beneficium* was the tribunician law, and not, as I am inclined to think, the law extending his command to the end of the year, it was virtually that extension which Caesar demanded, since only on that condition was the *absentis ratio* either applicable or of consequence. It appears therefore that the evidence of Suetonius, though needing correction, is not without method and consistency and deserves more attention than it has sometimes received.

Appian.

In 2, 17 Appian states that it was arranged at Luca for Pompey and Crassus to be consuls in 55, and for Caesar's command to be extended for five years. In c. 18 we have the carrying out of this arrangement. Αἵρεθέντες δ' οὖν ὑπατοὶ Κράσσος τε καὶ Πομπήιος Καίσαρι μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν, τὴν ἐτέραν πενταετίαν προσεψηφίσαντο. In c. 25 Caesar is said to have secured the passing of the tribunician law, because he feared ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ιδιώτης γενέσθαι. Appian goes on to say, clearly referring to the next year 51, that Caesar, wishing ἐπὶ δυνάμεως εἶναι, μέχρι ὑπατος ἀποδειχθείη, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ᾗτει χρόνον ἄλλον ὀλίγον ἐς τὴν παρούσάν οἱ τῆς Γαλατίας ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιλαβεῖν, but Marcellus prevented this. Appian therefore, like Suetonius, believed that the end of the command was in the same year as the consular elections for which the *absentis ratio* was required, i.e. 49. The short extension which Caesar begged for would be either from March 1 to July, or more probably till the end of the year. The action of Marcellus, which Suetonius represents as a motion *ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur*, is, according to Appian, the refusal of a demand

made by Caesar. It seems to me that this demand, made in 51, according to Appian, is the same as the letter sent, according to Suetonius, in 50. It is uncertain which, if either, is correct, but Appian seems to recognise, as Suetonius did not, that the legal term ended early in the year.

In c. 26 Appian agrees with Suetonius as to the proposal of Marcellus in 51 for superseding Caesar, though his phrase *προαφαιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου* is ambiguous. Pompey's opposition, coupled however with the declaration *ὅτι χρὴ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραλύειν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρα* is in complete agreement with *ad Att.* 8, 3, 3 and *ad fam.* 8, 8, 4. Appian also agrees that C. Marcellus in 50 made exactly the same proposal at a date *ὡς ἔληγεν ὁ χρόνος*, words consistent enough with the command expiring on March 1, 49, but inconsistent with Hirschfeld's view that the *legis dies* had arrived when Marcellus made his proposal.

Lastly (c. 28), Appian says that Pompey, later in the year, made a show of willingness to resign his command so as to create a prejudice against Caesar as *οὐκ ἀποδιδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νεομισμένῳ χρόνῳ*. Hirschfeld, strangely ignoring the tense of *ἀποδιδόντος*, takes these words as proving that Caesar's term had already expired, and, as this is inconsistent with the five years' extension, suggests that Appian is here inadvertently following the good authority of Asinius Pollio (*Klio*, iv, p. 81). On the contrary, Pompey's point, clear to every one but a German Professor with a theory to establish, is that Caesar, with his claim to the *absentis ratio*, was not likely to resign even on the legal termination of his command. If these words come from Asinius Pollio, that historian proves that there was a fixed *legis dies* and that it had not arrived in the middle of 50.

Livy.

On the whole the evidence of the epitomator is in favour of the second *quinquennium*, though his statement is ambiguously worded and in one point incorrect. In *epit.* 105 mention is made of Cato's opposition to the law *qua provinciae consulibus in quinquennium, Pompeio Hispaniae, Crasso Syria...*

Caesari Gallia et Germania dabantur. The mistake is that Caesar's extension is included in the Trebonian law; the ambiguity lies in the position of *in quinquennium*, which, as the sentence stands, does not with certainty apply to Caesar. I cannot doubt however that the order of the words is a mere inadvertency, for it is not likely that, if Livy had given different conditions of tenure to the two laws, the epitomator would have made the mistake of merging them in one. But we get an additional side light on the question in *epit.* 107, where, speaking of the *contentiones inter consules* (in 51) *de successore Caesari mittendo*, the epitomator says: *agente in senatu M. Marcello cos. ut Caesar in petitionem consulatus veniret, cum is lege lata in id tempus consulatus provinciam obtinere deberet.* This passage, added to those in Suetonius and Appian, establishes in my opinion the fact that the question of the *absentis ratio* came up in connexion with the termination of Caesar's command, which it could only have done if the command was to end in 49. I agree with Hirschfeld that the words *lege lata* must refer to the tribunician law, and not to the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*. The point is that, under the conditions existing when the former law was passed, Caesar had the right (*deberet*) to retain his provinces till entering on the consulship. On the assumption that he was to be consul in 48, nothing but the tribunician law could give him the last *semenstre imperium* in 49. The evidence therefore of the epitomator, when fairly examined, is in favour of the second *quinquennium*.

Of Velleius (2, 46) and Plutarch (*Pomp.* 51; *Caes.* 21; *Crass.* 15) I will only remark that the one is a comparatively early authority, who may well have followed Livy, while the other is at least explicit, and repeats his statement in three separate *Lives*.

But though the consensus of these historians is strong evidence, that of Cicero, if it is forthcoming, would of course be far more conclusive. Now there are four passages, which may be and have been interpreted in such a way as to confirm the historians. In contesting this interpretation, Hirschfeld is on the defensive, since, with one possible exception, there is nothing in any passage to suggest an extension shorter than five years.

1. *ad Att.* 7, 7, 5—6, written between Dec. 18 and 21, 50. In discussing whether any classes or orders deserve to be called 'good,' Cicero asks: "Do you think the senate 'good,'" *per quem provinciae sine imperio sunt; nunquam enim Curio sustinisset, si cum eo agi coeptum esset, quam sententiam senatus sequi noluit; ex quo factum est ut Caesari non succederetur.* Taken as a whole, the sentence was no doubt intended to imply that, as the motion necessary for appointing Caesar's successors had been vetoed, and the veto had remained unchallenged, the Gallic provinces were *sine imperio*. But Cicero is clearly speaking loosely and inaccurately, for, as Caesar by Cicero's own admission had not been superseded, he still held the *imperium*, or, if that had really lapsed earlier in the year, what is the meaning of Cicero's own following phrase *annorum decem imperium*? All that Cicero can mean is that the future *imperium* of Gaul was still unfixed. If any province was *sine imperio*, it was Cilicia, but that was due not to the senate but to Cicero's abrupt desertion of it.

But Cicero goes on: *Quid ergo? exercitum retinentis cum legis dies transierit rationem haberi placet? Mihi vero ne absentis quidem, sed cum id datum est, illud una datum est. Annorum enim decem imperium et ita latum† placet? Placet igitur etiam me expulsum et agrum Campanum perisse...Sed horum omnium fons unus est. Imbecillo resistendum fuit;...Nunc legiones XI, etc. Cum hoc depugnandum est aut habenda e lege ratio.*

Hirschfeld maintains (a) that the words *cum legis dies transierit* prove that Caesar's legal tenure was already at an end; (b) that *annorum decem imperium* refers to the actual not the legal length of the command. It seems to me that his first point is urged in defiance of both grammar and logic. Grammatically, the tense of *transierit* shows that the *legis dies* is still in the future, and this is perfectly consistent with its being March 1, 49. Logically, how on Hirschfeld's own view can Caesar's command have been legally terminated in Dec., 50? His own point is that March 1, 50 was the only time limit specified in the law, and that this limit was merely 'preclusive,' or, as it became after 52, permissive. In other words, the law laid down no fixed termination of the command, but allowed

the senate on or after March 1, 50 to take the necessary steps for Caesar's recall. The expiration therefore of the *legis dies* in Hirschfeld's 'preclusive' sense by no means implied any legal obligation on Caesar's part to lay down his command, unless the senate by effective decree or decrees had taken steps to send him a successor. Will Hirschfeld pretend that up to Dec. it had done so? Do not Cicero's words *ex quo factum est ut Caesari non succederetur* prove that it had not?

As for the second point, Hirschfeld argues that the preceding sentence and the explanatory *enim* prove that *annorum decem imperium* is actual not legal. But he naturally finds the words *et ita latum* inconvenient to his theory, as indeed they are fatal, and so he arbitrarily substitutes for them *ei ita datum*, and rejects *placet* at the mutilated end of the clause. It is usually a weak case which resorts to tampering with the text, and the force of *enim* is not difficult to detect. Cicero answers one question by asking another. "Do I approve of the *absentis ratio*? How should I, for do I approve of the ten years' command conferred by such a law?" It is really an *a fortiori* argument; "I disapproved of the ten years' command and of our weakness which made it possible; still more do I disapprove of the canvass in absence, which would be *cum legis dies transierit*¹."

2. *ad Att.* 7, 9, 2—4, written between Dec. 24 and 27, 50. Cicero is discussing the situation created by Caesar's demand to be enabled to use the *absentis ratio*, and sets forth a number of possible alternatives. He agrees with Atticus that the best thing would be if Caesar could be persuaded to give up his provinces and canvass in person, though even so, his consulship would be a disaster. On the other hand, the worst thing would be *haberi rationem Caesaris, illo exercitum vel per senatum*

¹ I cannot compliment Hirschfeld on his manipulation of this passage, which, with the ordinary text, he knows well to be fatal to his position. He therefore tampers with *latum*, and by rejecting *placet*, tries to discount the sentence by making it unintelligible.

Placet, he declares, belongs to the next clause. No doubt, but that is no reason why the same word should not end the previous one, though a careless scribe might easily regard it as an accidental dittograph, and omit it. (See *Klio* v, p. 237.)

vel per tribunos obtinente. (The last words evidently imply that the *tempus legis* would have passed, but that the senate, either voluntarily or prevented by *intercessio*, would not have effectively superseded Caesar.)

Remarking on the impudence of this demand, Cicero thus addresses the absent Caesar: *Tenuisti provinciam per annos decem, non tibi a senatu sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos* (this is merely the old grievance of an extraordinary law, instead of regular senatorial conferment); *praeteriit tempus non legis sed libidinis tuae, fac tamen legis; decernitur ut succedatur. Impedis et ais: 'habe rationem meam';...Exercitum tu habeas diutius quam populus iussit invito senatu?*

Now this is the passage on which Hirschfeld chiefly relies as a demonstration that Caesar's command did not legally extend till March 1, 49, because, as a matter of fact, it had already expired before the date of Cicero's letter¹. Let us see then in the first place whether there is the slightest difficulty in interpreting the address to Caesar on the assumption that the *tempus legis* was the end of a second *quinquennium*, i.e. March 1, 49. If it was, then the question of the *absentis ratio*, though already debated and already disturbing, would not become absolutely critical till that date arrived. That was the day on which all eyes were fixed, as indeed they had long been fixed; that was the day by which both Caesar and the senate must have determined on their course of action. Is it not clear that Cicero addresses Caesar from the standpoint of that critical day? "When the day comes and Caesar gives effect to his impudent demand by staying in his province, this is what we shall say to him." This simple explanation, suggested by the whole context of the letter, removes every difficulty, and we are no longer reduced to the grotesque expedient of understanding by *decem annos* 'nine years nine

¹ *Klio* iv, p. 80. Judeich (*Rhein. Mus.* 1913, p. 5) takes the phrases *cum legis dies transierit* and *praeteriit tempus...legis* as proving that Caesar's legal term was expiring at or about the date of Cicero's words. I admit that the latter is not fatal to the

term being Dec. 29, 50, but Judeich, who admits the second *quinquennium*, has to regard it as consisting really of only four years and ten months. My interpretation stands against his view as against that of Hirschfeld.

months and twenty-seven days.' I should have thought that in any case it was sufficiently obvious that *tenuisti provinciam per annos decem*¹ and *praeteriit tempus...legis* are intended to be two different ways of saying precisely the same thing. The *decem annos...a te ipso datos* correspond exactly with the *tempus non legis sed libidinis tuae, fac tamen legis*.

But Hirschfeld's assertion that the words *praeteriit tempus... legis* prove that Caesar's term had already expired, cannot be allowed to escape so easily. He avails himself, perhaps inadvertently, certainly illegitimately, of the ambiguity which he has himself imported into the meaning of *legis dies*. He declares that the only time limit specified in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* was March 1, 50, but that this was merely a preclusive or permissive limit, on or after which day the senate was free to take steps for Caesar's recall. But the arrival of this date did not *ex hypothesi* terminate Caesar's legal tenure of his provinces, unless the senate was willing and able to use the permission given it, and to pass the decree or decrees necessary to bring about Caesar's supersession. Not until the senate had effectively taken these steps would the *legis dies* in the full and natural sense be reached. In Dec. 50 the *tempus... legis* in the first sense had of course long passed, but the present passage can only disprove, as Hirschfeld declares that it does, the full five years' extension, if *tempus...legis* is taken in the second sense. But the senate had all through the year been prevented from passing effective decrees, and this very passage proves that it was still vainly trying to accomplish this end. How else does Hirschfeld propose to interpret the words, *ut succedatur decernitur; impedis?* "Decrees for appointing your successors are under consideration: you block the way." Perhaps some of the scholars, who regard Hirschfeld's arguments as convincing, will take the preliminary step of showing that they are not self-contradictory.

¹ To get rid of *annorum decem imperium* by talking about round numbers is inadmissible where the point is precise and legal. On the other hand, round numbers are natural enough where the total length of the

Gaulle campaigns is summed up. It is in such a context that Suetonius (c. 25) and Caesar himself (b. c. 1, 7) speak of nine years, though Caesar was only eight years and nine months actually in Gaul.

3. *ad Att.* 7, 6, 2. *Cur autem nunc primum ei resistamus?*

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τόδε μείζον ἐπὶ κακόν.

quam cum quinquennium prorogabamus, aut cum ut absentis ratio haberetur ferebamus?

4. *Phil.* 2, 10, 24. *Duo tamen tempora inciderunt quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim;...unum, ne quinquenni imperium Caesari prorogaret; alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio haberetur.*

It is obvious that neither of these passages is against the theory of a five years' extension; the only question is whether they positively favour it. Hirschfeld's assertion that *quinquenni imperium* can only be the five years of the *lex Vatinia* is far from settling the matter, and the context in both passages is against him. The extension of *imperium* is in both brought into close connexion with the *absentis ratio*, and the latter could only be of use to Caesar, and therefore a danger to his opponents, if the extension was a *quinquennium*. Besides, the words of *ad Att.* 7, 7, 6 show that what Cicero disapproved was not the prolongation in itself, but a prolongation constituting a *decem annorum imperium*.

Dio Cassius.

Of all the ancient historians Dio alone disbelieves in the five years' extension, and Hirschfeld, in spite of his contempt for later writers, is not disinclined to find some support from this disbelief. The statements relied on are three.

1. In 39, 33, after mentioning the five years' command secured for themselves by Pompey and Crassus, Dio says that they disarmed the opposition of Caesar's friends ὥστε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τρία ἔτη πλείω, ὥς γε τάληθές εὐρίσκεται, μηκύναι. This statement is supposed to be the more valuable, because it depends on Dio's own reasoning and not on mere tradition. 2. Consistently with this, Antony in his funeral speech is made to say to the people in 44, 43, that they had granted to Caesar ὅπερ, ἀφ' οὗ ἔδημοκρατήθημεν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρχε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς ἡγεμονεῦσαι. 3. In 40, 59, Dio states that, when Marcellus in 51 proposed

to send successors to Caesar even before the time, Pompey opposed, ἔπραττε δ' ὅπως, ὅταν τὸν δεδομένον οἱ χρόνον διαπράξῃ, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, τὰ τε ὄπλα κατάθῃται, καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθῃ.

Now the second statement is obviously a mere deduction from the first, and if the third can be regarded as a deduction from the other two, it is worthless, since the reasoning by which Dio infers the three years' extension is demonstrably false. If the eight years, ending in 50, were made up of a five years' period and a three years' period, then the five years must have ended in March 53, but the one point on which all scholars are agreed, is that the first *quinquennium* ended on Feb. 28, 54, and therefore Dio's three years would have to end in 51. As a matter of fact, Dio has hopelessly vitiated the calculation, which Hirschfeld thinks so preferable to a conscientious following of authorities, by a false *terminus a quo*.

It seems to me however more likely that Dio's first two statements are deductions from the third. If so, it is important to ask whether the view that Caesar's command ended early in 50 was derived from some authority, or was, as I suspect, a too clever pre-Teutonic conjecture of his own.

It is clear from 40, 59 that in 51 Marcellus proposed *ut Caesari succederetur*, and that the *successio* was *ante tempus*. But Dio misunderstands both phrases. It is proved by *b. g.* 8, 53 (to be cited later) that *ante tempus* refers to the *relatio* of Marcellus and not to the date of the recall, while, as we shall see in the next section, the motion *ut Caesari succederetur* merely meant that Caesar's provinces should be fixed as consular or praetorian for some specified year. Dio thinks that it was a proposal for instant recall, and that Pompey opposed it on that ground. He does not state the proposal of C. Marcellus in 50, but he undoubtedly thought with Suetonius and Appian that it was the same proposal over again, i.e. in his view for instant recall in March 50. It is surprising that an historian of Hirschfeld's reputation should take the same view (*Klio*, IV, p. 86), especially as we know from the *s. c.* of Sep. 29, 51 that the motion to be made by Marcellus on March 1, 50 was *de provinciis consularibus* (*ad fam.* 8, 8, 5).

Dio, however, believing the proposal in 50 to be for instant recall, and knowing that Pompey did not oppose it, supposed, in view of Pompey's declaration of the previous year, that this was because the legal term had now expired. The statement therefore that Caesar's command was to end in 50 seems to be a mistaken inference from phrases that were misunderstood. I would not lay too much stress on Dio's inconsistency in making Antony say that Caesar was actually brought back before his term had expired (44, 43), but I own to some surprise that Hirschfeld, who speaks with much superiority on the inability of other scholars to evaluate witnesses, should follow the speculations of an historian, who throughout this section hopelessly misunderstands the relations of Caesar and Pompey. To establish this judgement, it is enough to point out that no allusion is made to the conference of Luca; that Pompey and Crassus are represented as seeking the consulship for 55 out of jealousy of Caesar; that their main object is to secure commands for themselves, and that the idea of extending Caesar's command is a pure afterthought occasioned by the hostility of Caesar's friends to their own schemes, an attitude which of course explains the short extension.

Hirtius.

Hirschfeld finds some confirmation of Dio's statement that Caesar's command was to end in 50 in a passage of *b. g.* 8, 39, where Caesar is stated in the summer of 51 to have hastened forward the siege of Uxellodunum, *cum omnibus Gallis notum esse sciret reliquam esse unam aestatem suae provinciae, quam si sustinere potuissent, nullum ultra periculum vererentur*. Hirschfeld argues that *reliquam unam aestatem* must refer to the summer of 51 not of 50; (a) on Bardt's authority, who declares that *unam* can only mean 'this one' and (b) because, if Caesar had had the summer of 50 before him, there would have been no need so to hasten the siege. To both these points Dr Rice Holmes' reply is irresistible. (a) It is clear from c. 46 that at the time of the siege only a small part of the summer of 51 was left, i.e. not *unam aestatem*, but *exiguam partem unius aestatis*. (b) An immediate success at Uxel-

lodunum might leave Caesar's last year free for settlement and conciliation, and might shatter the Gallic hope of a last year's successful resistance.

But apart from this, what was there on Hirschfeld's theory for the Gauls to know in the summer of 51? Of course if Dio is right, and Caesar's legal eight years were to end in 50, the Gauls might have known that. But Hirschfeld, while profiting by Dio's calculations, does not venture to accept his statement of facts. On his own theory there was nothing in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* limiting Caesar's command except a clause disallowing discussion of it till March 1, 50. Was this what the Gauls knew, and if they knew it, does Hirschfeld pretend that they also knew what the result of the discussion would be, when the time came? Or did they understand the highly technical reasons which, after Pompey's law of 52, had turned a clause originally favourable to Caesar into a possible weapon against him? They might have heard of the hostile attempt of Marcellus in the spring, but if so, they would also have heard of its defeat. They certainly could not have known of the senatorial decrees, obviously hostile to Caesar, passed on Sep. 29, because the siege of Uxellodunum was earlier than that date. On the other hand, if the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* gave Caesar a second *quinquennium*, the Gauls would certainly have known this, and as the summer of 51 passed away, the knowledge would be a motive for more obstinate resistance with a view of getting through the approaching last year. (See *Klio*, IV, p. 82 and V, p. 237.)

II. DE SUCCESSIONE CAESARIS.

The first question *de successione Caesaris* arose in 56, when Ahenobarbus openly threatened *se ei adempturum exercitum* (Suet. *Iul.* 24). What happened was a debate in the senate to fix the consular provinces for 54 according to the *lex Sempronius*. Caesar's opponents wished that one or both of the Gauls should be selected so that he might be recalled. Cicero was ordered, as his *παλινοδία* for the rash step taken earlier in the year, to defeat this scheme. It is by means of his

arguments on this occasion that several important points can be proved.

1. Caesar's first five years ended on Feb. 29, 54, and therefore must have begun on March 1, 59. How is it possible, Cicero asks, for a consul of 55 to succeed Caesar in 54? *Fuerit toto in consulatu sine provincia, cui ante quam designatus est decreta provincia. Sortietur an non? Nam et non sortiri absurdum est, et quod sortitus sis non habere. Profisciscetur paludatus? Quo? quo pervenire ante certam diem non licebit. Ianuario Februario provinciam non habebit: Kal. denique Martiis nascetur repente provincia (de prov. cons. 15, 37).* This proves conclusively that Caesar was in possession till March 1, 54. 2. Provincial commands under existing Sullan arrangements were bound to begin on Jan. 1. *Mihi nihil videtur alienius a dignitate disciplinaque maiorum quam ut qui consul Kal. Ian. habere provinciam debet, is ut eam desponsam non decretam habere videatur.* 3. The only constitutional way of appointing a successor to a provincial governor, except by means of a special law, was to fix his province in advance as either consular or praetorian. How e.g. could Piso or Gabinius be recalled from Macedonia and Syria? *Faciam, inquit, illas praetorias, ut Pisoni et Gabinio succedatur statim* (i.e. in Jan. next year). But this might be stopped by tribunician *intercessio*. *Mihi credite; nunquam succedetur illis, nisi ea lege referetur qua intercedi de provinciis non licebit*, i.e. by making the provinces consular for 54 in accordance with the *lex Sempronia*, which prohibited *intercessio* (de prov. cons. 7, 17). 4. The phrase *ut Caesari succedatur* does not mean therefore that a successor shall be forthwith sent to replace Caesar, but that his provinces shall be fixed as consular or praetorian, with a view to a successor being sent at the proper time. This is of course all that Cicero means, when he writes in 56: *Nam...ne Caesari lege Sempronia succederetur facile perfectum est*: Caesar's provinces were not made consular for 54 in accordance with the *lex Sempronia* (ad fam. 1, 7, 10). As we shall meet this phrase again, it is as well to note its meaning.

The question *de successione Caesaris* does not meet us

again till 51, the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* having meanwhile been passed, extending Caesar's command and, whatever term it fixed, certainly forbidding any motion *de successione Caesaris* till March 1, 50. But the whole question *de provinciis* was now complicated by Pompey's law of 52 requiring a five years' interval between the consulship or praetorship and a provincial command. This put an end to the Sullan system of provincial succession, and at the least rendered uncertain the applicability of the *lex Sempronia* to consular provinces.

Now in dealing with the motion *de successione* made by M. Marcellus in 51, it must be insisted that, in spite of Suetonius and Dio, there could have been no question of recalling Caesar before the termination of his legal command. To admit that there could is to deny that there was any legal or constitutional question at all, and to make Pompey's law, admittedly directed against Caesar, irrelevant to the situation. The phrase *ante tempus* receives its full explanation from the statement of Hirtius (*b. g.* 8, 53), *Marcellus...cum impugnet Caesaris dignitatem, contra legem Pompei et Crassi rettulit ante tempus de Caesaris provinciis*.

What then was his motion, and why did he make it *ante tempus*? No one will doubt that his proposal was, *ut Caesari succederetur*, rendered by Dio and Appian as διαδόχους πέμπειν τῷ Καίσαρι. We may further take it from Cicero's words (*ad Att.* 8, 3, 3), *M. Marcello consuli finienti provincias Gallias Kalendarum Martiarum die*, that the recall of Caesar was to be effective on March 1 in either 50 or 49. I may perhaps pause for a moment temporarily to dispose of Judeich, who by the way is discreetly silent about this proposal. Unless he rejects Cicero's evidence altogether, he is bound to take the date as March 1, 50, and as by his own theory Caesar's legal term did not end till Dec. 29 of that year, he is convicted of the irrational view that Marcellus by a decree of the senate tried to shorten Caesar's legal term by ten months.

Let us first on the strength of the evidence examined in section I take the motion *ut Caesari succederetur* to mean that one or both of the Gallic provinces were to be consular after March 1, 49. This would be taking advantage of Pompey's

law, since on the older system a governorship could not begin on March 1, or on any date but Jan. 1, and if carried, it would mean Caesar's recall on the lapse of his legal term.

It is usually assumed that the effect of the five years' interval was to abrogate the *lex Sempronia*, and no doubt on the principle, *cessante legis ratione cessat ipsa lex*, this would be the case. But we do not know the wording of the law, and there may well have been some uncertainty on the point early in 51¹. This would explain the precipitate motion of Marcellus, for, if the law was still in force, the only way of superseding Caesar in 49 was to fix his provinces as consular for that year before the elections in 51; and even if it was not in force, it might well seem advisable to take immediate advantage of Pompey's law, while there was at least one consul to be depended upon. Of course the motion involved the violation of a *sanctio* in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, but there are many examples to show that there was a great difference between violating a law and disregarding sanctions in it intended to restrict the free actions of magistrates. It was at least worth trying, and, if Pompey's conscience had been less tender, the *optimates* might have carried their point.

On the other hand, the alternative view of Hirschfeld that Marcellus proposed *finire provincias Gallias* on March 1, 50, is full of difficulties. (a) The motion would not only be *contra legem Pompei et Crassi* (not a fatal objection), but by boldly treating the *lex Sempronia* as defunct, it laid itself open to tribunician *intercessio*², and would not have had the smallest

¹ When later in the year it was decreed that the question *de provinciis consularibus* should be brought up on March 1, 50, it was assumed that the *lex Sempronia* was out of force, but to provide against possible illegality, the magistrates of this or the following year were instructed, *si quid de ea re ad populum pl.ve lato opus esset, ...uti... ad populum pl.ve ferrent* (*ad fam.* 8, 8, 5). I am not aware that this passage has hitherto been so explained but I have no doubt that this is the solution.

² This is proved by the passage in *de prov. cons.* 7, 17, quoted above. The proposal would have been so hopeless owing to this liability that it seems necessary to suppose that the *optimates* were so far upholding the *lex Sempronia*, just as long of course as it suited their purpose. If Suetonius is right that tribunes opposed Marcellus, it must have been to maintain the Pompeio-Licinian sanction. But probably a senatorial vote defeated him, as Hirtius declares (*b. g.* 8, 53).

chance, even if Pompey had concurred. (b) Why should Marcellus have fixed upon March 1, 50, as the date on which the Gallic provinces were to become consular? On Dio's view we could understand it, but on Hirschfeld's, the date, being preclusive, had no significance, unless it was observed, and for Marcellus to make it the end of Caesar's command would have been nothing but an impudent advertisement of his own illegality. (c) Marcellus must have known, though Hirschfeld apparently forgets, that it was out of his power to make the Gallic provinces consular on March 1, 50, because the two consular provinces, Cilicia and Syria, held by Cicero and Bibulus, would not be vacated till four or five months after that date, and it has been shown from *de prov. cons.* 7, 17, that there was no other way of superseding Caesar.

The defeat of Marcellus meant that the *successio Caesaris* would have to be postponed till next year. But this was now part of a wider question *de provinciis*, which Pompey's *lex de iure magistratuum* had rendered urgent and complicated. It is clear from Caelius that something was still expected from Marcellus, who was hanging back *non inertia sed...consilio* (*ad fam.* 8, 2, 2). A fruitless attempt was made to raise the question *de successione Caesaris hoc est de provinciis* in July (*ib.* 8, 4, 4), and it was believed that in August *aut transigaretur aliquid aut turpiter intercedetur*.

The abolition of the Sullan system in 52 had thrown the whole *successio provinciarum* out of gear. We must assume that the consular provinces for 51, Syria and Cilicia, had been fixed in 53 in the usual way, but that after Pompey's law it was impossible to assign them to the consuls of 52, and therefore, but not without a delay of some months, Bibulus and Cicero were sent out. As for the praetorian provinces, those for 51 may have been allotted in 52 before Pompey's law was passed, but quite possibly there was the same delay, and for the same reason, in sending out the governors. At any rate, it is clear that no allotment of praetorian provinces in 51 was attempted till the end of September. As there was probably some shortage of ex-consuls and ex-praetors qualified under the new law, and as there is reason to suppose that most provincial

commands in 51 began, like the consular, later than usual, it would have seemed a natural course to retain in their provinces all governors, consular and praetorian, throughout 50, and to make all provincial appointments for 49. This was at any rate Caesar's view and it seems to have been adopted with modifications by the senate in September. But there were two methods of carrying out this arrangement. (a) All provinces, consular and praetorian, might be settled together at the date when the Gauls could legally be considered, i.e. on March 1, 50¹. This was what Caesar wished, because it was still possible that in a general debate on the provinces one or both of his provinces might be left out of the settlement, and consular and praetorian selected from the rest. (b) The praetorian provinces might be settled at once, either for the second half of 50, as Cicero of course would have preferred², or for 49. This was what the *optimates* wished, because it would be possible to make all provinces praetorian except those, e.g. the Gauls, which they intended to fix as consular on March 1, 50. It is in my opinion in the light of these two policies that the following passages of Caelius are to be explained. *Nosti enim haec tralaticia; de Galliis constituetur, erit qui intercedat; deinde alius existet qui, nisi libere liceat de omnibus provinciis decernere senatui, reliquas impediat* (ib. 8, 5, 2). *Ut video, causa haec integra in proximum annum transferetur; et quantum divino, relinquendus tibi erit qui provinciam obtineat* (because Cilicia is not likely to be made praetorian before 49). *Nam non expeditur successio, quoniam Galliae quae habent intercessorem in eandem condicionem quam ceterae provinciae vocantur* (8, 9, 2).

At the end of September, after many postponements, caused partly by Caesar's threat of *intercessio*, partly by Pompey's

¹ As with the defeat of Marcellus the *lex Sempronia* must by common consent have been given up, there was no constitutional reason for dealing with the two groups of provinces separately.

² Even if Cilicia and the eight praetorian provinces were to be filled from

July 50 and not from Jan. 49, it would still be the case that the only provinces available as consular in 49 would be those not already fixed as praetorian. As a matter of fact, all existing governors had to remain till the beginning of 49.

uncertain attitude, the senatorial policy was embodied in several important decrees. (1) A meeting of the senate was to be called next year on March 1, by the consuls, C. Marcellus and Aemilius Paulus, to make a settlement *de provinciis consularibus*, which was to be debated day by day, and alone (*neve quid coniunctim*), i.e. without the praetorian. As this was the preclusive date fixed by the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, the Gallic provinces would not be excluded from the debate, and it was no doubt intended to fix one or both of them as consular for 49, as M. Marcellus had vainly tried to do earlier in the year. As this was in perfect accordance with the agreement between Caesar and Pompey, no Caesarian tribune blocked this decree. But as the *lex Sempronia* was now assumed to be obsolete, and there might be some doubt about this, the magistrates of this or the following year were instructed *si quid de ea re lato opus esset*, to get the necessary sanction from the people¹. (2) As the elimination of the *lex Sempronia* made the settlement of consular provinces liable to be blocked by *intercessio*, it was decreed that any tribune blocking the settlement to be arrived at next year, would be treated as acting *contra rempublicam*, a decree which might have consequences, but was more likely to be futile. (3) Contrary to Caesar's wish, that all the provinces should be decided together, a decree was now made about the praetorian provinces. Such a decree was abnormal because, as things had worked out, instead of the praetorian provinces being automatically settled by the previous selection of the consular, they were now to be selected first, so that the consular would necessarily be those not made praetorian, and not *vice versa*. Again, ostensibly the praetorian provinces for 50 were being fixed, but owing to the confusion and uncertainty caused by the *lex Pompeia* probably all provincial governorships in 51 began, like Cilicia and Syria, late in the year, so that practically, if not formally, it was for 49 that praetorian provinces were now assigned. The decree passed was that

¹ See above p. 178, n. 1. That this possible appeal to the people had reference to the present decree, and not to any decision to be made next year, is

shown by the fact that the instruction is given primarily to the present magistrates and only on their failure to act, to those of next year.

Cilicia and the eight provinces held by ex-praetors should (i.e. when they fell vacant) be filled by ex-praetors of five, or failing them, of four or three years' standing. The result would be that, when March 1 arrived, and the consular provinces for 49 had to be fixed, only Syria and Caesar's two provinces would be available, and all hope that the latter might be left out of the distribution would be gone. It is no wonder therefore that this decree was blocked by Pansa's *intercessio*¹. But though the question of praetorian provinces was hung up, it was open to the senate on the initiative of C. Marcellus and his colleague to settle the consular provinces on March 1, 50, the preclusive date of the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*. Unfortunately Caelius does not describe the meeting, but we know, explicitly from Suetonius and Appian, constructively from Cicero and Caelius, that it took place and that the contemplated decree was passed. What was it?

Appian (2, 27) says it was *πέμπειν Καίσαρι διαδόχους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ γὰρ ἔληγεν ὁ χρόνος*, but, as we have seen above, he did not understand this to mean immediate recall. Cicero (*ad Att.* 7, 7, 6) makes it clear that it was a decree *ut Caesari succederetur*, a decree which might have been made effective, if M. Marcellus had been supported. The s. c. of Sept. 29 proves beyond doubt that the only question before the senate on March 1 could have been *de provinciis consularibus*. Lastly, as that s. c. was passed in consequence of Pompey's expressed wish, *eum post Kal. Mart. decedere*, the effect of the proposal made by Marcellus on March 1, 50, must have been for Caesar to be superseded on March 1, 49². We have already seen that there was only one way of bringing this about, viz. by making his provinces consular on the date of his intended recall. This is what *ut Caesari succederetur* had meant in 56, and the conjunction now of the same phrase with *de provinciis consularibus* in the s. c. makes its meaning certain. The proposal therefore

¹ The decrees, with others less essential, are given in *ad fam.* 8, 8, 5—8. The blocking of the last decree made it certain that Cicero would not be relieved at the end of his year, and as a matter of fact no governors ap-

pointed in 51 were relieved till the beginning of 49 (*Caes. b. c.* 1, 6).

² I reserve a full examination of the phrase *post Kal. Mart. decedere* for the section on Pompey's attitude.

of C. Marcellus was that the consular provinces for 49 should be either the two Gauls from March 1 or Transalpine Gaul from that date and Syria from Jan. 1. In the latter case, Cisalpine Gaul would have been afterwards assigned with the praetorian provinces, though not available till March 1. If this decree had not been vetoed, and if the supplementary step of selecting qualified successors and sending them out had been taken, Caesar would have found himself a *privatus* on March 1, 49.

On the other hand, Hirschfeld (pp. 82 and 86) and apparently Judeich¹ regard the proposal of Marcellus *ut Caesari succederetur* as one for immediate recall on or shortly after March 1, 50. I shall come to closer grips with the latter in a later section, and I will only point out here that if Caesar's legal term extended till Dec. 29, 50, the only logical explanation of Marcellus' proposal is that it was to render possible in the proper way his actual supersession on that date. Judeich is cut off from this explanation by his reference of *post Kal. Mart. decedere* to the year 50, so that he is compelled to adopt, as in the case of the proposal in 51, what I venture to call the irrational view that Marcellus proposed by senatorial decree to deprive Caesar of ten months' command legally conferred upon him by the people.

Hirschfeld's position is different, but hardly more logical. He does not pretend that March 1, 50, was the *legis dies* in the sense of being the legal termination of the command, but merely in the sense that it was the only time limit specified in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*. Originally, as preclusive, it was in Caesar's interest, indirectly guaranteeing his position till the senate was allowed to discuss it. Moreover, as long as the *lex Sempronia* was in force, no decree resulting from the discussion could make Caesar's provinces consular before 48. But when Pompey's law had abrogated the *lex Sempronia*, the preclusive date became permissive in the sense that the senate, in the absence of any other legal limit, could at once supersede

¹ The proposals of the two Marcelli, involving, as they both do, the inconvenient date, March 1, do not interest Judeich very much, and he steers clear of them as much as he can.

Caesar by sending out successors forthwith, this being the meaning of *ut Caesari succedatur*.

Now (1) the only way of superseding or 'succeeding' Caesar, whether there was a legal term or not, was to make his provinces consular (or perhaps praetorian) from a fixed date. (2) The only difference made by the abrogation of the *lex Sempronia* was that on March 1, 50, the senate could make Caesar's provinces either consular or praetorian for 49 instead of for 48. To suppose that with the passing of the *lex Pompeia* or the abrogation of the *lex Sempronia* all rule and custom with regard to provincial appointments were cancelled, and that provinces could be declared consular and filled on the same day, is preposterous, and disproved in the case of praetorian provinces by the inoperative decree of Sept. 51. (3) Even if the course ascribed to Marcellus and the senate had been permissible, it would in the particular case have been impossible. Caesar's province could not be made consular on March 1, and he could not therefore be replaced by successors on that date, for the sufficient reason that there were already two consular provinces, Cilicia and Syria, which would not be vacant till June or July at the earliest.

Hirschfeld's whole position depends upon juggling with the phrases *tempus legis* and *festgesetzte Termin*; denn dass sich ein solcher darin (in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*) befand, ist an und für sich nicht zu bezweifeln (pp. 83—4). If, when Cicero said in Dec. *praeterit tempus legis*, he referred to March, 1, 50, he must have regarded it as the legal termination of Caesar's command¹. Hirschfeld does not pretend that it was². It was only a preclusive or permissive date, and this could only be

¹ Hirschfeld strangely overlooks the point that in Cicero's eyes *tempus libidinis tuae* was more correct than *tempus legis*. The *tempus legis* therefore was self-imposed by Caesar himself. I leave it to Hirschfeld's supporters to decide whether this suits best March 1, 50, or March 1, 49.

² If Hirschfeld is determined to make March 1, 50, the *legis dies*, I

wonder that he does not more boldly adopt Dio's statement that the legal end was in 50, and explain it by making the second *quinquennium* date from the passing of *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, presumably on March 1, 55. This would mean the withdrawal of several ill-considered judgements, and would be vulnerable at many points, but it would at least be logical.

the actual termination, if the senate was able to use the permission effectively on that day. The real *Termin* of the command, whether described as *legis dies* or not, would be the day on which the senate succeeded in doing this, and was therefore not a *festgesetzte Termin*.

We shall take it therefore that on March 1 or one of the following days the senate passed a decree, declaring the Gallic provinces (or perhaps one of them, the other to be settled later) consular from March 1, 49, after which date Caesar would be *privatus*. This was not contrary to the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, but it was a violation of the understanding made at Luca, which Caesar was still determined, if possible by constitutional means, to maintain. The *lex Sempronia* being out of force, there was no constitutional reason why Curio should not block the decree by his *intercessio*, and it is clear from *ad fam.* 9, 13, 2 and *ad Att.* 7, 7, 5 that he took this course. Provision had been made in Sept. against the possibility of this in the second of the decrees then passed, and the senate by bold action might, as Cicero believed, and as it actually did in the following Jan., have made its decree effective¹. As a matter of fact however Curio maintained his *intercessio*, and threatened to use it against all compromises, so that the decree remained ineffective till the end of the year.

At what point Curio first made his suggestion that Pompey and Caesar should both resign together (i.e. as I understand it on March 1, 49) is not clear. In representing it as Curio's reply to the decree of March 1, Hirschfeld is following Appian (2, 24), one of those late writers, the acceptance of whose statements marks, in his opinion, incompetence to weigh evidence. At any rate, the daring proposal, carried, apparently late in the year, by a huge majority (App. 2, 30), was merely a piece of futile imbecility into which Curio trapped the senate, and as it contained no settlement with regard to either Caesar's provinces or Pompey's, it had no relation to the question *de successione*.

¹ The moves and counter moves of the year, including the compromise *ut Idibus Novembribus decedat*, I shall deal with in the section on Pompey's

position. I am only concerned here with the technical question *de successione*.

That question might have dawdled on, as Caelius wrote in 51 (8, 5, 2), *plus biennium*, but for Caesar's ultimatum at the beginning of 49. The senate, realising the alternative, *depugnandum est aut habenda e lege ratio*, replied by a decree, *uti ante certam diem Caesar exercitum dimittat; si non faciat, eum adversus rem publicam jacturum videri* (b. c. 1, 1). This was not an act of *successio*, but a counter ultimatum, intended perhaps to clear the way for the only step by which Caesar could be formally superseded. It at any rate had that effect, for it provoked the *intercessio* of the Caesarian tribunes, who were then dealt with as Marcellus would have dealt with Curio ten months earlier. The last decree was passed, and the tribunes fled from Rome. Their departure removed the deadlock of the past ten months, and the senate in a subsequent meeting proceeded to the *successio provinciarum*, including those of Caesar. It was decreed that Further Gaul and Syria should be consular provinces, while Cisalpine Gaul was one of the praetorian, the respective governors being Ahenobarbus, Scipio and Nonianus (b. c. 1, 6, *ad fam.* 16, 12, 3). In one respect only were these decrees irregular, viz. that the provinces were fixed as consular and 'praetorian simultaneously or almost simultaneously¹ with the appointment and despatch of the new governors, a course which I have argued could not have been taken in March 50. It was excused now by the emergencies of what was already practically a state of civil war. At the same time, unless Caesar acted as an enemy, his legal term was not to be cut short. The *certa dies* of the ultimatum was the real *festgesetzte Termin* the *legis dies*, March 1, and Ahenobarbus and Nonianus would only succeed on that date. Thus even after the crossing of the Rubicon, when negotiations for avoiding war were again pending, Caesar was required to return in *provinciam*, an indication that his term had not yet expired (b. c. 1, 11), and it is not till the late summer, when March 1 was a date of the past, that Caesar can talk of *abductum exercitum*.

¹ Apart from civil war, Caesar's successors would still not be sent out till March 1, but on crossing the

Rubicon his status as governor was gone.

III. CAESAR'S SECOND CONSULSHIP AND THE TRIBUNICIAN LAW.

It was at Luca that arrangements were made for the second consulship of Pompey and Crassus and for the future position of Caesar. It may be regarded therefore as certain that his own second consulship was also provided for. The year fixed for it was 48, (a) because the five years' extension of his command made an earlier year impossible; and (b) because Caesar thought it convenient and advisable to conform to Sulla's law requiring an interval of 10 years after his first consulship in 59. That he made a point and a merit of this conformity, is shown by his own words in *b. c. 1, 32*: *docet se nullum extraordinarium honorem appetere, sed exspectato legitimo tempore consulatus eo fuisse contentum*. The same conclusion must be drawn from Dio, 40, 51, who says that the *absentis ratio* was to be allowed *ὅταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκη*. But if the consulship for 48 was agreed upon at Luca, it cannot be doubted that an understanding was also arrived at that Caesar should stand for it in his absence, and so be enabled to take advantage of the existing regulations, and retain his provinces till entering on the office, since it was well known that the *optimates* would impeach him for the irregular acts of his first consulship the moment he became a *privatus* (Suet. *Iul.* 30). No steps however were taken at once to secure this privilege, since there was plenty of time, and Caesar would naturally not wish to disclose his full hand.

But in 52, when Pompey was made sole consul, and his attitude towards Caesar had become at least ambiguous, we may assume that the latter claimed the carrying out of the understanding as to his canvass in absence. Pompey, who within his own limitations was a man of honour, allowed and perhaps even initiated the law of the ten tribunes. Among the many statements as to this law, the following of Cicero is as explicit as any. Pompey in his third consulship *contendit ut decem tribuni pl. ferrent ut absentis ratio haberetur, quod idem ipse sanxit lege quadam sua* (*ad Att.* 8, 3, 3; *conf. ib.* 7, 3, 4; *Liv. epit.* 107 and 108; *Caes. b. c.* 1, 9; *Suet. Iul.* 26,

where the privilege is to be used *quandoque imperi tempus expleri coepisset*; App. 2, 20; D. C. 40, 51).

A question arises whether this exemption was still uncanceled at the end of 50, when it seemed likely to be of vital importance for Caesar's position. We know that it was jeopardised by Pompey's *lex de iure magistratuum*, which contained a clause, ostensibly perhaps tralatician, *κελεύοντα τοὺς ἀρχὴν τινα ἐπαγγέλλοντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάντως ἀπαντᾶν, ὥστε μηδένα ἀπόντα αἰρεῖσθαι* (D. C. 40, 56). It appears however from Dio, Suetonius (c. 28) and Cicero (*ad Att.* 8, 3, 3) that Pompey had in some way, though according to Suetonius after his own law had been engraved, corrected the 'oversight' and legalised Caesar's right. Marcellus in 51 must have taken this view, since Suetonius says: *rettulit ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, ... quando nec plebiscito Pompeius postea abrogasset*. The epitomator agrees with this: *agente in senatu M. Marcello ut Caesar in petitionem consulatus veniret, cum is lege lata in id tempus consulatus provinciam obtinere deberet*. Cicero too in several passages, but very forcibly in *ad fam.* 6, 6, 5, implies the continued validity of the law: *rationem absentis haberi non tam pugnari ut liceret, quam ut, quoniam ipso consule pugnante populus iusserat, haberetur*.

It seems important to establish two points about this law. (1) It limited the privilege to a particular year, viz. 49, and could not have enabled Caesar to stand in his absence either before or after that year. This is not only indicated by the words of Dio Cassius already cited, *ὅταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκη*, but from Caesar's own words (*b. c.* 1, 9), *cuius absentis rationem haberi proximis comitiis populus iussisset*. It is indeed inconceivable either that such an exemption would have been granted for an undefined year, or that Pompey, who was in a sense responsible for the law, or Caelius Rufus, who knew all that was going on, would have been under any misapprehension on this point. Hirschfeld however strangely interprets several statements of Caelius as showing that both he and Pompey were under the impression that Caesar thought of standing at the elections in 50 for the consulship of 49

(*Klio*, v, p. 240). (a) Early in Sept. 51 Caelius writes (*ad fam.* 8, 9, 5) that Pompey will clearly not allow Caesar to retain his command and to be consul designate. (The reading is slightly corrupt, but the sense is clear.) He was however not prepared to recommend any decree on the matter at present. This only shows what is clear from other evidence, that the situation threatened in 49 was already occupying attention in 51. (b) In Oct. 51, after enumerating the decrees passed on Sept. 29, and recording Pompey's promise to take up a definite line against Caesar after March 1 next, Caelius adds (8, 8, 9): *Itaque iam, ut video, alteram utram in condicionem descendere vult Caesar, ut aut maneat neque hoc anno ratio sua habeatur, aut, si designatus esse poterit, decedat.* Caelius is obviously making a forecast of his own as to Caesar's probable course, and he is certainly wrong in supposing that he would resign after being elected, since his one aim was to leave no interval in which he would be *privatus*. But Caelius could not be wrong about the year of Caesar's candidature. It was the year on which all eyes were centred, the year which in particular he and Cicero were always discussing, as that in which Caesar's legal term would expire, and which could not but be specified in the tribunician law. Neither for Cicero nor for any one else could there be the smallest ambiguity as to the identity of *hoc anno*, and it speaks little for Hirschfeld's power of weighing evidence that he should seriously adduce the *ipse dixit* of 'his friend, Bardt' as decisive that *hoc anno* can only be the electoral year in which Caelius was writing. (c) In a letter written in May 50 (*ad fam.* 8, 11, 3) Caelius, after mentioning a suggestion believed to be favoured by Pompey that Caesar should be recalled 'on Nov. 13,' concludes a passage, to be discussed elsewhere, by saying of Pompey: *valde autem non vult et plane timet Caesarem cos. design. prius quam exercitum et provinciam tradiderit.* Hirschfeld denies that this can refer to Nov. 49, because Pompey's dislike and fear of the *absentis ratio* is inconsistent with his allowing it by letting Caesar stay till Nov. But on the assumption that Pompey mistook the year of Caesar's intended *ratio*, precisely the same difficulty would arise on referring the Nov. to 50.

When does Hirschfeld suppose that Pompey recognised the truth? He will hardly deny that he had done so in Sept. 50, when, according to Caelius, Pompey is using precisely the same language, two months after the elections of 50, as he had used a year before: *constituit Pompeius non pati Caesarem aliter consulem fieri, nisi exercitum et provincias tradiderit*. Hirschfeld's motive in attributing this mistake to Pompey and Caelius is obvious, for, if Caesar's legal term extended to March 49, they could never have been so simple as to believe that he would voluntarily curtail it.

(2) The second point to be established about the *absentis ratio* is its precise scope and effect. Its object was not to extend Caesar's command or to enable him to retain it after the legal term had expired. For it must be remembered that, when the tribunician law was passed, Caesar could already count on retaining his position till the end of 49 owing to the joint effect of the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, the provincial regulations of Sulla, and the operation of the *lex Sempronia*. But Caesar desired more than this; he desired for the sake of his own safety to step direct from his provincial command into the consulship at the beginning of 48, and as a personal canvass in the summer of 49 would mean the relinquishment of his *imperium*, the *absentis ratio* was the indispensable condition of the last *semenstre imperium* of 49. When Caesar complains to the senate in Jan. 49 (b. c. 1, 9), *quod populi Romani beneficium sibi per contumeliam ab inimicis extorqueretur, ereptoque semenstri imperio ad urbem retraheretur, cuius absentis rationem haberi proximis comitiis populus iussisset*, and when the epitomator (108) says that he had the right, *lege lata in tempus consulatus provinciam obtinere*, the reference is merely to the indirect result originally aimed at by the tribunician law. The law in itself said nothing of *imperium*, or army or provinces, but, as all the evidence shows, was merely *ut absentis ratio haberetur*.

That object was thwarted by the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum*, which, though it did not invalidate the tribunician law, might easily make it useless to Caesar. To assert with Hirschfeld (p. 85) that after 52 Caesar was compelled to

fall back on the tribunician law, or with Rice Holmes (p. 50) that that law implied a right on Caesar's part to retain his province till at least July, is to misunderstand the situation. It was possible now to make Caesar a *privatus* after March 1, 49 (on Hirschfeld's view, much earlier), and if that was done, though he might still claim the *absentis ratio*, he would have to use it as a *privatus* and practically as an exile, and not as the governor of the Gallic provinces. I venture to lay it down as incontrovertible that whatever interval there was between the *legis dies*, whether March 1, 50, or Dec. 29, 50, or March 1, 49, and the consular elections, was incapable of being bridged by the tribunician law. An appeal is sometimes made to Cicero's words in *ad Att.* 7, 7, 6, as proving that the retention of the army was sanctioned by the grant of the *absentis ratio*. *Exercitum retinentis, cum legis dies transierit, rationem haberi placet? Mihi vero ne absentis quidem. Sed cum hoc datum est, illud una datum est.* But Cicero's point merely is that the danger should have been foreseen when the law was passed, since at that time the *absentis ratio* involved, as it was meant to do, the *exercitum retinentis ratio*.

But, it may be asked, how is the fact to be explained that at the close of 50 the struggle between Caesar and the senate seems to be concentrated round the privilege of the *absentis ratio*? Why does the former so insist upon it—*habe rationem meam*—and why are his opponents so outraged at his impudence in doing so? The answer is simple. Caesar had not given up the programme agreed upon at Luca, which was indeed more essential to his safety now than it had seemed then, of retaining his command till the end of 49, and only resigning it for the consulship. The retention of his command beyond March 1, though no longer secured by legal safeguards, might still be compassed without violating the constitution, but it would be a mere postponement of the danger without the consulship at the end, and this was as completely dependent now as before 52 on the *absentis ratio*. It was therefore a crucial point for Caesar, and if for Caesar, then for his adversaries also.

The privilege of canvassing in absence was not one which

the senate could allow or withhold, since its legal conferment by the people was obviously not disputed, and if Caesar still found himself in possession of his provinces in July, nothing could prevent its exercise. But there was an awkward gap between March 1, *cum legis dies transierit*, and the elections, and it was the question of this gap which agitated political circles at the end of Dec. 50. If the senate could effectively make Caesar's provinces consular or praetorian, and be ready to send out successors, Caesar would be *privatus* after March 1, and the *absentis ratio*, though not disallowed, would be useless to him. Up to Dec. he had prevented the necessary steps from being taken by the constitutional method of tribunician *intercessio*, and it was the possibility that he might maintain his position even after March 1, either by the same tactics or by diplomatic persuasion (*vel per senatum vel per tribunos*), which so excited Cicero in his letters to Atticus. As matters stood, there was only one way in which Caesar could be deprived of the *absentis ratio*, and that was by either compelling the withdrawal of the *intercessio*, or in the last resort quashing it by the last decree. Whether it would have taken this course which, as Cicero realised, practically meant civil war, but for Caesar's unexpected ultimatum on Jan. 1, it is impossible to say, but at any rate, when it was taken, and the Gallic provinces duly assigned to successors after March 1, Caesar recognised that the *absentis ratio* was of no use to him, and it is this which explains his subsequent suggestion that, if Pompey would go to Spain, *ad consulatus petitionem se venturum, neque iam se velle absente se rationem haberi suam; se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum* (*ad fam.* 16, 12, 3).

One more point may be cleared up. It has been argued that, even if Caesar had been allowed to remain (or more correctly, had succeeded through his obstruction in remaining) till July, and had been designated consul in his absence, he would have been no more entitled than before to remain till the end of the year. That is perfectly true, but Caesar's election, while still governor, being due to the want of vigorous action by the senate, would considerably strengthen his position, and weaken that of the senate, and continued obstruction

during the last six months of the year would have been rendered easier by its success in the first six. Thus Caesar's chances of getting the last *semenstre imperium* would have been very favourable, since, as Caelius had said in 50, want of courage on the part of the senate would mean that *Caesar quoad volet manebit* (*ad fam.* 8, 11, 3).

IV. THE ATTITUDE OF POMPEY TOWARDS CAESAR'S COMMAND.

As Hirschfeld and to a certain extent Judeich claim to find support for their theories as to the legal termination of Caesar's command in Pompey's attitude, as indicated both by the general situation and by certain passages in Cicero's correspondence, it will be as well to examine this aspect of the question with some minuteness.

It can hardly be denied that up to 56 Pompey's position in the coalition had been a secondary one, that his enforced activity in Rome was uncongenial, and that he was anxious for a position more commensurate with that of Caesar. In the first half of 56 two incidents, in neither of which Pompey was directly concerned, convinced Caesar that the security of his own position called for some reconstruction of the coalition. The first incident was the ill-advised attempt of Cicero to give effect to the view of strict constitutionalists that Caesar's agrarian law was a *lex vitiosa*. The second was the design to fix, in accordance with the *lex Sempronia*, one or both of the Gauls as consular provinces for 54, and when Caesar should thus have become a *privatus* at the end of his five years, to impeach him for the acts of his consulship (*Suet. Iul.* 24 and 30). These were the occasions for the conference of Luca, at which it is clear from Suetonius and Appian that Caesar was the dominant figure¹.

That he had been the dominant partner in the coalition for the past three years and a half, cannot be doubted, and

¹ I have already alluded to Dio's and Pompey and Crassus are demonstrably incorrect version, in represented as acting independently of which the meeting at Luca is ignored, Caesar.

there seems no reason why at this point he should have adopted the principle, attributed to him by Judeich, of 'equal rights for all.' But no doubt the immediate securities which he desired for his own position as well as future acquiescence in it on the part of his allies had to be purchased, and Caesar was prepared to relinquish the sole military headship of the coalition by conceding to both his partners a parallel provincial command. Hence it was agreed that Crassus should have a command in Syria and Pompey one in the two Spains for five years¹. To carry out this arrangement, as well as to establish Caesar's own position, Pompey and Crassus were to hold the consulship in 55, thus disposing of the threatening and inconvenient candidature of Ahenobarbus.

The legal termination of Pompey's command of the Spanish provinces was not a factor in the problem presented at the end of 50, because by its uncovenanted extension in 52 it would have outlasted Caesar's, and even Caesar's second consulship, by several years. But at the conference of Luca it was not without its importance. According to Judeich (*Rhein. Mus.* 1913, p. 4) there can be no doubt that Pompey and Crassus entered on their provincial command in the normal way after their consulship, i.e. on Jan. 1, 54. I should have thought on the contrary, remembering the precedent of the *lex Vatinia*, and the fact that Pompey and Crassus desired the consulship mainly as a means of securing their own military position, that the necessary laws would have been passed early in the year, and that their provincial *imperium* would have begun, like Caesar's, at once. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Crassus not only collected his forces while still consul, but actually left Rome *paludatus* for the East in the middle of November (*ad Att.* 4, 13, 2). Judeich is anxious to show, as we shall see, that Pompey's command was timed to expire on Dec. 29, 50, but he seems to have overlooked the fact, that

¹ The *quinquennium* of Pompey and Crassus depends on the same writers of the imperial age (with Dio thrown in) whose evidence as to Caesar's second five years Hirschfeld

sweeps aside. It is curious, but characteristic, that he should only reject that part of their evidence which conflicts with his own preconceived hypothesis.

his actual, though not his legal, term would end on that date, even if his five years began in March or April 55. As the Sullan regulations were still in force, no successor could take his place when the legal term ended, and he would remain in command, whether in Rome or in Spain, till two of the praetors of 50 succeeded him on Jan. 1, 49, this being the extreme limit of his *imperium*, as depending on the *lex Trebonia*¹. Of course his own *lex de iure magistratuum* would have made it possible to recall Pompey at the end of his legal term, but neither that law nor the extension of his command for a second *quinquennium* was foreseen at Luca.

But what were the arrangements made for Caesar's benefit? Their practical effect is not disputed by either Hirschfeld or Judeich. It was that Caesar should be enabled to retain his provinces till the end of 49. His two essential requirements were (a) ample time to complete his military and political work in Gaul, and (b) the avoidance of an interval during which, as *privatus*, he would be liable to the impeachment which men like Ahenobarbus and Cato openly threatened. His only goal of safety was a second consulship, and it cannot be doubted that this was arranged for him, but in accordance with the Sullan requirement of a ten years' interval, and therefore not till 48. The question is how the interval between March 1, 54, up to which the *lex Vatinia* secured him, and the end of 49 was guaranteed.

In the first place, we may assume that what was at the time a minor point, though circumstances lent it a factitious importance at a later stage, permission to stand for the consul-

¹ Dr Rice Holmes suggests that, as the *lex Sempronia* was in force, Pompey probably inserted in the *lex Trebonia* a clause similar to that in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, making it possible for him to retain his provinces till the end of 49. We have no right to assume this without evidence, and it seems to me unlikely. In the first place, it would mean the retention of his command eighteen months

at least after the legal term, whereas Caesar would only have had ten months extra. In the second place, it assumes that Pompey's provinces would be made, one or both, consular, whereas both the Spains, even the more important, Further Spain, were usually praetorian, and in that case, Pompey could not expect to remain after the end of 50, when praetors of that year could succeed him.

ship without abandoning his command by returning in the summer of 49, was arranged to be secured at the proper time. It was an essential part of the scheme, and could not possibly have been overlooked. Another point on which there is no dispute is that skilful use was made of the *lex Sempronia de provinciis consularibus*. It was certain that Transalpine Gaul at least, when vacated by Caesar, would have to be a consular province, and would therefore by the terms of this law definitely have to be fixed as such before the election of the consul who would hold it (Sall. *Iug.* 27). In order to make sure therefore that no ex-consul could be assigned to it or to Cisalpine Gaul before 48, steps were to be taken to make illegal the fixing of either of Caesar's provinces as consular before March 1, 50. Such a legal prohibition against applying the *lex Sempronia* to Caesar's *successio* till 50, meant that he could be superseded at earliest by one of the consuls of 49 at the beginning of 48. But Caesar was not likely to be content with such negative protection. He naturally required a law definitely extending his command, and as a matter of fact, this preclusive stipulation was to be nothing more than a clause in such a law.

It might of course have been arranged for this law to extend Caesar's command up to the end of 49, and this would have made his position legally unassailable. But such an unsymmetrical extension of five years and ten months would inevitably have disclosed what was almost certainly the secret arrangement, that Caesar was to step straight from his provincial post into a second consulship. Besides, it was not necessary, and the more obvious and regular course of granting a second *quinquennium*, i.e. to March 1, 49, would perfectly meet the case. For as long as the Sullan system was in force, even *cum legis dies transierit*, Caesar could not be replaced till the end of the year, there being the same obstacle to a consul of 50 succeeding him on March 1, 49 as, according to Cicero, there would have been to a consul of 55 succeeding him on March 1, 54.

In Caesar's interest therefore, and I insist that this was the dominant factor at Luca, a five years' extension was the

sufficient and obvious course, since it carried with it an extension to the end of the year, an extension also guaranteed, for the sake of double security, by the non-applicability of the *lex Sempronia* to Caesar's provinces till March 1, 50. Now it is precisely such a five years' legal extension to which all the ancient authorities, as we have seen, except Dio Cassius testify, and few will disagree with the remark of Dr Rice Holmes that in default of very strong counter-evidence their testimony must stand.

This at least is admitted by Judeich, who nevertheless for the flimsiest reasons argues that the legal termination of the second *quinquennium* was the last day of Dec. 50. His particular arguments, derived from passages of Cicero's correspondence written in that year, I postpone to their proper place, but the general justification of his position, based on his view of the situation at Luca, must be dealt with here.

Ignoring the evidence of Suetonius and Appian as to the antecedents of the conference, and taking no account of the threatened attack on Caesar's position by Cicero's motion on the Campanian land question, and by the plan for recalling him in 54, Judeich seems to regard the meeting at Luca as due to something like a revolt on the part of Pompey and Crassus. In accordance with this view, Caesar's primary aim is represented as, not the securing of an impregnable position for himself, but the conciliation of a discontented Pompey and a sulky Crassus by the concession of the principle 'equal rights for all'.¹ Not only so, but he was willing, no doubt in the hope of ultimate advantage to himself, to soothe Pompey's vanity by accepting less, as the result of immediate legislation, than he might have fairly claimed. According to the principle of 'equal rights for all,' each of the three was to have a second consulship and a quinquennial command. But, while Pompey and Crassus were to have their consulship at once, Caesar was content to wait seven years for his. Again, while an extension

¹ The view that Pompey and Crassus were in revolt against Caesar receives no support except from Dio, whose

presentation of the situation is wholly vitiated by his ignorance that any conference was held at all.

of five years to his own command would mean its extension to March 1, 49, he was content to sacrifice two months of his command by allowing its legal termination to be fixed for Dec. 29, 50, because that was the date on which the five years of Pompey and Crassus would come to an end, and it would have given too much offence to allow his own term to extend beyond theirs.

This explanation, so far from being convincing, seems to me unsound at every point. (1) If it is a question of the legal termination of Caesar's command as compared with that of Pompey and Crassus, Judeich, as we have seen, has no right to assume that the precedent of the *lex Vatinia* was departed from, and that the *lex Trebonia* fixed the commencement of the commands not at once, but at the end of the year, an assumption made improbable by the fact that Crassus left Rome in the middle of November. It is far more likely that the five years for which Syria and the Spanish provinces were granted would legally terminate at some date in the first half of 50. (2) But, even if Caesar had consented to allow his *quinquennium* to be cut short by two months so as to coincide with the end of Pompey's term, would the latter have been so simple as to regard this as a case of equal rights as between himself and Caesar? Whether Dec. 29, 50, was the legal end of his *quinquennium*, or, as is more probable, the end of the year in which his *quinquennium* would expire, and so by the Sullan regulations the actual limit of his command, it was in either case, in the absence of further legislation, a date beyond which no extension was possible. On the other hand, as Judeich himself admits, the sole object of the clause in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, prohibiting Caesar's *successio* till March 50, was to make it certain that his *quinquennium*, whenever ending, would be practically prolonged till the end of 49. Pompey therefore could have been under no illusions, and unless he already meditated the disloyalty of which he was afterwards guilty, he must at Luca have been prepared not only to see Caesar retain his command twelve months after his own had expired, but to face the possibilities of Caesar's second consulship in 48. (3) Judeich seems to overlook the fact that Caesar,

in this vain attempt to conciliate or delude Pompey, would have sacrificed much more than two months of his full *quinquennium*. The full *quinquennium* would under the existing Sullan system have made it impossible for a successor to replace him before Jan. 1, 48, whereas, if Judeich is right, he laid himself open to be superseded on Jan. 1, 49. Is this what Judeich is thinking of when he declares that it was as a set-off to the sacrifice of two months that Caesar insisted on the clause already referred to being inserted in the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*? But (a) such a set-off would have been a flagrant violation of the supposed principle of 'equal rights for all,' for instead of the two months sacrificed, it not only restored them in another form, but added the last ten months of the year as well. (b) The use made of the *lex Sempronia*, bound up as it was with the only constitutional method of *successio*, could not have been a mere after-thought, but must have been an essential part of Caesar's scheme. With it and the full *quinquennium* he had a double security. By the former his provinces could not be assigned to the consuls of any year earlier than 49; by the latter, even if they were assigned to the consuls of 50, such assignment would be inoperative for the reasons given by Cicero, when the question arose in 56. If Caesar had voluntarily relinquished, as Judeich supposes, this second guarantee, he would have allowed his whole case to rest on the *sanctio* in the law of Pompey and Crassus, and if this had been disregarded, as similar 'sanctions' often were, and as Marcellus actually tried to disregard it in 51, he would have had to resign his provinces to the consuls of 50. Of course, as the result of the changed situation after 52, Caesar lost both guarantees, but that does not make it easier to believe with Judeich that at the very moment in 56, when he was realising the bar offered by the Sullan system to his recall in March 54, he would of his own accord have renounced the similar advantage which the same system might give him in 49. If Judeich had been a little less anxious to establish a new theory independent alike of Mommsen and Hirschfeld, he might have examined the situation, as it presented itself at Luca, somewhat more carefully, instead of resting his whole

position, as he virtually does, on a single phrase of Cicero, *praeteriit tempus legis*, written at the end of 50¹.

A bolder, but not more logical, theory is put forward by Hirschfeld. Rejecting the consensus of authorities for a second *quinquennium*, he supposes that the arrangement made at Luca and carried out by the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, was that Caesar's command should be prorogued from March 1, 54 without any specified time limit, but should be indirectly confirmed up to March 1, 50 by a clause making it illegal to fix Caesar's provinces as consular before that date. But as, while the *lex Sempronia* was in force, no decision taken on that day by the senate could bring Caesar's command to a termination before the last day of 49, he could count on retaining his provinces up to that date. No real *legis dies* therefore was fixed either at Luca or by the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, for March 1, 50 was merely the date on which the senate might take the preliminary step towards recalling Caesar, and even Dec. 29, 49 could only be regarded as the *legis dies* conditionally on the senate taking that step.

With the inconsistencies in connexion with the phrase *legis dies* in which Hirschfeld's theory inevitably lands him, I have already dealt. The question here is whether such an arrangement could have commended itself to Caesar at Luca. Hirschfeld suggests that he would have preferred it to a definite five years' extension, because the latter would have implied that that time was likely to be required for the conquest of Gaul, while this arrangement might suggest a speedier termination of the war. (*Klio* IV, p. 87.) This might have been so, if March 1, 50 could be regarded as even a possible termination of the command, but by a strange con-

¹ I have already dealt with this passage, and also pointed out that Judeich's theory is absolutely irreconcilable both with Pompey's view that Caesar should be recalled *post Kal. Martias* (*ad fam.* 8, 8, 4), and with Cicero's statement (*ad Att.* 8, 3, 3) that Marcellus wished to limit his command *Kalendarum Martiarum die*.

If these dates refer to 50, Judeich is committed to the impossible view that Pompey and Marcellus thought of depriving Caesar of ten months' command legally conferred by the people. We shall see later that his interpretation of *ad fam.* 8, 11, 3 involves the same irrational hypothesis.

fusion of thought Hirschfeld forgets that even on his own theory it was only after Pompey's law of 52 and the consequent abrogation of the *lex Sempronia* that the possibility of ending it so soon could have presented itself, whereas he professes to be discussing Caesar's calculations in 56.

But a more important consideration is whether the vague arrangement supposed by Hirschfeld would have satisfied Caesar. It in fact gave him no security at all if the 'sanction' forbidding action by the senate till March 50 was disregarded. The *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, on Hirschfeld's view, simply continued Caesar's command till it was terminated by the senate's action as limited by the *lex Sempronia*, that action being prohibited till a certain date. But for a single prohibiting clause the senate might have taken action in the summer of 54 or of 53 or of 52, in which case Caesar might have been superseded at the beginning of 52 or 51 or 50. Caesar's whole position in a word would have hung on the observance of this one clause, an observance which the attempt of Marcellus in 51 proves to have been precarious.

Viewed therefore from the point of view of Caesar's interests at Luca and the relation in which Pompey stood to him in 56, the hypotheses both of Judeich and Hirschfeld fail to satisfy the conditions of a convincing explanation of the problem. We will therefore, in considering the land-marks of the question from this point, start from the assumption, favoured by the ancient historians, that a second *quinquennium* was to be granted to Caesar, and that it was to terminate on March 1, 49.

The programme was duly carried out by the legislation of 55, the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* containing the stipulated clause, that Caesar's provinces should not be discussed in connexion with the *lex Sempronia* before March 1, 50¹. The proof of this last point is found in the fact that in 51 Marcellus acted *ante tempus* and *contra legem Pompei et Crassi*, taken in combination with Pompey's own statement made in Sept. of the

¹ On the supposition that both Gauls could have been made praetorian, Caesar was protected from being superseded in 49, not by the *lex Sem-*

pronia, but only by the Sullan system of provincial succession. As a matter of fact however, Transalpine Gaul was bound to be consular.

same year, *se ante Kal. Mart. non posse sine iniuria de provinciis Caesaris statuere* (ad fam. 8, 8, 9). The public could of course draw its own inferences from this arrangement, but I suggest that Caesar's second consulship, and with it of course the *absentis ratio*, were for the present kept in the background. In the following years various causes produced a growing estrangement between Pompey and Caesar, the first discordant note being probably due to the fact of Pompey remaining in Rome instead of going out to Spain. That Caesar had resented this is indicated by his own words, *in se novi generis imperia constitui, ut idem ad portas urbanis praesideat rebus et duas bellicosissimas provincias absens tot annos obtineat* (b. c. 1, 85). Nothing critical however happened till 52, when Pompey, contrary to the *lex Cornelia*, carefully observed by Caesar, became consul for the third time, and without a colleague. As this irregular appointment was favoured by Cato and Bibulus, and as the senate had already in the previous year passed a decree providing for a five years' interval between a magistracy and a provincial command (Dio Cass. 40, 46), it seems probable that Pompey was pledged to the *optimates* to confirm this decree by legislation (id. 40, 56). At any rate Caesar thought it time definitely to pave the way for his second consulship as a direct continuation of his provincial position by securing legal permission to stand in the summer of 49 in his absence. The permission was granted by a tribunician law with Pompey's consent, a sure indication that it had been stipulated for at Luca. This law, as we have seen, in spite of Pompey's ambiguous action later in the year and its attempted annulment by Marcellus in 51, was recognised by Cicero as still in force at the end of 50.

But the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum* changed the whole situation, and destroyed the continuity of Caesar's position which it had been the object of the arrangements at Luca to secure. It did not indeed violate the letter of the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, or curtail the second *quinquennium* granted by that law. But it violated the spirit of the clause so often referred to, which, with the help of the *lex Sempronia*, had made it impossible for either of Caesar's provinces to become

consular till 48. In the first place, on the principle—*cessante legis ratione cessat ipsa lex*—it might be interpreted as abrogating the *lex Sempronia*, so that on March 1, 50 the senate could make Caesar's provinces, or one of them, consular not for 48 but for 49. In the second place, as the Sullan regulations, making Jan. 1 the necessary commencement of a provincial command, were also annulled, no obstacle could, as in 54, be put in the way of a successor replacing Caesar on March 1, so that on that date he could be made *privatus*. Caesar recognised how the ground was cut from beneath his feet when he complained, *in se iura magistratuum commutari ne ex praetura et consulatu ut semper sed per paucos electi et probati in provincias mittantur* (b. c. 1, 85). Only one constitutional chance still remained. If the *lex Sempronia* lapsed, so did the provision contained in it that tribunician *intercessio* was inapplicable against the settlement of consular provinces (*de prov. cons.* 7, 17). If by this means the senate could be prevented from completing the steps necessary for his recall till the summer of 49, it would be compelled to acquiesce in the carrying out of the tribunician law of 52, and by that acquiescence would perhaps be morally, if not legally, precluded from interfering with Caesar's *semenstre imperium* till the end of the year. Such was the constitutional position when the actual struggle began in 51.

It may be asserted with confidence that during the next two years the Catonian party, always probably a small minority in the senate, but which far more than Pompey was responsible for the new law, never swerved from their aim of making Caesar a *privatus* after March 1, 49, while Caesar on his side would refuse every compromise which would leave him a *privatus* for however short a space before entering on his second consulship. That the Catonian party determined to open the struggle in 51, and so to violate the sanction of the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, can only be explained by two considerations. (1) If there was any chance that the *lex Sempronia* might still be appealed to in spite of Pompey's law, it would be too late to leave the matter till 50, and the *relatio ante tempus* must be risked. (2) The sanction might be, as other

sanctions sometimes were, ignored with impunity, if only senators generally and Pompey in particular lent their moral support.

The proposal of Marcellus, as I have already argued, must have been that the two Gauls should be fixed as consular provinces after March 1, 49 (*provincias Gallias finienti Kalendarum Martiarum die; ad Att. 8, 3, 3*). There is no doubt that it was Pompey's resistance which prevented this proposal from being carried, as the evidence of Cicero (*loc. cit.*), Dio Cassius (40, 59), and Appian (2, 26) agrees on this point. But it is not clear whether it was defeated or withdrawn. Hirtius (*b. g. 8, 53*) definitely says that the senate rejected it, but the evidence of Caelius is against this version. On May 24 he writes: *Marcellus adhuc nihil rettulit de successione provinciarum Galliarum et in Kal. Jun., ut mihi ipse dixit, eam distulit relationem (ad fam. 9, 1, 2)*. In June he says: *Marcelli impetus resederunt non inertia sed, ut mihi videtur, consilio (ib. 8, 2, 2)*. It therefore is probable that Pompey, who was not prepared to repudiate the sanction of his own law, staved off the motion till after the consular elections, thereby making it necessary, if anything was to be done, to ignore the *lex Sempronia*.

We gather from Caelius (8, 4, 4) that as late as August Pompey had not yet committed himself, and was anxious to avoid doing so, *de successione Caesaris hoc est de provinciis*. In the beginning of Sept. Caelius, though not expecting any decisive action till next year, reports Pompey as making it plain (almost certainly in connexion with the attack of Marcellus on the *absentis ratio*, alluded to in Suet. c. 26 and Liv. *epit.* 108) that he was opposed to Caesar's election to the consulship while retaining his command, though he thought it premature to pass any decree on the subject. *Pompeius tuus aperte Caesarem et provinciam tenere cum exercitu et consul; ipse tamen hanc sententiam dixit, nullum hoc tempore senatus consultum faciendum (ad fam. 8, 9, 3)*.

But later in the same month Pompey allowed his views to be still more unmistakably known, so unmistakably that the senate, no doubt on the initiative of Marcellus, was emboldened to pass several important decrees.

Pompey's view at this time is thus expressed by Caelius:

plane perspecta Cn. Pompei voluntate in eam partem ut eum decedere post Kal. Mart. placeret (8, 8, 4). This is of course a crucial passage, and Hirschfeld's theory stands or falls with his interpretation of it.

If the words *post Kal. Mart.* refer to 50¹, then undoubtedly no second *quinquennium* was granted to Caesar, and both Dec. 29, 50, and March 1, 49, are as legal terminations of Caesar's command ruled out. But on the other hand, if we assume, as the evidence already considered entitles us to do, a five years' extension, all difficulties in the way of referring the Kalends of March to 49 will disappear. For on that assumption (a) we get an intelligible explanation of the motion of Marcellus in 51, and (b) are able to confirm the statements of Suetonius and Appian that Marcellus in 50 made precisely the same proposal. Marcellus proposed to terminate Caesar's command (*provincias Gallias finire*) by recalling him at the end of the *quinquennium* (*Kalendarum Martiarum die*) by making his provinces consular from that date. Thus Caesar would have had *decedere post Kal. Mart.* Pompey had resisted this only on the ground that Marcellus had acted *ante tempus* and it was not till the following Sept. that he allowed it to be known that he wished Caesar *decedere post Kal. Mart.* As this was immediately followed by the decree of Sept. 29 directing the consuls of 50 to make a proposal on March 1 *de provinciis consularibus* (*ad fam.* 8, 8, 5) it is certain that that proposal was intended to give effect to Pompey's known wishes, viz. *ut eum decedere post Kal. Mart. placeret*. It is again only on the assumption that Caesar could legally retain his position till March 49 that we can explain the attack of Marcellus on the *absentis ratio*, and Pompey's expression of opinion on it as quoted above. For, if, as Hirschfeld believes, it had been legally possible to get rid of Caesar in March 50, the question of the *absentis ratio*, demonstrably belonging to 49, could have had no critical importance in 51.

¹ I find it impossible to accept the suggestion of Dr Rice Holmes that *post Kal. Mart.* refers to 50, but is to be taken with *placeret* and not with

decedere. This would leave the date of Caesar's recall, on which everything depended, vague and indeterminate.

But, it may be asked, why, if Caelius was referring to 49, does he not say so? Because, on the assumption that Caesar's command legally ended in March 49, it was not necessary. Neither to Caelius nor to Cicero, who were forecasting all this time what Caesar would do or would be obliged to do *cum legis dies transierit*, could there be any ambiguity. Their eyes were fixed on the year 49 and especially on March 1 of that year, and therefore such statements as "Caesar must go on March 1" or "Caesar may possibly not stand for the consulship 'this year'" or "Caesar may be allowed to stay till Nov. 13" would need no explanation. It would have been ridiculous for Caelius to have written *post Kal. Mart. secundas* or *Idibus Nov. secundis*, just as Cicero himself in *ad Att.* 8, 3, 3, leaves undated by its year the expression *Kalendarum Martiarum die*.

On the other hand, when the *senatus consultum* passed on Sept. 29, 51, provides that the consuls designate should hold a meeting *de provinciis consularibus ex Kal. Mart.*, it would be clear, even without the addition of the words *quae in suo magistratu futurae essent*, that the next year, 50, is intended. Similarly, when Pompey's speech in support of this *senatus consultum* and in explanation of his own position is quoted, declaring that after March 1 he will have no objection to a decision on the subject of Caesar's provinces, it is obvious that he is referring to the same March 1 as that specified in the decree under consideration. For it is immediately after transcribing the senatorial decrees that Caelius proceeds: *Ea praeterea Cn. Pompei sunt animadversa...ut diceret* (these words show what follows to be a quotation from Pompey's speech) *se ante Kal. Mart. non posse sine iniuria de provinciis Caesaris statuere; post Kal. Mart. se non dubitaturum*. It seems to me therefore that, if we examine a little more carefully than Hirschfeld has felt it worth while to do, the context of the three passages in this letter where the Kalends of March are mentioned, no contradiction or inconsistency is involved in referring the first to 49, the other two to 50. I will even go further and say that the contradiction is involved in Hirschfeld's own interpretation.

For him the statement of Pompey's views *ut eum decedere*

*post Kal. Mart. placeret*¹ and the quotation from his speech *post Kal. Mart. se non dubitaturum (de provinciis Caesaris statuere)* mean exactly the same thing. But *statuere de provinciis Caesaris* can only mean to give a decided vote on the motion to be brought forward on March 1, 50, and we happen to know from the terms of the *senatus consultum* transcribed by Caelius what that motion was. It was technically not a proposal *de provinciis Caesaris* but raised the wider question *de provinciis consularibus*. The Gallic provinces however could in March 50 be legally discussed with the rest, and it was no doubt understood that one or both of these would be selected. If they were, it would be a motion, as we know from Cicero that it was, *ut Caesari succederetur (ad Att. 7, 7, 5)*. As the *lex Sempronia* was regarded as out of force, it was clearly not the consular provinces for 48 that were to be selected, but, as by all precedent and analogy provinces were fixed in the year before they were to be held, the proposal concerned the consular provinces for 49. It follows that Pompey's promised vote could not have been for Caesar's immediate recall on March 1, 50, that not being the question before the senate, but it would be indirectly a vote for his recall on March 1, 49 (*eum decedere post Kal. Mart.*), since it would make his provinces consular as early in 49 as they were legally vacant². If Hirschfeld had borne in mind the technical meaning of *successio provinciarum*, he would have seen that his view of the proposal made by Marcellus in 50 is wholly untenable.

We have no more evidence as to Pompey's attitude till the spring of 50, when the motion of Marcellus *de provinciis consularibus* had been voted upon, but had been blocked and hung up by the *intercessio* of Curio. That *intercessio* created so complete a dead-lock in regard to what was undoubtedly

¹ As I have already pointed out, Judeich is discreetly silent about the two phrases *provincias Gallias Kalendarum Martiarum die finienti* and *eum decedere post Kal. Mart.* They are both obviously inconsistent with his hypothesis that Caesar's command legally ended on Dec. 29, 50.

² This is perfectly consistent with Appian (2, 26), who says that Pompey in 51 *δῆλον ἐποίησεν ὅτι χρὴ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραλῦειν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρα*. That Appian did not place this term *μετὰ τὸν χρόνον* early in 50, I have already pointed out.

the absorbing question of the hour, that possible means of removing it must at once have engaged the attention of the senate. The situation had been foreseen, and tentatively provided for by the declaration registered in the previous Sept., that any tribune blocking the contemplated decrees should be regarded as acting *contra rem publicam*. Probably the Catonian party were for taking extreme action (*omnibus rebus premere Curionem*) at once, but it was a serious step to take, and others besides Caelius might regard it as provoking civil war.

The situation at the end of April may be gathered from a letter of Caelius (*ad fam.* 8, 11, 3). *In unam causam omnis contentio coniecta est, de provinciis; in quam adhuc incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius videtur ut Caesar Id. Nov. decedat; Curio omnia potius subire constituit quam id pati... Nostri porro, quos tu bene nosti, ad extremum certamen rem deducere non audebant. Scaena rei totius haec: Pompeius, tanquam Caesarem non impugnet sed quod illi aequum putet constituat, ait Curionem quaerere discordias, valde autem non vult et plane timet Caesarem† cos. desig. prius quam exercitum et provinciam tradiderit. Accipitur satis male a Curione et totus eius secundus consulatus exagitur. Hoc tibi dico: si omnibus rebus prement Curionem, Caesar defendet intercessorem; si, quod videntur, reformidarint, Caesar, quoad volet, manebit.* It is clear from this that, in the hope of finding a way out which Curio would not block, and which the Catonians might accept, the senate, not without Pompey's adhesion, had suggested a compromise, intended to dispense with the necessity for extreme action. Caesar was to be allowed, *cum legis dies transierit*, not only to retain his command long enough to make use of the *absentis ratio*, but for four months longer still, to Nov. 13. Why this date was chosen, is not clear, but it was no doubt calculated so as not to prevent the Catonian extremists from bringing their threatened impeachment before the end of the year.

It was of course on the face of it a considerable concession to Caesar, since it allowed him more than eight months' grace after the expiration of his legal term, and its rejection might seem to put Curio and Caesar in the wrong. Curio however

was quick to see the trap; he realised that to accept this specious compromise was to give up the one point vital to Caesar's safety, the avoidance of an interval, however short, during which, as a *privatus*, he would have to run the gauntlet of an impeachment at the hands of his enemies. To allow the *absentis ratio*, and with it election to the consulship in July, was to give with one hand what an impeachment between Nov. 13 and the end of the year would take away with the other. It would in fact render more than precarious the second consulship; *totus eius secundus consulatus exagitatur*. Curio therefore announced his intention of risking the extremist pressure rather than leave this insidious proposal unblocked. Pompey of course ignored the real point, affected to be scandalised at Curio's contentious behaviour, *ait Curionem quaerere discordias*, and protested that the arrangement was not unfair to Caesar, obviously soothing his conscience with the palliating reflection that after all Caesar would get everything agreed upon at Luca except six short weeks. But, while protesting against the fuss made by Curio about so "fair" a proposal, Pompey was really, Caelius seems to have thought, rather relieved, since he was strongly averse to and clearly afraid of the *absentis ratio*¹.

At any rate, Curio's threatened opposition clearly put an end to the scheme, and we hear no more of it. By Sept. we find that Pompey has reverted to the Catonian position as expressed in the proposal of Marcellus; *Cn. Pompeius constituit non pati C. Caesarem consulem aliter fieri nisi exercitum et provincias tradiderit* (8, 14, 2). As a matter of fact, Caelius in his last sentence seems to sweep aside all thoughts of this futile compromise, and to sum up the situation as Curio's *intercessio* in March had left it. "If they adopt the plan of putting the extreme pressure on Curio, it will mean civil war; if, as their previous conduct makes likely, they shrink from this, Caesar will remain till his second consulship and longer if he likes."

It remains to notice how Hirschfeld and Judeich deal with

¹ That this is the force of *autem*, which Hirschfeld's interpretation wholly ignores, I cannot doubt.

this passage. The former, arguing that the Ides of November can only be those of 50, finds in the passage his strongest proof that Caesar's command did not legally continue till March 1, 49, for Pompey could never have represented it as fair to recall Caesar three months and a half before the expiration of his legal term (*Klio*, IV, p. 72; v, pp. 238—9)¹.

His arguments for referring the Ides of Nov. to 50 may be summarised thus. (1) If Caelius had meant the year 49, he would have said so, i.e. he would have inserted *secundis*. (2) In that case Curio's extreme opposition is inexplicable, since it would have been a concession of all the time claimed by Caesar minus six weeks. (3) As compared with the proposal of Marcellus in March, this suggestion might well be represented by Pompey as *aequum*. (4) If Pompey allowed Caesar to remain till Nov. 49, he would concede the *absentis ratio*, but in that case, how could Caelius say that he was averse to and afraid of Caesar's election while still retaining his command?

I will reply to these points *seriatim*. (1) As I have argued in regard to *decedere post Kal. Mart.* and *hoc anno*, the whole attention of Caelius and Cicero was absorbed in the year 49, the critical year in which Caesar's command would end, in which the *absentis ratio* would be claimed, and in which civil war might become inevitable. In discussing these matters there was only one year for them, and to specify it was utterly unnecessary. (2) It is true that to allow Caesar to remain till Nov. 49 would have been a retreat from the Catonian position, and a concession of eight extra months, but, as already pointed out, to have accepted it would have jeopardised Caesar's whole position and might well have made the second consulship impossible. Nor is Hirschfeld correct in saying that Caesar

¹ Hirschfeld justifies his hypothesis that the *lex Pompeia-Licinia* contained no *legis dies* other than the preclusive one, March 1, 50, by asserting that only in this way can we reconcile on the one hand the proposal of Marcellus for Caesar's instant recall in March 50, followed by the suggestion of a respite till Nov., and on

the other, Caesar's own claim to remain till the end of 49. Several questions however are begged in this claim to have simplified the problem. I hope I have shown that Marcellus made no such proposal, and if he did not, Hirschfeld's view as to the Ides of Nov. must be abandoned.

himself later in the year offered terms more unfavourable to himself. He no doubt alludes to the statement of Suetonius (*Iul.* 29) that Caesar offered to give up Transalpine Gaul on condition of retaining the Cisalpine with two legions, or even Illyricum with one *donec consul fieret*. The last words Hirschfeld interprets like Mommsen to mean "until elected consul," i.e. in July 49, but Caesar could have made no such offer, since it would have relinquished the *semenstre imperium* so essential to his personal safety. Even Caelius as late as Sept. realises more clearly than he had done in the previous Oct. Caesar's determination on this point: *Caesari persuasum est se saluum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recesserit* (8, 14, 2). The obvious meaning of the offer was that Caesar might avoid being *privatus* till the end of 49, and this object would have been effected by retaining a mere nominal command like Illyricum. If Caesar was ever to reach his second consulship, Curio had no alternative but *omnia subire quam id pati*. (3) As regards the assertion that the suggestion of Pompey and the senate was *aequum* as compared with the proposal of Marcellus, I have already dealt with Hirschfeld's inexcusable misunderstanding of this latter proposal. But it is no doubt true that, whether Marcellus was for recalling Caesar in March 50 or in March 49 an extension to Nov. in either year was in a sense *aequum*, because it was a concession. The real question however is, whether it was *aequum* in view of Pompey's agreement with Caesar at Luca. Hirschfeld himself admits that that agreement was for Caesar to be safe-guarded till the end of 49, and yet he argues that it might be called *aequum* to recall him fifteen months and a half before that time. I do not say that the suggestion, as affecting 49, was really *aequum*, but it at least allowed the specious, though hollow, plea that Caesar was after all losing only six weeks. (4) As to the inconsistency which Hirschfeld finds between Pompey's acceptance of the senatorial compromise conceding the *absentis ratio* and several months beyond it and his dislike and fear of Caesar's election while still retaining his army, the objection has been completely met by my interpretation of the passage. It was only in the vain hope of shaking off the iron grip of Curio's *inter-*

cessio that he had agreed to the suggested extension, and his dislike and fear of Caesar's election remained. The word *autem* marks a strong contrast between his professed protest against Curio and his real feeling. If Hirschfeld had consulted 'his friend Bardt,' he would perhaps have realised that his interpretation required *enim* and not *autem*¹.

Judeich's explanation of this proposal to recall Caesar on Nov. 13 need not detain us long. As, like Hirschfeld, he refers this date to the year 50, he has to explain how Pompey could possibly represent it as *aequum* to deprive Caesar of his command six weeks before its legal termination, as fixed, in Judeich's opinion, by the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*. He can only meet the difficulty by suggesting that Caelius is merely reporting vague rumours pointing to the vacillation of Pompey, who could not have openly supported such a plan, though he might allow it to be understood that in his own mind he was not averse to it.

The very fact that he tried to represent it as *aequum* is an indication, Judeich thinks, that his conscience was uneasy. This obviously does not meet the case even as regards Pompey, especially if Caelius is right in making him declare that Curio by his opposition was merely seeking a quarrel. But Judeich fails to see the real difficulty which stands in the way of his theory. Putting Pompey himself out of the question, we cannot reasonably doubt that the senate, not of course including the Catonian irreconcilables, seriously meditated Caesar's recall on Nov. 13, and, as it is inconceivable that any responsible section in the senate would have put itself so hopelessly in the wrong as to curtail, even by six weeks, a legally fixed period, the Ides of November cannot have been those of 50, and must have been those of 49.

It seems to me that Dr Rice Holmes is far too lenient in considering Judeich's explanation of this passage. He contents himself with pointing out that, even if this view of the proposal and of Pompey's part in it is accepted, it is as consistent with

¹ If Hirschfeld believed that Pompey was still expecting the *absentis ratio* to be claimed in 50, his argument, as

I have already shown, recoils upon himself.

taking March 1, 49 as the legal term as it is with Judeich's own date, Dec. 29, 50. The real point is that it is absolutely inconsistent with either date.

In the beginning of June, while Pompey was still indisposed at Naples, the Catonian party, led by M. Marcellus, attempted in accordance with the September decree to bring Curio to reason. Caelius describes what took place in 8, 13. *Voles, Cicero, Curionem nostrum lautum intercessionis de provinciis exitum habuisse; nam cum de intercessione referretur, quae relatio fiebat ex senatus consulto, primumque M. Marcelli sententia pronuntiata esset, qui agendum cum tribunis pl. censebat, frequens senatus in alia omnia iit. Stomacho est scilicet Pompeius Magnus ita languenti ut vix id quod sibi placeat reperiat. Transierant illuc rationem eius habendam qui neque exercitum neque provincias traderet. Quem ad modum Pompeius hoc laturus sit, cum cognoscam, quidnam rei publicae futurum sit, si† aut non curet, vos, senes divites, videritis.* Cicero believed that Curio would have given way if the senate had supported Marcellus; *nunquam enim Curio sustinisset, si cum eo agi coeptum esset, quam sententiam senatus sequi noluit; ex quo factum est ut Caesari non succederetur (ad Att. 7, 7, 5).* At any rate, the senate shrank from the only means of making their decree of March effective, and Caelius describes it as a virtual change of front (*transierant illuc* etc.), involving the unconditional surrender of the *absentis ratio*, so that, as Caelius put it, *Caesar, quoad volet, manebit.* Pompey was known to dislike the *absentis ratio*, though for a moment he had been ready to concede it, but what attitude he would take up in the face of this humiliating surrender, Caelius does not know. As a matter of fact, the attention of both senate and Pompey was distracted from the main issue by a new and adroit suggestion of Curio.

V. CAESAR'S LEGAL POSITION AFTER 52.

Caesar's legal and constitutional position after the passing of Pompey's *lex de iure magistratuum* was by no means hopeless, and his claim to retain his command after its legal termination did not, as Hirschfeld maintains (*Klio* IV, p. 85), depend wholly

or mainly on the tribunician law allowing the *absentis ratio* in 49. That law had been intended from the first to answer an important object, but Caesar could only take advantage of it, if he could by some other means maintain his position in his provinces till the elections of 49 came on. In the first place, the new law left unchanged the term of Caesar's command, as fixed by the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, so that he was secure at any rate till March 1, 49. But it cancelled the Sullan arrangements, so that, if the Gauls could be made consular provinces for 49, Caesar could now be superseded at once on that day, and would have no claim of any kind to remain longer. In the second place, by practically abrogating the *lex Sempronia* it made it possible for the senate on or after March 1, 50 to fix Caesar's provinces as consular for 49.

On what then could Caesar rely? On this at any rate, that the question *de successione Caesaris* could only come on as a proposal *de provinciis consularibus* (conf. the phrase of Caelius; *de successione Caesaris...hoc est de provinciis*, 8, 4, 4), and this again (a) would by all precedent have to be made in the year previous to the vacancy, (b) would, before being effective, have to be followed by the nomination of ex-consuls of proper standing, and (c) would only affect him, if one or both of his provinces were selected.

After the failure of Marcellus in 51 *de provinciis Caesaris ante tempus referre*, the first struggle was on the third point. If all the provinces, consular and praetorian, for 49¹, were settled at the same time, there would be at least the chance that other provinces might be fixed as consular, and the two Gauls left alone. If, on the other hand, the praetorian provinces were settled first, things might be so arranged as to make all provinces praetorian except those which the senate wished to be consular. It is this consideration which explains the forecast of Caelius written in 51 before the *senatus consulta* of

¹ I have already pointed out that practically the provinces to be settled, both consular and praetorian, were for 49. Cilicia e.g. which was to be praetorian, and Syria which was even-

tually consular, would not be vacant till July 50, and as a matter of fact, it is certain that no decisions were effectively made about any provinces between Sept. 51 and Jan. 49.

Sept. (8, 5, 2) *Nosti haec tralatitia; de Galliis constituetur; erit qui intercedat; deinde alius exsistet qui, nisi libere liceat de omnibus provinciis decernere senatui, reliquas impediat.* Similarly in 8, 9, 2 he writes: *Quantum divino, relinquendus tibi erit qui provinciam obtineat* (i.e. Cilicia will not be made a praetorian province in time for you to leave it at the end of your year), *nam non expeditur successio, quoniam Galliae, quae habent intercessorem, in eandem conditionem quam ceterae provinciae vocantur.* On Sept. 29 the Caesarian tribune, Pansa, blocked a proposal to settle the praetorian provinces on the line indicated above (8, 8, 8), but on the other hand it was resolved to decide on the consular provinces without the praetorian (*neve quid coniunctim*) on March 1, 50. On that date, as we have already seen, the motion *de provinciis consularibus* must have been put by C. Marcellus, and one or both of Caesar's provinces must have been fixed as consular for 49¹, i.e. after March 1 of that year. The senate was within its constitutional rights in taking this step, and it rendered inoperative the tribunician law conceding the *absentis ratio*, since from March to July Caesar would be *privatus*, and could at best only claim the exemption as a virtual exile. But the motion of Marcellus presupposed the abrogation of the *lex Sempronia*, and with that law disappeared the prohibition against tribunician interference with the settlement of consular provinces (*de prov. cons.* 7, 17)².

There was therefore no legal obstacle in the way of Curio's *intercessio*, which, as we have seen, blocked and made ineffective the decree, and which on grounds of equity Caesar could justify as the only means of meeting Pompey's gross breach of faith in passing his *lex de iure magistratuum*.

What Caesar wanted, and had wanted ever since Luca, was

¹ This decree was not vetoed, partly because it was in accordance with the *lex Pompeia-Licinia*, and partly because no *intercessio* was necessary till the Gauls were actually made consular, and as the praetorian province, as the result of Pansa's *intercessio*, would still be open, this might possibly be still staved off.

² In 56 Cicero met the idea of

recalling Gabinius and Piso by making their provinces praetorian with the objection *tum enim tribunus intercedere poterit*. He goes on: *sed mihi credite; nunquam illis succedetur nisi cum ea lege referetur qua intercedi de provinciis non licebit*, i.e. by making their provinces consular in accordance with the *lex Sempronia*.

to retain his command till entering on the consulship without civil war, and without open disobedience to an effective decree of the senate. As long as Pompey had been loyal, there had been no difficulty; now everything depended on whether Curio's *intercessio* could be maintained through 50, and whether the *intercessio* of other tribunes could be secured through 49. If so, the prediction of Caelius in 51 might be verified: *Sic multum ac diu ludetur atque ita diu ut plus biennium in his tricis moretur* (8, 5, 2).

But the senate had at its disposal a possible counter-stroke which might or might not be justified by precedent. Its decree had been perfectly legitimate, and Curio's obstruction, however justifiable on grounds of equity (which after all concerned a personal understanding between Caesar and Pompey), might be regarded as politically inexcusable and seditious. If no lesser pressure availed, he might be declared, according to the decree of Sept. 29, to have acted *contra rempublicam*, and might even find himself the object of the last decree. In this case he would probably leave Rome, his *intercessio* thereby lapsing, and the blocked decree would automatically become effective. This was certainly the course urged by M. Marcellus, and its rejection was the cause *ut Caesari non succederetur* (*ad Att.* 7, 7, 6). It was rejected because it would have meant civil war, since others besides Caelius could realise that *si omnibus rebus prement Curionem, Caesar defendet intercessorem*.

I am convinced that Hirschfeld is led into a wrong track by Appian, when he declares that the senatorial decree passed by Marcellus in March was met by Curio with the audacious proposal that Caesar and Pompey should resign together. It was rather an adroit manoeuvre on the part of Curio and Caesar¹ intended partly to delay action against his own *intercessio*, partly to embroil Pompey with the senate, and especially to embarrass both. It introduced a side issue quite irrelevant to the main question, which it only affected indirectly by hastening on the crisis at the end of the year².

¹ Caesar claims the suggestion in *b. c.* 1, 43: *patientiam proponit suam cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro*

postulavisset, and Hirtius confirms this (*b. g.* 8, 52).

² Judeich tries to read into Curio's

At what point it was first suggested, whether by Caesar or by Curio, is not clear¹, but it is first alluded to by Caelius in September, when after stating Caesar's determination not to resign his army, he adds: *fert tamen illam conditionem ut ambo exercitus tradant* (8, 14, 2). It had probably been hanging over Pompey and the senate for some time, and may have been an answer to the proposal about November 13, which looks like a less skilful attempt to put Caesar in the wrong.

Early in December a large majority of the senate passed a decree that Pompey and Caesar should resign together. By this it was no doubt intended that Caesar should become *privatus* on March 1, while Pompey, to whom a second *quinquennium* had been granted in 52 (App. 2, 26 and Dio Cass. 40, 56), was asked to abandon the last four years of his command. But (1) it was futile to order Caesar to resign while the decree making his provinces consular was still blocked, and (2) the senate had no right to curtail Pompey's legal term. It was apparently the disgust of the Catonian minority which led to the irregular action of Marcellus, the consul designate, in authorising Pompey to raise troops and to Pompey's acceptance of the commission. It was this which changed the whole situation, for Caesar, who had so far hoped to stave off effective senatorial action through 49 by means of tribunician obstruction, now realised that the initiative of war might come from his opponents, and that his

proposal a revival of the principle 'equal rights for all,' which he thinks Caesar had conceded at Luca. It was however in effect to call on Pompey to give up four years of his second *quinquennium*. Pompey had in appearance a great advantage over Caesar in still having four years of his command to run, but Caesar well knew that, if only he could reach the second consulship, the future would be in his hands.

¹ Appian (2, 24) says that Curio supported the proposal of Marcellus, but added as a rider that Pompey should resign too. This leaves no room for the *intercessio* testified to by

Caelius, and Hirtius (*b. g.* 8, 52) clearly puts the "promise" made by Curio that both should resign in the latter half of the year after the consular elections. As to the passing of the resolution in the senate, Appian appears to place it shortly before the termination of Curio's office, and represents it as Curio's proposal after the consuls had tried to put the cases of Pompey and Caesar separately. On the other hand, Hirtius (*c.* 52 *ad fin.*)

says that Curio was about to carry out his promise *per discessionem*, but that the consuls intervened and themselves brought the affair to a division.

plan of reaching his object by constitutional means might at any moment become unworkable.

It was becoming more and more clear that Caesar's opponents intended to prevent his second consulship. Cicero himself gives expression to the views of the senate when he writes, *nihil timendum magis quam ille consul*; while he attributes the same apprehension to Pompey: *eo consule certum est Pompeio esse in Hispania* (*ad Att.* 7, 9, 3). It is for this reason that in his letters to Atticus written in December, Cicero seems to represent the whole question as turning on the *absentis ratio*. He assumes that by the continued effect of tribunician obstruction Caesar will retain his command *cum legis dies transierit*, will thus be able to take advantage of the tribunician law, and in fact, as Caelius had put it, *quoad volet manebit*¹.

Caesar's own eyes were equally fixed on the consulship, and with a view to it, on the *absentis ratio*. Cicero, in making him say *depugnes oportet nisi concedas* does not misrepresent his attitude. To make sure of the consulship, he was ready to make considerable sacrifices, though not to incur the risk of impeachment by running the gauntlet of however short an interval as *privatus*. *Caesari persuasum est se salvum esse non posse si ab exercitu recesserit*. But he made an offer towards the close of the year the acceptance of which would have secured his position. He professed himself willing to resign Transalpine Gaul with eight legions at the end of his legal term, if it was understood that he might retain Cisalpine Gaul with two legions, or even Illyricum with one legion *donec consul fieret* (*Suet. Jul.* 29; *App.* 2, 32)². By this arrangement Caesar would at least have secured the *absentis ratio*, and would

¹ Cicero's apostrophe to Caesar in 7, 9 assumes that the senatorial decree will have been blocked from March 50 to March 49 and that the obstruction will be continued at least up to the elections. The words *ut tibi succedatur decernitur*; *impedis* describe the situation ever since the motion of Marcellus. I cannot agree with Dr Rice Holmes that *decernitur* is equivalent to *de-*

cretum est.

² The phrase *consul fieri* is ambiguous, and may equally well mean "to be elected" or "to become" consul. It must be interpreted by the context or by the situation. To interpret it in this passage as Mommsen and Hirschfeld do is to make Caesar stultify his whole position.

escape the necessity of becoming *privatus*. It was apparently the refusal of this offer, accentuated by the threatening attitude of the Catonian minority, which induced Caesar to send Curio with an ultimatum at the end of the year.

His demands, *minaces et acerbae* from the circumstances under which they were sent (*ad fam.* 16, 11, 2), were probably a repetition of his claim to retain at least one of his provinces till the end of 49, and they confronted the senate with Cicero's alternative, *aut habenda e lege ratio aut depugnandum est*¹. The answer of the senate, once more under the influence of the Catonian section, was a counter ultimatum: *uti ante certam diem Caesar exercitum dimitteret; si non faciat, eum adversus rem publicam facturum videri* (*b. c.* 1, 1)². This of course was merely preliminary to the constitutional steps still necessary to supersede Caesar on March 1. It however answered its purpose, for the Caesarian tribunes interposed their veto, and the senate at last adopted the extreme course which M. Marcellus had urged against Curio. With the passing of the *senatus consultum ultimum* and the consequent flight of the tribunes from Rome Caesar's last constitutional support had broken down, and there was no longer any obstacle to his supersession in due form on March 1.

The settlement and assignment of all provinces had been blocked since the previous March, and it was impossible now to allow the usual intervals between the several steps. But except in this one point the normal course was taken. The status of all the provinces was discussed and settled; Transalpine Gaul and Syria were made consular, the latter immediately, the former from March 1, while Cisalpine Gaul, Cilicia and the other eight provinces were made praetorian. At the same time, or immediately afterwards, governors were appointed, Scipio to Syria,

¹ Hirtius (8, 54 *ad fin.*) correctly describes Caesar's attitude up to this time; *Caesar omnia patienda esse statuit quoad spes sibi aliqua relinqueretur iure potius disceptandi quam belli gerendi*.

² I disagree with Dr Rice Holmes'

view that *ante certam diem* refers to July 1. After Caesar's ultimatum there could be no more compromise, and it was clearly now the Catonian stand-point which was being taken up, viz. that Caesar should not have a day beyond his legal term.

Dom. Ahenobarbus to Transalpine Gaul, Nonianus to the Cisalpine. *Provinciae privatis decernuntur, duae consulares, reliquae praetoriae; Scipioni obvenit Syria, L. Domitio Gallia* (b. c. 1, 6; conf. also *ad fam.* 16, 12, 3). The result of these decrees and appointments, apart from the civil war which they inevitably foreshadowed, was, by making Caesar *privatus* after March 1, to nullify the grant of the *absentis ratio*, which had all along presupposed that he would be in possession of his provinces at the date of the elections. This was fully recognised by Caesar himself who, in his final offer (made of course because he knew that it would be refused) was ready, if the Italian levies were disbanded and Pompey went to Spain, to become *privatus* and to canvass in person. *Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam, dilectus qui sunt habiti... dimittantur; se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Noniano...traditurum* (i.e. on March 1); *ad consulatus petitionem se venturum, neque iam se velle absente se rationem haberi suam; se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum* (*ad fam.* 16, 12, 3). Perfectly consistent too with the view taken above is the passage in b. c. 1, 9: *doluisse se quod beneficium populi Romani per contumeliam ab inimicis extorqueretur, ereptoque semenstri imperio in urbem retraheretur, cuius absentis rationem haberi populus iussisset*. Caesar's complaint is that the action of his enemies, i.e. the law of Pompey and the decrees of January made possible by it, had made the *beneficium populi*, the grant of the *absentis ratio*, of no use to him; for, though it had been intended to secure him the last six months of the year¹, he was being brought back to Rome superseded and *privatus*. The

¹ As Hirschfeld has withdrawn his ill-considered contention that *semenstre imperium* means the first six months of 49 instead of the last six, I need not point out the contradictions involved in that view. If Caesar was to be consul in 48, the retention of his provincial command from July to December depended absolutely on the *absentis ratio*, since by coming home

to canvass he would have laid down his *imperium*. But before Pompey's law it was certain that he could use the *beneficium*, after that law he could only use it if his supersession by the senate could be obstructed till July. (For Hirschfeld's argument and its withdrawal see *Klio*, *iv*, pp. 85—6 n. 6, and *v*, p. 237 n. 4.)

whole point is that the tribunician law, the validity of which was not disputed, had presupposed a condition, viz. Caesar's absence in Gaul during July, which his supersession on March 1 had cancelled. Caesar had exhausted all the constitutional means at his disposal, and the only alternative to his political annihilation was civil war.

E. G. HARDY.

TRANSPOSITIONS IN THE IBIS OF OVID.

In my recension of the *Ibis*, published in 1894 as part of Postgate's *corpus poetarum Latinorum*, tom. I fasc. 2, I transposed four distichs, 135–140¹ and 459 sq., and suggested the transposition of three more, 181 sq., 203 sq., 409 sq. Perhaps, after two-and-twenty years, it is time to unravel the mystery of this behaviour, and disclose my inscrutable reasons for resorting to the most unpopular of all methods of emendation.

One of the causes why any proposal to correct a verse or sentence alarms and distresses the natural man is that it makes an unusual demand upon his intellect and entails the weary work of reading and considering the context. That form of correction which consists in transferring a verse or sentence from one place to another is in consequence doubly discomposing, because the mental fatigue which it involves is twice as heavy. There are two contexts to be read and considered, not only one.

Disrelish for excessive and unwonted labour will often put on disguises, and much is sometimes said on these occasions about the respect due to the authority of MSS. But that is a cloak which does not always fit; and whatever may be the reason why Ovid's editors, in the passage which I shall first examine, maintain the arrangement of verses which I propose to disturb, it cannot be their respect for MS authority. MS authority is here divided, and the weight of it is adverse.

For more than 400 years the editors of the *Ibis*, with the single exception of myself, have printed the two verses 338 'ultores rapiant turpe cadauer equi' and 339 'uiscera sic aliquis scopulus tua figat ut olim' in juxtaposition; and so they mean to print them still. Their authority? one, only one, and that

¹ I follow the numeration of Ellis texts the numbering is sometimes two
and of Merkel's last edition: in other verses out.

not the best nor the next best, of the seven¹ MSS possessing independent value. Only in X, Parisinus 7994 saec. XIII, does 339 immediately follow 338: in two MSS there is one distich between them, in one MS there are two distichs, and in three there are three. So much do the editors here respect MS authority: what they really respect is editorial tradition. The true reason why 338 and 339 are still printed together is that Iacobus Rubeus printed them so in his text of 1474, which became by chance a parent of the vulgate.

I will set out the verses with their surrounding context, and add in the margin a guaranty of the MSS.²

331 utque uel Eurydamas ter circum busta Thrasylli
est Larisaeis raptus ab hoste rotis,
uel qui quae fuerat tutatus moenia saepe
corpore lustrauit non diuturna suo,

¹ The seven are TGXPVFH, and this order is roughly their order of merit.

² Statements touching the two MSS G and T I make on my own responsibility: of F and V we get our reports from Merkel and Ellis, of H and P and X from Ellis alone, so we must expect contradictions and inaccuracy. The page of V now reproduced by photography in Chatelain's *Paléographie des class. lat.*, part II pl. CI 2, displays their negligence, or that of their informants, in a disgraceful light; and neither is better or worse than the other.

That V presents the verses 637 sq. 439 sq. 461 sq. between 338 and 339 is the statement of Ellis, who said on p. lv of his edition 'usus sum apographo quod rogatu meo exscribendum curauit Iosephus Hauptius,' though to me he gave two different accounts, consistent neither with this nor with one another: (1) that the transcript was Haupt's own, (2) that it was a 'collation with Merkel's edition' (and therefore not a transcript). Merkel,

who used a collation made by Moriz Haupt, reports on the contrary that V does not contain these six verses at all, either in that place or in the places indicated by their numeration. When I brought this discrepancy to Ellis's notice in 1891, he asseverated that he had accurately reproduced the testimony of Josef Haupt; and it is to be noted, as some confirmation, that in 439 he cites a variant from V, *utue* for *utque*, so that this verse at least would seem to be present in the ms.

That F presents the verses 439 sq. 461 sq. both before 339 and in the places indicated by their numeration is the statement of Ellis, who had seen the ms. Merkel on the contrary reports from the collation of Heinsius that F does not present these four verses in either position. This discrepancy also I brought to Ellis's notice, and he again assured me that his report was true; and it is in some measure confirmed by his citation from F of the readings *Cassandreus* and *dominus* in 461.

- 335 utque nouum passa genus Hippomeneide poenae
tractus in Actaea fertur adulter humo,
sic, ubi uita tuos inuisa reliquerit artus,
- FGHPTVX 338 ultores rapiant turpe cadauer equi.
- FGHP V { 637 denique Sarmaticas inter Geticasque sagittas
638 his precor ut uiuas et moriari locis.
- F H TV { 439 utque ferox Phalaris lingua prius ense resecta
440 more bouis Paphio clausus in aere gemas.
461 aut, ut Cassandreus domino non mitior illo,
462 saucius ingesta contumuleris humo.
- FGHPTVX 339 uiscera sic aliquis scopulus tua figat, ut olim
fixa sub Euboico Graia fuere sinu.

Now to investigate the true seat of the six verses thus interposed.

About the distich 637 sq. there can be no question: its only possible place in the poem is after 636; and there it is found in GTX. Since G presents it in both places, the conflict is between TX on the one hand and FHPV on the other: TX are in general the more trustworthy, and in this instance they do not belie their character.

Next comes the distich 439 sq.; and we will seek it in its usual context.

- 435 et tua sic latos spargantur membra per agros,
tamquam quae patrias detinuere uias.
aere Perilleo ueros imitere iuuenos
- FGHPTVX 438 ad formam tauri conueniente sono.
- FG P X { 439 utque ferox Phalaris lingua prius ense resecta
440 more bouis Paphio clausus in aere gemas.
- FGHPTVX 441 dumque redire uoles aeui melioris in annos
ut uetus Admeti decipiare socer.

Since F presents the two verses in both places, the conflict is between GPX and HTV. T is the best MS, GXP are the three next best, so that authority is nearly balanced and the cause must be tried on its merits. And every shallow and careless and hasty judge will instantly cry out that here the couplet is at home, because it has the same theme as 437 sq., the brazen bull of Agrigentum.

That is a reason why shallow and careless and hasty scribes should put 439 sq. in this place, even if its proper place was elsewhere: I have given examples of rearrangement so caused in the *Classical Quarterly* VIII p. 155. But I aver that 437 sq. and 439 sq. could not have been placed in juxtaposition either by Ovid or by any respectable practitioner of the art of verse. Both couplets are quite well written, and anyone capable of writing them would have taken great care to keep them apart, because of their phraseology. If he had written them to stand side by side, he would have written them otherwise, avoiding repetition and conferring point; not allowing *aere Perilleo* to be followed by *Paphio...in aere* nor *imitere iuuenicos...sono* by *more bouis...gemas*. How Ovid manages such things may be seen in 365–8 (Oenomaus' victims and Oenomaus) 'ut iuuenes pereas quorum fastigia uultus | membraque Pisaeae sustinuere foris, | ut qui perfusam miserorum saepe procorum | ipse suo melius sanguine tinxit humum,' 397–400 (Thrasius and Busiris) 'ut qui post longum, sacri moustrator iniqui, | elicuit pluuias uictima caesus aquas, | frater ut Antaei, quo sanguine debuit, aras | tinxit et exemplis occidit ipse suis.' Placed where T places it, between 337 sq. and 461 sq., the couplet 439 sq. is without offence. There is no reason why Phalaris and his victims should occupy consecutive distichs: the Minotaur's victims are cited in 373 sq., the Minotaur himself in 408. And there is no reason why persons burnt in the brazen bull under different circumstances should all be mentioned together: persons torn to pieces by dogs are mentioned separately in 477 sq. and 595 sq.

So now let us proceed to the couplet 461 sq. in its usual context of 457–464.

457 inque pecus subito magnae uertare parentis,
uictor ut est celeri uictaque uersa pede.
solaque Limone poenam ne senserit illam

FGHPTVX 460 et tua dente fero uiscera carpat equs.

FG P X { 461 aut, ut Cassandreus domino non mitior illo,
462 saucius ingesta contumuleris humo.

FGHPTVX 463 aut ut Abantiades aut ut Cycneius heros
clausus in aequoreas praecipiteris aquas.

The MSS are divided just as before, GPX on one side, HTV on the other.

Who is meant by *domino*¹...*illo* in 461? The punctuation of most editors is ambiguous, but Merkel in his last recension clearly refers *non mitior* to Ibis himself and *domino illo* to *Cassandreus*. Such a comparison has no parallel in all this long series of examples, and so far Saluagnius is better advised in referring *mitior* to *Cassandreus* and *illo* to Hippomenes, implied in the mention of his daughter Limone at 459: the four words will then be meant as a clue to the identity of 'the Cassandrian.' But Hippomenes was no tyrant, *dominus*. He was one of the house of Codrus, king of Athens say some, archon say others, εἰς τῶν πολιτῶν says Aeschines Timarch. 182, who visited a domestic offence with a punishment which public opinion justly condemned as inhuman, but which Aeschines lauds as an example of antique severity, and which, if we may trust Heraclides Ponticus, was meant to repel the charge of softness and luxury which his family had incurred. And 'non mitior Hippomene' is an incredible way to describe that monster of tyranny Apollodorus of Cassandrea: Polyæn. strat. vi 7 Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς...τύραννος ἐγένετο φονικώτατος καὶ ὀμώτατος πάντων ὅσοι παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἢ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἐτυράννησαν. The person whom the ancients couple with Apollodorus is Phalaris: Polyb. vii 7 2 μήτε Φάλαριν μήτ' Ἀπολλόδωρον, Plut. cum princ. phil. 3 5 Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ τυράννου καὶ Φαλάριδος, Dio Chrys. ii 76 Φάλαριν τε καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον, Cic. n. d. iii 82 'at Phalaris, at Apollodorus poenas sustulit,' Sen. dial. iv 5 1 'qualis fuit Apollodorus aut Phalaris,' de ben. vii 19 5 'qualis Apollodorus aut Phalaris.' Ovid himself brings the two together at ex Pont. ii 9 43 sq. 'non tibi *Cassandreus* pater est gentisue Pheraeae | *quiuue* *repertorem* *torruit* *arte* *sua*,' and in the Ibis, according to HTV, he brought them together again; for these MSS make 461 sq. follow 439 sq., so that *domino*...*illo* signifies Phalaris.

The best position then for 439 sq. and 461 sq. is that in which they are placed by the best MS. Standing together

¹ *dominus* FPX, but no editor now prefers this reading, and it would not mend matters.

between 338 and 339 they are in accord with one another and are not in disaccord with their context.

But the place immediately after 338, now occupied in FGHPV by 637 sq., is the best place in the poem for another distich, which in FG PX is immediately followed by 461 sq. The verses 459 sq.,

solaque Limone poenam ne senserit illam
et tua dente fero uiscera carpat equs,

are indeed explicable where they stand in the MSS, immediately after 458. But, since neither 458 nor the verses preceding it contain anything to which *poenam...illam* can refer, it is necessary to interpret these words as looking forward to the pentameter; and this, though possible, is not natural, and is contrary to the analogy of *domino...illo* in 461. If 459 sq. as well as 461 sq. are placed in the gap between 338 and 339, *poenam...illam* will refer to the *nouum...genus...poenae* of 335; and nothing could be more apt and harmonious. Ovid first imprecates on Ibis the doom of Limone's paramour, and then the doom of Limone herself. To mention a person first by patronymic (*Hippomeneide*) or some other periphrasis, and then directly afterwards by his or her proper name (*Limone*), is an artifice in which Latin poets take no less delight than Gibbon himself: Hor. *carm.* iv 8 22-4 'quid foret *Iliae* | *Mauortisque puer*, si taciturnitas | obstaret meritis aemula *Romuli*?' Ouid. *trist.* i 9 27 sq. 'de *comite* Argolici postquam cognouit *Orestae*, | narratur *Pyladen* ipse probasse *Thoas*,' Ib. 393-5 'ut iacet *Aonio luctator* ab hospite fusus | qui, mirum, uictor, cum cecidisset, erat, | ut quos *Antaei* fortes pressere lacerti.' The whole passage then will originally have stood as follows:

335 utque nouum passa genus Hippomeneide poenae
tractus in Actaea fertur adulter humo,
sic, ubi uita tuos inuisa reliquerit artus,
338 ultores rapiant turpe cadauer equi.
459 solaque Limone poenam ne senserit illam
460 et tua dente fero uiscera carpat equs.
439 utque ferox Phalaris lingua prius ense resecta
440 more bouis Paphio clausus in aere gemas.

461 aut, ut Cassandreus domino non mitior illo,
 462 saucius ingesta contumuleris humo.
 339 uiscera sic aliquis scopulus tua figat, ut olim
 fixa sub Euboico Graia fuere sinu.

All the omissions and transpositions may be explained by the following history. The scribe has written the last word of 336, *humo*, and should now proceed to 337. But his eye descends to the *humo* which is the last word of 462, and he proceeds instead to 339, omitting 337 sq., 459 sq., 439 sq., and 461 sq. These omissions he discovers at a later stage. There is not room in the margin to insert the eight missing verses at the proper place, but there is room for two; so he there inserts the first two, 337 sq., which are closely and evidently connected with 335 sq.; the other six, 459 sq., 439 sq., 461 sq., he subjoins at the end of the whole series of imprecations, after 638, and adds marks to show whither they should be transferred. But these marks are in part obliterated or misunderstood. The couplet 459 sq. (Limone daughter of Hippomenes) is referred, by a reader who knows too much and yet too little, to 457 sq. (Hippomenes husband of Atalanta). In some copies it carries 461 sq. with it, while the couplet 439 sq. is attached to 437 sq. because the bull of Phalaris is in both. In other copies the marks of transposition are so far understood that 439 sq. and 461 sq. are restored to their right place before 339, or so far misinterpreted that 637 sq. are removed thither likewise or instead.

I daresay that those who accept as true the order of verses found in X may be able to frame an hypothesis explaining how the arrangement in T, which they think false, was brought about; but they will then be confronted with the further difficulty of explaining how it is that the false arrangement is so much more appropriate than the true. At present however they do not think it their business to explain anything, nor even to acquaint their readers or themselves with the facts of the case: their authority is the printed vulgate, and if MSS order the verses otherwise, that is transposition. Hear Mr Ehwald talk in Burs. Jahresb. vol. 109 p. 286: 'Am wenigsten kann ich

mich mit dem von Housman vorgeschlagenen Versumstellungen befreunden': he mentions some of these, and then proceeds 'noch unglaublicher ist die Anordnung, nach der nach v. 338 gelesen werden soll 459. 460. 439. 440. 461. 462.' No argument is vouchsafed, for none is needed; it matters not that this position of 439, 440, 461, 462 is their position in the best MS; the numeration of current editions is Mr Ehwald's norm, and anything which disturbs it is 'Umstellung.' Mr Owen goes even further: he has taken upon himself, in the interests of the commonwealth, to withhold from his readers what he regards as pernicious knowledge, and has contrived his apparatus criticus, not to instruct, but to edify. He prints 339 immediately after 338, and lets his readers suppose that he is obeying the MSS, when in truth he is obeying one MS and disobeying six. He places 439 sq. between 438 and 441, and lets his readers suppose that the MSS do so, when in truth half the MSS place them elsewhere. He places 637 sq. between 636 and 639, and never tells his readers that most of the MSS do not. Only at 461 sq. does he fail to shield our innocence from contact with the truth. There he confesses '459-460 (461-462) hic om. BHTV'; but even this tiny dose of fact is diluted with fiction, for he adds 'in quibus post 336 (338) ponuntur.' Not one of these four MSS places the distich after 338: they all place it after 440.

The verses which I shall next consider are 135-140. These are placed by the seven MSS, without variation, immediately before 141; and not only by the MSS but by the independent deflorationes Atrebatensis 65 and Parisina 17903 (saec. XIII).

- certe ego, quae uoueo, superos motura putabo
 130 speque tuae mortis, perfide, semper alar.
 et prius hanc animam nimium tibi, saeue, petitam
 auferet illa dies quae mihi sera uenit,
 quam dolor hic umquam spatio euanescere possit,
 leniat aut odium tempus et hora meum.
 135 pugnabunt arcu dum Thraces, Iazyges hasta,
 dum tepidus Ganges, frigidus Hister erit,
 robora dum montes, dum mollia pabula campi,
 dum Tiberis liquidas Tuscus habebit aquas,

tecum bella geram; nec mors mihi finiet iras,
 140' saeua sed in manis manibus arma dabit.

dabit in 140 is Heinsius' correction of *dabo*; but if *dabo* is retained, though the phrase will be foolish, 'dabo arma (meis) manibus,' the main sense of the verse will not be affected; and that sense is unmistakable. Ovid declares that his warfare with Ibis will persist even when both of them are dead. The situation contemplated is that Ibis and Ovid are a pair of ghosts in the world below and are there continuing their ancient combat. Bear this in mind, and read on.

- 141 tum quoque, cum fuero uacuas dilapsus in auras,
 exanguis mores¹ oderit umbra tuos.
 tum quoque factorum ueniam memor umbra tuorum,
 insequar et uultus ossea forma tuos.
 145 siue ego, quod nolim, longis consumptus ab annis,
 siue manu facta morte solutus ero,
 siue per immensas iactabor naufragus undas
 nostraque longinquus uiscera piscis edet,
 siue peregrinae carpent mea membra uolucres,
 150 siue meo tinguent sanguine rostra lupi,
 siue aliquis dignatus erit supponere terrae
 et dare plebeio corpus inane rogo,
 quidquid ero, Stygiis erumpere nitar ab oris
 et tendam gelidas ultor in ora manus.
 155 me uigilans cernes, tacitis ego noctis in umbris
 excitiam somnos uisus adesse tuos.
 denique quidquid ages, ante os oculosque uolabo
 et querar, et nulla sede quietus eris.

What is all this? It is no combat between two ghosts; it is no combat at all. A ghost is haunting a living man: Ovid is still dead, but Ibis has come to life again. Such phrases as 143 *ueniam...umbra*, 144 *insequar...uultus ossea forma tuos*, 154 *tendam gelidas...in ora manus*, 155 *me uigilans cernes*, 156 *excitiam somnos uisus adesse tuos*, 157 sq. *ante os oculosque uolabo | et querar et nulla sede quietus eris*, are merely comical

¹ *manes* FT; but editors rightly disregard this, as a mere repetition from 140.

if they describe one spectre trying to haunt another spectre; whose form is no less bony, whose fingers are no less cold, and whose capacity for flitting and shrieking is no whit inferior. These are the phrases used when the living are haunted by the dead: Tibull. I 5 51 sq. '*hanc uolitent animae circum sua fata querentes* | *semper*,' Verg. Aen. IV 386 '*omnibus umbra locis adero*,' Stat. Theb. III 74-7 '*te series orbarum excisa domorum* | *plangentibus adsiduis*, *te diro horrore uolantes* | *quinquaginta animae circum noctesque diesque* | *adsilient*,' Amm. Marc. XIV 11 17 '*sauciabantur eius sensus circumstridentium terrore laruarum*,' Hor. epod. 5 91-6 '*quin, ubi perire iussus expirauero*, | *nocturnus occurram furor* | *petamque uultus umbra curuis unguibus*, | *quae uis deorum est manium*, | *et inquietis assidens praecordiis* | *pauore somnos auferam*.' But put all this aside and look simply at verse 153: *Stygiis erumpere nitar ab oris*. If Ibis as well as Ovid is dead, this can only mean that Ovid's ghost will turn tail on Ibis' ghost and make a bolt for the upper air. More marvels yet: we proceed with 159 sq., '*uerbera saeua dabunt sonitum nexaeque colubrae*: | *conscia fumabunt semper ad ora faces*:'—that is, Ovid's ghost will have a Fury to help him, as Valerius Flaccus writes III 386-90 '*patet ollis (animis) ianua leti* | *atque iterum remeare licet*; *comes una sororum* | *additur*, *et pariter terras atque aequora lustrant*. | *quisque suos sontes inimicaque pectora poenis* | *implicat*, *et uaria meritos formidine pulsant*:'—and then we come to 161 sq. '*his uiuus furiis agitabere*, *mortuus isdem*, | *et breuior poena uita futura tua est*.' *uiuus agitabere* and *uita futura est*, and in verse 140 he was already dead and disembodied. O grave, where is thy victory?

Before I edit a work, I read it; and a quarter of a century ago I read the Ibis and consequently noticed this discrepancy. I am the first editor who ever did read the Ibis, and down to this year 1916 I am the last; but it may have been read by some persons other than its editors, and this passage at any rate was read by one scholar before me. Karl Schenkl in 1883, Zeitschr. f. d. oest. Gymn. p. 264, stated briefly the repugnancy which I have just set forth at length: '*v. 142 (140) saeua sed in manis manibus arma dabo* ist *in manis* auffällig; denn dies setzt voraus, dass der Gegner des Ovid auch als bereits gestorben

gedacht wird, was aber nach den folgenden Versen nicht anzunehmen ist.' The truth of this remark was recognised by Guethling and Merkel, and in their texts of 1884 the offence is removed, but at heavy cost. Guethling writes with Schenkl '*inde meis* manibus arma dabo'; Merkel prefers to maltreat the verse in his own fashion, '*innocuis* manibus arma dabit.' I proposed, not to enfeeble and disfigure a good pentameter, but to put it where it could do no mischief; and I transferred the six verses 135-140 to another seat, leaving 141 sq. to follow upon 134. All inconsistency is thus removed: Ovid says in 131-134 that while his life lasts he will hate his adversary, in 141-158 that when dead he will haunt him as a ghost; the death of Ibis is not contemplated till 161; his funeral follows in 163-172, and only in 173 does he reach the world below.

But who will convey an apprehension of such matters as these to the mind of Mr Ehwald or Mr Owen? They find three editors in succession, Guethling, Merkel, and me, arrested by the same invisible obstacle; and our behaviour inspires them, not with curiosity, not with a wish to read the passage instead of skimming it, but with the impatient wonder of Balaam when his ass persisted in seeing the angel of the Lord. If transposition is proposed, they must of course resist it, but they resist in the dark and have nothing more apposite to urge than the automatic objection, always ready to be reached down from the shelf, that the verses to be separated are inseparable. Mr Ehwald, *Burs. Jahresb.* vol. 109 p. 286, alleges that the removal of 135-140 is discountenanced by '*der Umstand, dass v. 141 sich eng an v. 140 anschliesst*'; and Mr Owen, *reddens dictata magistro*, writes as follows in the *Classical Quarterly* VIII p. 254: 'These two couplets (139 sq. and 141 sq.) are closely connected in sense, and should not be separated from one another by such transposition as Mr Housman has introduced into the text in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. In the first couplet Ovid says that death will not end his wrath, but will furnish his spirit with merciless arms against the spirit of his enemy. This idea is repeated in the next couplet with redundancy characteristic of Ovid.' And that is all: 'the next couplet' is the critics' horizon, and if they read as far as the

third couplet they would lose sight and memory of the first. But to this pretence,—that the couplets 139 sq. and 141 sq. are too closely connected in sense to be separated,—I make the following answer. The couplet 141 sq. cannot be more closely connected with anything in the world than with the verses 131–134 to which I have joined it: if that were its place in the MSS, Messrs Ehwald and Owen would assert, and with better cause, that this bond also was indissoluble, and they would appeal, and very plausibly too, to the apt correspondence between *odium* in 134 and *oderit* in 142. And the other couplet, 139 sq., cannot be more closely connected in sense with 141 sq. or with anything else than with the context which I have found for it elsewhere.

That context is one to which I was led by two guides: consideration of the sense, and observation of displacements still to be traced in the MSS. The six verses which I have excised, 135–140, depict Ovid and Ibis as engaged in combat; and the context from which I have excised them, 131–134 and 141–162, exhibits no such picture. But there is a passage which does: 29 sq. *tibi...hostis ero*, 39 *positis, quae sumpsimus, armis*, 43 *pax*, 45 *proelia*, 46 *bella*, 49 *ferro*, 50 *hasta*. And in our MSS the same couplet, ‘*quam dolor hic umquam spatio euanescere possit, | leniat aut odium tempus et hora meum*’ is found in both of these two contexts: it is both 41 sq. and 133 sq. In HTX it stands before 135 and also before 43; in F before 135 and also before 39; in V only before 43¹; in GP only before 135. The last is its true seat, for it is needed to complete the sentence begun in 131 ‘*et prius*’; in the earlier place it is superfluous and even detrimental. But the near neighbourhood of the one place is the most appropriate seat in the poem for the verses which in the other place immediately follow it, 135–140; and I set them between 44 and 45.

43 *pax erit haec nobis, donec mihi uita manebit,*

44 *cum pecore infirmo quae solet esse lupis.*

¹ So says Merkel; Ellis is silent. Mr Owen’s note on 40 contains two mis-statements.

- 135 pugnabunt arcu dum Thraces, Iazyges hasta,
 dum tepidus Ganges, frigidus Hister erit,
 robora dum montes, dum mollia pabula campi,
 dum Tiberis liquidas Tuscus habebit aquas,
 tecum *bella geram*; *nec mors mihi finiet iras*,
 140 saeua sed in manis manibus arma dabit.
 45 prima quidem coepto committam proelia uersu,
 46 non soleant quamuis hoc pede *bella geri*.

Mr Ehwald, contradicting, as before, in haste and at random, has been so unlucky as to say, Burs. Jahresb. vol. 109 p. 286, 'v. 135-140 nach v. 49'—he means 44—'zu stellen muss schon die enge Zusammengehörigkeit von 43 f. und 45 widerraten.' There exists no 'enge Zusammengehörigkeit' between 43 sq. and 45: they were quite happy together, but they are equally happy apart, and lose nothing by separation. On the contrary, they gain. 'Enge Zusammengehörigkeit' is the name for what my transposition has brought about: the correspondence of 43 with 139 and of 139 with 46; of *donec mihi uita manebit* with *nec mors mihi finiet iras* and of *bella geram* with *bella geri*. But close correspondence is visible to Mr Ehwald where it does not exist and invisible where it does, because not his opinions only, but even his perceptions, are led in chains behind the pen of the copyist.

The three distichs whose place in the poem remains to be considered I will take in their numerical order.

181 sq.

- 175 Sisyphus est illic saxum uoluensque petensque
 quique agitur rapidae uinctus ab orbe rotae,
 quaeque gerunt umeris perituras Belides undas,
 exulis Aegypti, turba cruenta, nurus.
 poma pater Pelopis praesentia quaerit et idem
 180 semper eget liquidis semper abundat aquis.
 iugeribusque nouem summus qui distat ab imo
 uisceraque assiduae debita praebet aui.
 hic tibi de Furiis scindet latus una flagello...

In the texts of Burman and Ellis the couplet 181 sq. is enclosed, as above, between full stops. Then it cannot be construed, for it is not a sentence; it is only a conjunction and a relative clause. But Burman and Ellis are used to that: they print as sentences more than forty similar collections of words whose grammatical structure is fragmentary. Sometimes, as here or in 257 sq. 'quique decedit,' it is *que* with a *qui*-clause; sometimes *que* with a noun, as 277 sq. 'sollertique uiro'; sometimes *que* with an *ut*-clause, which may contain a verb, as 331-4 'utque Eurydamas est raptus,' or may not, as 345 sq. 'utque Dryantiadae'; sometimes an *ut*-clause without *que*, whether containing a verb, as 347 sq. 'ut fuit Oetaeo,' or containing none, as 407 sq. 'ut Sinis'; sometimes a *quam*-clause, with a verb, as 489 sq. 'quam periit Cacus,' or without, as 491 sq. 'quam qui tulit.'

Other editors join the couplet to the preceding sentence. It then ceases to be ungrammatical and becomes absurd, for it visits Tityus with the punishment of Tantalus: the construction is 'isque, qui iugeribus nouem summus ab imo distat, poma praesentia quaerit.' It is therefore necessary that 181 sq. should be placed before 179, so that the construction may be 'isque, qui...distat, illic est' (175); but whether the right place for the verses is immediately before 179 or immediately after 176 I see no way to determine. I have therefore said in my note '181 sq. ponendi uidentur inter 176 et 179,' and have made no change in my text.

Mr Ehwald, p. 287, accepts my transposition; but I expect the advent of a genius who will remove all difficulty by the simple and brilliant device of surrounding 179 sq. with marks of parenthesis.

203 sq.

195 nec mortis poenas mors altera finiet huius,
 horaque erit tantis ultima nulla malis.
 inde ego pauca canam, frondes ut siquis ab Ida
 aut summam Libyco de mare carpat aquam.
 nam neque, quot flores Sicula nascantur in Hybla
 200 quotue ferat, dicam, terra Cilissa crocos,

nec, cum tristis hiemps Aquilonis inhorruit alis,
 quam multa fiat grandine canus Athos.
 nec mala uoce mea poterunt tua cuncta referri,
 ora licet tribuas multiplicata mihi.
 205 tot tibi uae misero uenient talesque ruinae,
 ut cogi in lacrimas me quoque posse putem.

In the preceding verses, 173–194, Ovid has described the torments awaiting Ibis after death in the world below. In 195 sq. he adds that these ills will be endless, because there is no second death. And then in 197 he says that he will relate a few of them. He has already related a few of them, and he never relates any more. The ills which he proceeds to relate, and which fill the greater part of the poem, are ills which Ibis is to suffer in this world, not in the next. If the sketch of Ibis' sufferings in the next world had been preceded by a general prophecy of his sufferings in this, it would have been possible, though awkward, to include these in the reference of *inde*. But now it is not even possible, for the only woes in this world yet prophesied to Ibis are his persecution by Ovid's ghost (if Ovid dies before him) and the maltreatment of his dead body; and the catalogue filling 251–638 is no selection from these.

The couplet 203 sq. '*nec mala...mihi*' is quite well suited to its present place, after the couplet 201 sq. '*nec cum...Athos*'; but it is not needed there, for the comparisons may close the period, as in Verg. georg. II 105–8, Ouid. ex Pont. IV 2 7–10, Mart. XII 57 15–7. If placed before 197, after the couplet 195 sq. '*nec mortis...malis*,' it will provide *inde* with the reference it requires: *mala...tua cuncta*. An editor who, like Ellis, divides the poem into paragraphs, should begin a new paragraph not only after 126 and 250 but after 196, and should begin it with 203.

Merkel wrote in 1837 '*nescio quid Heinsium commouerit, ut in schedis tentaret: Iliaca canas frondes et Laomedontea frondes ut si quis.*' But with advancing years he grew less obtuse, and by 1884 his eyes had been opened to Heinsius' motive: '*offendor disticho 197 198. Inde quod legimus,*

referri non potest ad *tanta mala* quae dicuntur v. 196 et enarrantur inde a v. 161: non sunt ea *cuncta*, quae indicantur v. 203, unde partem deprompturus est poeta.'

409 sq.

405 ut pronepos, Saturne, tuus, quem reddere uitam
 urbe Coronides uidit ab ipse sua,
 ut Sinis et Sciron et cum Polypemone natus
 quique homo parte sui parte iuuenus erat,
 quique trabes pressas ab humo mittebat in auras
 410 aequoris aspiciens huius et huius aquas,
 quaeque Ceres laeto uidit pereuntia uultu
 corpora Thesea Cercyonea manu.

'May you perish'—*pereas* in 365 is the principal verb of the sentence—'like Periphetes, like Sinis and Sciron and Procrustes with his father Polypemon and the Minotaur and Pityocampes and Cercyon.' But Sinis and Pityocampes were one and the same, *Σίνις ὁ καὶ Πιτυοκάμπτης*. So we are assured, not only by many authors in many places, but by Ovid himself in a similar catalogue of the malefactors slain by Theseus, met. vii 440–2 'ille Sinis, magnis male uiribus usus, | qui poterat curuare trabes et agebat ab alto | ad terram late sparsuras corpora pinus.' There is indeed one passage where a Christian writer of the 12th century has taken the two names for two persons, Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 158 *αἱ ἱστορίαι...περιόδουσαι καὶ αὐτὸν (Σίνιν), καθὰ καὶ τὸν Σκείρωνα καὶ τὸν Πιτυοκάμπτην καὶ τὸν Κάκον καὶ τὸν Λίβυν Ἀνταῖον καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους*; but the error was evidently rare, and we have seen that Ovid did not share it.

For this reason I proposed to place 409 sq. after 396:

393 ut iacet Aonio luctator ab hospite fusus
 qui, mirum, uictor, cum cecidisset, erat,
 ut quos Antaei fortes pressere lacerti,
 396 quosque ferae morti Lemnia claua dedit
 409 quique trabes pressas ab humo mittebat in auras
 410 aequoris aspiciens huius et huius aquas.

The construction will then be 'quos ferae morti dedit Lemnia claua deditque is qui trabes mittebat in auras': may you perish like the victims of Antaeus, of Periphetes, and of Sinis. The next distich, 397 sq., likewise ends with *aquas* (as do 142 and 144 with *tuos*, 610 and 612 with *manus*), and this may have had something to do with the omission and consequent transposition of 409 sq.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ARISTOPHANICA.

Ach. 338.

ἀλλὰ νυνὶ λέγ' εἴ σοι δοκεῖ τόν τε Λακε-
δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ὃ τι τῷ τρόπῳ σου 'στὶ φίλον.

The only word which is clearly wrong in this couplet is αὐτόν. Is it a corruption of εἶπον? This would correct the passage with the least expense, and all the rest is at least construable, but perhaps really Elmsley's λέγ' ὅτι σοι δοκεῖ, combined with Blaydes' αἴνεσον ὅτῳ τρόπῳ σοῦσσι φίλον, is more likely to hit the truth. Blaydes I say, not Hall and Geldart; see the former scholar's edition of 1886, page xvii. ὅτῳ τρόπῳ is as old as Scaliger.

Ach. 383.

νῦν οὖν με πρῶτον πρὶν λέγειν ἐάσατε
ἐνσκευάσασθαι μ' οἶον ἀθλιώτατον.

435. ὦ Ζεῦ διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχῇ,
ἐνσκευάσασθαι μ' οἶον ἀθλιώτατον.

The repetition of the second line in these couplets has displeased many; some would omit 384, but that leaves ἐάσατε without any meaning that I can see: others 436, but, though more is to be said for this, it still seems improbable that 435 should be left without any sequel, and it would be a curious accident if a spurious line came in so pat to fill up the construction in so idiomatic a manner. Yet Aristophanes would hardly have repeated the line in this way unless there had been some special reason for it; he is not in the habit of repeating lines, whatever Mr Rogers may say on *Knights* 96. What then is the point? This, I take it; the line is clearly a parody of Euripides, and the only way of translating 384 at

any rate is to take *με* as equivalent to *ἐμαντόν*. This is very rarely done in tragedy, and to make it worse *με* is governed by *ἐνσκευάσασθαι*, which, being a verb "connected with the toilet," would not be expected to have an accusative after it at all. Thus *ἐνσκευάζομαί με* is doubly odd, and it is no wonder that the comic poet should make fun of it, as he did of Sophocles' *μὴ ψεῦσον*. But it is quite probable that he is purposely mistaking the construction of Euripides, as comedians are fond of pretending to misunderstand their victims.

Ach. 801.

ΔΙ. τρώγοις ἂν ἐρεβίνθους; ΚΟ. κοὺ κοὺ κοῦ.

ΔΙ. τί δαί; φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας; ΚΟ. κοὺ κοῦ.

ΔΙ. τί δαί; σῦκα τρώγοις ἂν αὐτός; ΚΟ. κοὺ κοῦ.

The last of these lines can no longer be ejected, since it was read in the papyrus of Hermupolis, but as there remain of it only four letters in that papyrus we do not know how it ran. That it should begin with *τί δέ; σῦκα τρώγοις* is pretty obvious, and there is MS. authority for this; in this string of doubles ententes *σῦκα* could not be omitted, and cf. Aristotle, *Hist. An.* viii 21, where the philosopher, speaking of swine, says: ἄριστον δὲ πρὸς τὸ πιαίνειν καὶ τρέφειν οἱ ἐρέβινθοι καὶ τὰ σῦκα. Now the *φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας* are so called from a certain district, either of Attica or Megara, but they are themselves a variety of *σῦκα*; hence it is practically certain that when the poet goes on to *σῦκα* in the next line he must have spoken of some particular kind, not of *σῦκα* in general. If *φιβάλεως* means Megarian, though this is of course uncertain, *σῦκα τρώγοις Ἀττικ' ἂν*; may have been the original. If Ἀττικὰ was omitted and then added in the margin or above the line, it might easily get into the text in a depraved state and in the wrong place, as *αὐτίκα* for instance, and then *αὐτίς*. There is clearly considerable point in asking the Megarian girls first if they will eat Megarian and then Attic figs.

Ach. 1093.

ὀρχηστρίδες τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου καλαί.

The number of proposals made to deal with the line as if it

were corrupt is truly startling, and the number of distinguished scholars who find it incredible would frighten me off its defence if I did not know of what even distinguished scholars are capable in the face of Aristophanic jests. Mr Rogers is the only one of the lot, so far as I know, who has made what I should have thought the obvious remark that it is a comic misquotation or perversion of the scolion, in which the words are deliberately misunderstood after the fashion of such poets. Aristophanes, or even perhaps some one before him, saw the possibility of taking the words *φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι' οὐ* as *φίλτατα Ἀρμοδίου*, and no reverence for any national hymn or national hero was going to stop him from having his fling. Whether Harmodius really was or was not addicted to the fair sex is a question which is not to the point; comedy must not be treated as a historic document.

The English Aristophanes, for the creator of Falstaff deserves that title better than does any other man, has played a similar prank. The fourth scene of the fourth act of the second part of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* begins with the glorious rant:

Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!

What! can ye draw but twenty miles a day?

Ancient Pistol in *Henry IV*, Part II, Act ii, Sc. iv, reproduces it thus:

These be good humours indeed! Shall pack-horses,
And hollow pampered jades of Asia
Which cannot go but thirty miles a day,
Compare with Caesars and with Cannibals
And Trojan Greeks?

One imagines the commentator of the future objecting that "hollow jades" is nonsense, and proposing to read "yellow," or "highlow," or "mallow-pampered," for horses can be fed on mallows, I presume, or "pillion-hampered," to which a plentiful lack of sense combined with overmuch belief in the virtues of palaeography might easily lead him. If Aristophanes could have seen the pother made over his innocent jest, he would not

have said "These be good humours" but something not to be here put down.

Ach. 1180.

καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθῳ πεσών,
καὶ Γοργόν' ἤξήγειρεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος,
πτίλον δὲ τὸ μέγα κομπολακύθου πεσών
πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι δεινὸν ἐξηύδα μέλος·
"ὦ κλεινὸν ὄμμα, νῦν πανύστατόν σ' ἰδὼν
λείπω φάος γε τοῦμόν, οὐκέτ' εἰμ' ἐγώ."

Line 1181 was ejected by Dobree as being interpolated in a corrupt form from 574; certainly in 574 ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος makes sense with ἐξήγειρεν, whereas ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος is neither sense nor good nonsense. There is more probability to my mind in the idea that it is genuine here but corrupt. Brunck proposed ἐξήραξεν, Seager ἐξήρειξεν, but these both imply that the Gorgon was fixed on to the shield in such a way that it could be knocked off; is it not more likely that it was painted? Indeed 1095 proves that it was, μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν Γοργόνα. The right word for smearing, or obliterating a painting in any way, would be ἐξήλειψεν or ἐξήλειφεν; either tense is possible, palaeographically the imperfect is preferable, on other grounds perhaps the aorist.

After writing this I find that Dobree actually said himself of the line "Tolerari posset si ἐξήλειψε, ἐξέτριψε, etc. restitueres." But this observation has not been attended to as it deserved to be, so I will let my own stand.

At the end of 1182 MSS. vary between πεσών and πεσόν; on the face of it πεσών is the more honest reading, and the change to πεσόν is only one of those innumerable attempts to restore grammar without thinking of the sense. Elmsley indeed insisted that πτίλον πεσόν was a nominativus pendens. "Vide Plut. 277, et meam annotationem ad v. 316. Noster apud Pollucem vii 67 ἀλλὰ τὸ στρόφιον λυθέν, τὰ κάρυά μούξε-πίπτε." It cannot be denied that a nominativus pendens is possible, and yet it neither seems to me likely in itself here nor does it account for the variant πεσών. Bergk appears to me unquestionably right in assuming that πεσών has got in from

above ; he proposes λιπὼν but this is a feeble word and anticipates unduly the λείπω of 1185. Better θενών ; cf. *Birds* 54, θένε τὴν πέτραν, 1613, ἐκκόψει τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν θενών, and the πτίλον is in some sense the ὄμμα of Lamachus, but I lay no stress on these passages as they are not at all strictly parallel.

The κλεινὸν ὄμμα is certainly the πτίλον, I think, for cf. *Knights* 1250 :

ὦ στέφανε, χαίρων ἄπιθι, κεῖ σ' ἄκων ἐγὼ
λείπω,

where Cleon takes leave of his crown exactly as Lamachus does of his feather.

Birds 1192.

ἀέρα περινέφελον ὃν Ἑρεβος ἐτέκετο.

The corresponding line is :

μηδέ τιν' ἱερόθυτον ἀνὰ δάπεδον ἔτι.

Consequently metre demands ἔτεκε, because the system must end with ἔτι and so the two short syllables at the end of ἐτέκετο cannot stand, according to Seidler.

Birds 1714.

πάλλων κεραυνὸν πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος.

And again 1756

φῦλα πάντα συννόμων πτεροφόρα.

In both lines it would be better, I think, to accent πτερόφορον, πτερόφορα. With the paroxytone accent the meaning is "carrying wings," as if the wings were a burden, but obviously they are on the contrary that which buoys a thing up. The popular theory seems to have been that a feather had a natural gravitation upwards ; a bird in fact flew like an air-ship rather than like an aeroplane. Thus Ovid remarks of bats :

Non illas pluma levavit,

Sustinuere tamen se perluculentibus alis. (*Met.* iv. 410.)

He evidently thinks it strange that a wing without feathers should be any use for flight at all. Aristotle saw no difficulty

in this, however; *de Partibus* iv 13 ad fin. Cf. no. 63 of this Journal, p. 65.

Lys. 720.

τὴν μὲν γε πρώτην διαλέγουσαν τὴν ὀπὴν
κατέλαβον ἢ τοῦ Πανός ἐστι ταῦτόν.

The Scholiast says διαλέγουσαν: διορύττουσαν, κακεμφάτως. Hesychius, διαλέξαι: διορύξαι. Suidas, διαλέγον: διορύττου. These glosses probably come from our passage, as Stephanus remarks of the former, and he restores διαλέγουσαν: διορύττουσαν in the latter. Thus the reading is very old, but is none the less corrupt; there is no shred of evidence that I can find to shew that λέγω could ever mean ὀρύττω. Read διαπλέκουσαν, not, I think, -οῦσαν, and consult 152; it is not the only double entente in this speech. ὀπὴ occurs in close anatomical proximity in Michael Ephesius on Aristotle *de Gen. An.* page 54, lines 29—32, in Hayduck's edition, but there in a common medical usage for any narrow passage.

διεσπλεκωμένη. ἔχει δὲ τὴν παραγωγὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλέκω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλέγμα. Schol. *Plutus* 1082.

Cf. the corruption of πλόκον to λόγον at Eur. *Hipp.* 514.

Thesm. 19.

διὰ τὴν χοάνην οὖν μήτ' ἀκούω μήθ' ὀρώ;

Sc. *per anum.* Cf. 57, 62.

Frogs 84.

ἀγαθὸς ποιητὴς καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις.

The Kingdom of Heaven is likely to be uncomfortably crowded by Aristophanic scholars if simplicity and innocence of heart are really passports to that paradise. Three at least now living have put in this line as evidence of the charming character of Agathon; them let us suffer to blush unseen, but Dobree, positively Dobree himself, following a stupid scholiast, thought of reading σοφοῖς for φίλοις. Is it really necessary to remark that ποθεινὸς is a *vox amatoria*, and that so far from being a compliment to Agathon this line is almost a slur upon his reputation? The Athenian audience received it with a scream

of laughter, but then the Jewish Aristophanes has truly remarked that the poet himself was "ein blinder Heide, und sein Publikum zu Athen hatte zwar eine klassische Erziehung genossen, wusste aber wenig von Sittlichkeit."

Frogs 551.

ἐκκαίδεκ' ἄρτους κατέφαγ' ἡμῶν.

The number sixteen for some unexplained and inexplicable reason became a comic number in Greek; so Rabelais is extraordinarily fond of seventy-eight, especially in his later books. Do not invoke the Pythagoreans, nor argue that, as 78 is the sum of the first 12 numbers, so 16 is 12 plus the number of the elements of the tetractys, which is itself the sum of those four, and that both have some profound significance; they are both just Pantagruelian nonsense. See *Plutus* 195, Plato com. *Phaon* 2, Menander *Πλόκιον* 1, *Ψευδηρακλῆς* 4, Alexis ἐν *Κυπρίῳ* apud Athenaeum iii 81, Lucian *ad dicentem Prometheus* 3, *Prometheus* 20, *Deor. Dial.* i 1, *Timon* 23, 49, *Hermotimus* 80, *Jup. Confutatus* 17, *Jup. Trag.* 11, 15, *Somnium* 12, 29, *Philopseudes* 8, 14.

Frogs 1056.

ἦν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς Λυκαβηττοὺς
καὶ Παρνασῶν ἡμῖν μεγέθη, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ χρηστὰ διδάσκειν,
ὃν χρῆν φράζειν ἀνθρωπείως;

There are several objections to οὖν; first, the argument is that "all poets ought *χρηστὰ* λέγειν; if *you*, Aeschylus, talk mountains, is that the way to do it? *the poet* ought to talk like a human being." But ὃν does not mean "the poet" in general, it can only refer to σὺ. I should not think this serious by itself; after all it is sense to say "you who ought, &c.," but still strict logic does not demand σὺ ὃν χρῆν but something else. Perhaps it was the perception of this partly that caused Blaydes to read οὐ χρῆ as an interrogation, but it is clear to almost every editor that Fritzsche is right in emending χρῆ to χρῆν. Secondly φράζειν has nothing to govern, but this absolute use of it is extremely rare. Thirdly the antithesis is between mountains and morals, there is a strong emphasis on

χρηστὰ and we should expect something about that. I think therefore that probably ἀχρῆν = ἀ ἐχρῆν should be restored. It certainly makes better sense; there is no such reason why a man should talk ἀνθρωπείως if he is talking about unpractical subjects, but if he is speaking of things useful to man, *then* he ought to speak so as to be understood of the people.

Frogs 1434.

ὁ μὲν σοφῶς γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ δ' ἕτερος σαφῶς.

I do not see how there can be any real doubt about the meaning of this line. Which of the two tragedians has spoken σαφῶς about Alcibiades? Obviously Euripides, who has described him in sharp prosy antitheses like a rhetorician. Aeschylus after his fashion answers with a parable about a lion cub, σοφῶς, like a poet of genius, for σοφὸς is the regular epithet for such an one. Cf. 1413, where Dionysus cannot deny the genius of Aeschylus, ἡγοῦμαι σοφόν, and yet has a delight in Euripides of which he is naturally a little ashamed.

So the scholiast is right, I think: σοφῶς μὲν ὁ Αἰσχύλος σαφῶς δὲ ὁ Εὐριπίδης.

Frogs 1524.

φαίνετε τοίνυν ὑμεῖς τούτῳ
λαμπάδας ἱράς.

"Show torches to him"! no, light the way for him with torches, λαμπάσιν ἱραίς. The dative was corrupted into accusative by some sciolist who knew what φαίνω habitually governs, and who thought to restore the grammar without thinking about the sense. The scholiast desperately explains it as being ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνάπτετε.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ARISTOTELICA.

Topics 1. 15. 106 b 35 εἰ ὑγιεινὸν τὸ μὲν ὑγείας ποιητικὸν <ὄν>, τὸ δὲ φυλακτικόν, τὸ δὲ σημαντικόν, *as being, because it is, productive of health.*

ib. 3. 1. 116 a 14 ὁ μᾶλλον ἂν ἔλοιτο ὁ φρόνιμος ἢ ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ ἢ ὁ νόμος ὁ ὀρθὸς ἢ οἱ σπουδαῖοι περὶ ἕκαστα.

It is surely clear that by a quite common confusion νόμος has been written for λόγος. In *Eth.* 5. 6. 1134 a 35 for instance MSS. vary between λόγον and νόμον. The φρόνιμος and the (ὀρθὸς) λόγος are just as in *Eth.* 2. 6. 1107 a 1.

ib. 37 καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν ἡμῖν <πλέον> μέλλει ἔσεσθαι is the meaning and should be the phrase.

ib. 6. 4. 141 b 10 μάλιστα γὰρ τὸ στερεὸν ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν πίπτει ἐπιπέδου, τὸ δ' ἐπίπεδον μᾶλλον τῆς γραμμῆς.

It can hardly be that μάλιστα has really till now escaped correction to μᾶλλον, but in any case it shows what copyists and editors will do.

ib. 8. 5. 159 b 35 στοχάζονται γὰρ ὡς ἂν εἴπειεν ὁ θέμενος.

For ὡς read ὦν, as in the very next line φανερόν τίνων στοχαστέον.

ib. 9. 17. 175 b 39 εἰ τὰ δύο ἐρωτήματα μὴ ἐν ποιεῖ τις ἐρώτημα, οὐδ' ἂν...ἐγίνετο παραλογισμός.

οὐδ' ἂν ἐγίνετο should be evidence to anybody that ποιεῖ is a mistake for ἐποίει.

ib. 31. 181 b 25 περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπαγόντων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πολλάκις εἰπεῖν φανερόν ὡς κ.τ.λ.

So too anyone might see that εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πολλάκις εἰπεῖν is εἰς τὸ <τὸ> αὐτὸ πολλάκις εἰπεῖν.

ib. 32. 182 a 15 ξύλον δ' εἰπεῖν οὗτος..., οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

No doubt ξύλον δ' < εἰ > εἶπεν οὗτος.

ib. 34. 183 a 37 εὐρεῖν δύναμιν τινα συλλογιστικὴν περὶ τοῦ προβλήματος ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὥς ἐνδοξοτάτων.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων is such a regular phrase that we ought, if we can, to make τῶν ὑπαρχόντων here the substantive, so to speak, and ὥς ἐνδοξοτάτων the qualifying epithet, not to treat ὑπαρχόντων as itself the qualifying adjectival word. We must read then τῶν ὑπαρχόντων < τῶν > ὥς ἐνδοξοτάτων.

ib. 183 b 16 Perhaps ὑμᾶς (not ἡμᾶς), as in 184 b 6.

ib. 36 τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἐριστικούς λόγους μισθαρνούντων ὁμοία τις ἦν ἡ παιδείσιν τῇ Γοργίου πραγματείᾳ· λόγους γὰρ οἱ μὲν ῥητορικούς, οἱ δὲ ἐρωτητικούς ἐδίδονσαν ἐκμανθάνειν, εἰς οὓς πλειστάκις ἐμπίπτειν ὥθησαν ἑκάτεροι τοὺς ἀλλήλων λόγους.

Should not οἱ μὲν be ὁ μὲν, Gorgias? ἑκάτεροι does not necessarily imply two plurals. It may refer to one man and several, put side by side, as οὐδετέρους does in Dem. 21. 86 and ὁπότεροι Plato *Apol.* end.

ib. 184 b 6 πάντων ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ἡκροαμένων.

ὑμεῖς and οἱ ἡκροαμένοι being pretty clearly the same persons, omit ἢ as a dittograph of ν (NH). Just above in b 2 the ἢ in ἀλλ' ἢ of most MSS. and editions is equally wrong, and ἀλλά alone is needed.

Metaphysics 1. 3. 983 b 17 δεῖ γὰρ εἶναί τινα φύσιν κ.τ.λ.

This, like what precedes it, should be part of what is said (φασίν line 11) by certain persons, but the finite verb δεῖ makes this difficult. The least change would be to read δεῖν; but, as δεῖ or δεῖν is not really very suitable in sense here, it seems probable that δεῖ is a mistake for ἀεί. See Christ's Preface, p. vii, and cf. 984 a 9 ταῦτα γὰρ ἀεὶ διαμένειν κ.τ.λ.

ib. 984 b 32 ἐξέστω κρίνειν ὕστερον.

Is the imperative in place, or should we read ἐξεσται? ἐστί, ἔσται, ἔστω are sometimes confused.

ib. 1. 5. 985 b 31 ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ὁρῶντες τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς λόγους.

I suspect Aristotle wrote τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐν ἀρμονίαις. According to the theory ἀρμονίαι are πάθη καὶ λόγοι of numbers; they would hardly be said themselves to have πάθη, and ἐν ἀριθμοῖς is not natural. See the index of Christ or Bonitz s.v. λόγος, and cf. 13 (N). 3. 1090 a 24 τὰ πάθη τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ ὑπάρχει.

ib. 986 b 21 Ξενοφάνης δ' <ὁ> πρῶτος τούτων ἐνίσας, changing δέ to δ' ὁ? or Ξ. δὲ πρότερον?

ib. 987 a 7 παρὰ δὲ <ἐτέρων> τινῶν, as in lines 16, 28, and elsewhere?

ib. 8. 988 b 29 With τὸ τιθέναι and τὸ λέγειν we cannot understand anything like ἀμάρτημά ἐστι (Bonitz) because of ἐπισκεψάμενοι following. The only possible construction, but a strange one, is to make them accusatives dependent on ἀμαρτάνουσιν (24). Should we read τῷ in both cases? The datives in Thuc. 3. 40. 2 are datives of motive or cause and not quite parallel.

ib. 9. 990 b 19 συμβαίνει γὰρ μὴ εἶναι τὴν δυνάδα πρώτην ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τι τοῦ καθ' αὐτό.

The genitive τοῦ has no construction until for πρώτην we substitute προτέραν, a word better in itself. The confusion is frequent. Cf. on Sop. 6. 4. 141 b 10.

ib. 991 a 24 ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ εἶναι καὶ γίνεσθαι ὅμοιον ὅτιοῦν καὶ μὴ εἰκαζόμενον πρὸς ἐκείνο.

Similarly here ἐκείνο has nothing to refer to, until we read ὅτιοῦν.

ib. 992 b 18 ὅλως τε τὸ τῶν ὄντων ζητεῖν στοιχεῖα μὴ διελόντας πολλαχῶς λεγομένων ἀδύνατον εὑρεῖν.

The two infinitives cannot stand together. Should we read τὰ τῶν ὄντων ζητοῦντας στοιχεῖα? ζητοῦντας comes in the following line, τὸ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων τὰ στοιχεῖα ζητεῖν ἢ οἶσθαι ἔχειν οὐκ ἀληθές three lines below, and our τὸ ζητεῖν may be due by mistake to the other one. Possibly ζητεῖν should be simply omitted and τό changed to τά.

In the same passage perhaps ἀλλ', εἴπερ, <περὶ> τῶν οὐσιῶν μόνον ἐνδέχεται; but no doubt τὰ στοιχεῖα can be supplied by the mind.

1 A (A ἔλαττον). 1. 993 b 12 ὧν ἂν τις κοινώσαιο ταῖς δόξαις.

Is the dative possible? The only dative that belongs to κοινοῦν and κοινούσθαι is that of the other person, not of the thing shared or communicated. Presumably then τὰς δόξας.

ib. 2. 994 a 25 τὸ μὲν οὖν for ὥς μὲν οὖν? Cf. τὸ δέ in 31. ὥς wrongly anticipated from the next line.

2. 1. 995 a 32 Should not ἀμφοτέρως be ἀμφοτέροις?

ib. 2. 996 b 31—33 There should certainly be a full stop at προτάσεις and the mark of a question after νῦν.

ib. 997 a 5 καὶ <αἱ> ἄλλαι τέχναι.

ib. 6. 1003 a 10 εἰ δ' ἔσται τόδε τι καὶ ἐκθέσθαι τὸ κοινῇ κατηγορούμενον, πολλὰ ἔσται ζῶα ὁ Σωκράτης αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ ζῶον, εἴπερ σημαίνει ἕκαστον τόδε τι καὶ ἔν.

The last words and the want of propriety in the compound ἐκθέσθαι point distinctly to εἰ δ' ἔσται τόδε τι καὶ ἐν θέσθαι τὸ κ. κ.

3. 2. 1003 b 12 <περὶ> τῶν καθ' ἐν λεγομένων is alone Greek with θεωρήσαι, as in a 25 and b 35.

3. 4. 1006 a 2 πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν περὶ φύσεως.

Is not a participle in the genitive plural missing, e.g. θεωρούντων?

3. 5. 1010 a 37 οὐ γάρ ἔστιν εἰς ὅτι μεταβάλλει.

The idiomatic μεταβαλεῖ will be better. So in 6. 1011 a 5 τίς ὁ κρίνων should be τίς ὁ κρινῶν, like τὸν κρινούντα, and μένει in 11. 6. 1063 a 24 μενεῖ.

ib. 1011 a 15 οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὴν βίαν μόνον ζητοῦντες ἀδύνατον ζητοῦσιν· ἐναντία γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἀξιούσιν εὐθὺς ἐναντία λέγοντες.

The obscurity and difficulty of these last words I believe to be due to the loss of a negative, <οὐκ> ἀξιούσι. The

meaning is that they rely on the coercive force of reasoning and will not allow their adversary to be in any way inconsistent, while yet their very thesis is that a thing can both be and not be, that is that two inconsistent statements can both be true. But then no argument proves anything, for the conclusion and the opposite of the conclusion may both be true.

4. 2. 1014 a 23 ὅδε ὁ οἰκοδομῶν? 25 proves nothing, but suggests where οἰκοδόμος came from.

ib. a 31 τὰ μόρια ὁμοειδῆ, οἷον ὕδατος τὸ μόριον ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς συλλαβῆς < συλλαβή > ?

Hist. An. 3. 20. 521 b 29 τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν μὴ ἀμφωδόντων γάλα πηγνυται, διὸ καὶ τυρεύεται < τὸ > τῶν ἡμέρων.

ib. 522 a 33 οὐδέ, not οὔτε.

ib. 5. 5. 541 a 29 κακ (for καὶ) τῆς φωνῆς?

ib. 9. 11. 615 a 30 μένει χρόνον οὐκ ἐλάττονα ἢ ὅσον πλέθρον διέλθοι τις.

Not only must ἄν be added to διέλθοι (probably after πλέθρον), but the accusative ὅσον can hardly be right. It is in itself wrong and attraction does not take this form; the mistake is probably due to the other accusatives. Read ὅσῳ.

De Part. An. 1. 1. 641 a 34 εἰ γὰρ περὶ πάσης (ψυχῆς ἢ φυσικῆ λέγει), οὐδεμία λείπεται παρὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ἐπιστήμην φιλοσοφία. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν νοητῶν. ὥστε περὶ πάντων ἢ φυσικὴ γνῶσις ἂν εἴη· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς περὶ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ θεωρῆσαι, εἴπερ πρὸς ἄλληλα.

ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν νοητῶν has no sense where it stands, but it would be excellently in place after πρὸς ἄλληλα.

ib. 1. 4. 644 a 12 ἀπορήσεις δ' ἂν τις διὰ τί οὐκ ἄνωθεν ἐνὶ ὀνόματι ἐμπεριλαμβάνοντες ἅμα ἐν γένος ἅμφω προσηγόρευσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὃ περιέχει τὰ τε ἔνυδρα καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ τῶν ζώων.

The present tense περιέχει is quite unsuitable both to a name which *ex hypothesi* does not exist and to a γένος which according to Aristotle does not exist either. Whether ὃ refers to γένος or ὀνόματι may be doubted. The future

περιέξει is the idiomatic tense to use, although the main verb is in the past, like ναυτικὸν παρσκευάζον ὅτι πέμψουσιν. There is a similar mistake in 2. 10. 655 b 30 ἡ τε δέχονται (read δέξονται) τὴν τροφὴν καὶ ἡ τὸ περίττωμα ἀφήςουσιν.

ib. 2. 16. 659 b 4 ὥστε μηθὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχειν ῥίνας.

μηθὲν should of course be μηθέν'. I can hardly believe that this and the preceding mistake have not been corrected by someone since the last text (Langkavel), now fifty years old.

De An. Mot. 1. 2. 698 b 16 εἰ γὰρ ὑποδώσει αἰεί, οἶον τοῖς ^{μυσὶν} ποσὶ

τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ ἢ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ πορευομένοις, οὐ πρόεισιν.

Mr Farquharson in his recent translation proposes τοῖς μυσὶν ἐν τῇ ζειᾷ mice walking in grain. It is difficult to see why such an out-of-the-way comparison should have been used, even if we think of the proverbial but obscure μῦς ἐν πίττῃ. I greatly prefer the other MS. reading ποσί, and for ἐν τῇ γῇ (in which γῇ is said to be somewhat doubtful in E) I suggest ἐν πηλῷ or ἐν τῷ πηλῷ. The τοῖς before ἐν is wanting in some MSS. Perhaps then οἶον τοῖς ποσὶν ἐν τῷ πηλῷ. τ, γ, π are well known to get confused (τ, γ, π).

ib. 7. 701 a 21 εἰ ἰμάτιον ἔσται, ἀνάγκη εἶναι τόδε πρῶτον (so and so must exist first). εἰ δὲ τόδε, τόδε (i.e. a third thing before the second)

This being the meaning, πρῶτον must by a common mistake stand for πρότερον. The very next words show that the thing in question is not πρῶτον, for another must precede it.

ib. 701 a 37 τῶν δ' ὀρεγομένων πράττειν τὰ μὲν δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ θυμόν, τὰ δὲ δι' ὄρεξιν ἢ βούλησιν τὰ μὲν ποιῶσι, τὰ δὲ πράττουσιν.

The creatures that act δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ θυμόν are no doubt animals and children, those that act δι' ὄρεξιν ἢ βούλησιν older human beings. But in what sense is ὄρεξις used of the latter? ὄρεξις in Aristotle is a genus, of which ἐπιθυμία, θυμός, and βούλησις are the three species; yet here it

seems to be a species side by side with βούλησις, and we should be at a loss to say what is its genus. <ἄλογον> ὄρεξιν ἢ βούλησιν would make sense and agree with Aristotle's language elsewhere, or we might conceivably take ὄρεξιν alone as = ἄλογον ὄρεξιν, but neither of these seems very probable. If ὄρεξιν is a mistake for some other word, it is hard to see what that word can be. προαίρεσις never fits well into the above classification, for, though it is expressly called an ὄρεξις, it is not the same as any of the three species; but I do not suggest it as likely.

ib. 701 b 4 τὸ ἀμάξιον, ὅπερ ὀχούμενον αὐτὸ κινεῖ κ.τ.λ.

This makes no sense and is a misuse of ὅσπερ. No doubt we should read τὸ ἀμάξιον· ὁ γὰρ ὀχούμενος κ.τ.λ. For confusion of γ and π see above on 698 b 16. (So too independently of me Mr W. D. Ross.)

ib. 8. 701 b 36 The clause ἀλλὰ λανθάνει περὶ τὰ μικρὰ τοῦτο συμβαῖνον seems out of place after the words τὸ μὲν γὰρ λυπηρὸν φευκτόν, τὸ δ' ἡδὺ διωκτόν. Either of the two clauses might be moved slightly and a better sequence secured, e.g. ἀλλά...συμβαῖνον might follow ψύξις in the preceding line.

ib. 10. 703 a 4 κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον τὸν λέγοντα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς κινήσεως ἐστὶν ἡ ὄρεξις τὸ μέσον ὃ κινεῖ κινούμενον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐμφύχοις σώμασι δεῖ τι εἶναι σῶμα τοιοῦτον.

σῶμα is a little suspicious in any case, but especially after σώμασι. Perhaps it is an inadvertent repetition of that word, usurping the place of μόριον (703 a 28) or μέρος, which would be more natural.

De An. Inc. 16. 713 b 20 τρωγλοδυτεῖ τὰ μὲν τοῖς τόκοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ βίῳ παντί.

τοῖς τόκοις may perhaps dispense with ἐν, but can τῷ βίῳ παντί? We might read τὰ μὲν <ἐν>, or κὰν for καί.

De Caelo 1. 1. 268 a 13 τελευτὴ καὶ μέσον καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔχει τὸν τοῦ παντός, ταῦτα δὲ τὸν τῆς τριάδος.

ταῦτα should clearly be ταῦτά (so in *Physiogn.* 1. 805 a 24 correct τοῦτο to ταῦτό). Why does Aristotle indulge in the curious ὕστερον πρότερον of mentioning τελευτὴ first?

De Gen. et Corr. 2. 11. 337 b 7 μέλλων γὰρ δὴ (for ἄν).

De Gen. An. 2. 3. 736 b 29 οὐθὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ (i.e. τοῦ νοῦ) τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινωνεῖ σωματικὴ ἐνέργεια.

After *ει* in *κοινωνεῖ* it is likely that the article *ἡ* has been lost.

ib. 2. 6. 742 a 25 τὸ μὲν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ πρότερον, τὸ ποιητικόν, οἶον τὸ διδάξαν τοῦ μανθάνοντος.

Certainly τὸ διδάξον. The aorist is quite wrong.

ib. 744 b 20 < τοῖς > οἰκέταις, as in the other two cases. τοῖς has been lost after *της* in *ταύτης*.

ib. 5. 1. 778 a 20 τυγχάνει δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἓνια μὲν ὅλοις ὑπάρχοντα τοῖς γένεσιν, ἐνίοις δ' ὅπως ἔτυχεν.

ἐνίοις seems a mistake, due to the datives before it. Read ἓνια.

ib. 778 a 34 οὐδὲ δὴ for οὔτε δέ?

ib. 780 b 20 κρίνει should be κρινεῖ to match ὄψεται. Cf. on *Met.* 1010 a 37.

De Mirab. Ausc. 163. 846 b 9 read ἐμπαθέστερον for συμπαθέστερον and *ib.* 102. 839 a 19 ἐπ' αὐτῇ or ἐπ' αὐτήν for ἐν αὐτῇ.

H. RICHARDS.

THE SHORTER GLOSSES OF PLACIDUS.

This article contains things new and old, and cannot plead 'pars nova maior erit,' but only 'lector utrique fave.' The old, with more details and proofs, will be found in the preface to vol. v of the *Corpus Glossariorum* and in a dissertation by a pupil of Goetz, P. Karl: *de Placidi glossis*, Jena, 1906.

Placidus' Glossary has come down to us through three channels:

(*R*) the lost exemplar of some fifteenth century MSS. at Rome.

(*P*) an eleventh century MS. at Paris from Silos Abbey in North Spain. It is a composite Glossary, combining the Placidus Glossary with apparently other two. The first part (down to the middle of the F-section) is lost.

(*G*) a lost MS. from which the Placidus glosses in the *Liber Glossarum* were taken. Our earliest MSS. of the *Liber Glossarum* (the Lorsch transcript as well as the two in the Corbie ab-type) belong to the beginning of the ninth century. Apparently *G* was a composite Glossary of the exact pattern of *P*. Our three channels thus become two, since *P* and *G* turn out to be identical. *R* and *PG* come from the same archetype, for they share in many errors; and the order of the glosses in this archetype has been preserved by *R*, an alphabetical order, the first letter only being taken into account (A-, not AB-); e.g. *coculis* was immediately followed by *caespitibus*. Curiously enough, the MS. of Placidus' Glossary used by Isidore shared in an error of this archetype, a dittography of the syllables *a co* in the gloss *caltulum*:

Caltulum cinguli genus a co
a colore caltae dictum,

This ACOACO was naturally interpreted as *a coacto*, leaving *lore* to become *loro* (Isid. *Etym.* 19, 33, 4 with *G*) or *lare* (*R*). Whether Isidore's MS. of the Glossary had also the alphabetical arrangement we cannot tell. But some errors common to *RPG* shew us that this was not the original order; e.g. their archetype had in the I-section the gloss *caculabor* wrongly written *iaculabor*, a proof that the alphabetical arrangement was subsequent to this corruption of the text (cf. *hemdem* in the H-section?). It is therefore uncertain whether the (Latinized) Etruscan word for 'haruspicem,' corruptly presented in our MSS. (see *Thes. Gloss.* s.v. *nartheterem*), began with *narth-* or *arth-*. Even without this direct evidence we might guess that the repetition of the same gloss at a short interval (e.g. in the A-section *actutum* twice, *apludam* and *apluda*) could not have been tolerated by the author.

I say 'the author' and not 'Placidus' because these two glosses (and the others I have mentioned) belong to a portion (called by Goetz the 'glossae breviores') which has been added to the original work. The addition stands at the end of the A-section (Corp. Gloss. v 6, 4 *Allaterati*—8, 2 *Amussis*), at the beginning of the B-section (8, 5 *Boni aequique*—8, 24 *Boni consultum*), at the end of the C-section (13, 22 *Crea*—16, 6 *Cabonum*), at the beginning of the D-section (16, 7 *Damium*—16, 44 *Dispuditum*), and so on (21, 2 *Exerimus*—21, 32 *Exhaustantibus*; 21, 34 *Fautor*—23, 4 *Flatate*; 24, 14 *Genuinorum*—24, 28 *Galerum*; 25, 12 *Hilum*—25, 30 *Hirudo*; 28, 21 *Ingruit*—29, 29 *Impotens*; 29, 35 *Ludicro*—30, 11 *Lucuns*; 33, 4 *Manticulatio*—33, 30 *Manducum*; 33, 31 *Nautea*—34, 7 *Nulationem*; 36, 17 *Obstipiculus*—37, 7 *Offucas*; 37, 9 *Paedor*—37, 31 *Pedo*. To these must be added a few omitted in *R*, e.g. *mentis* 84, 2). Someone had incorporated with Placidus' Glossary a second glossary of a quite different type. He stayed his hand after the P-section, through laziness, not through lack of materials. For the writer of the Preface to Book VII of the Salmasian Anthology, a preface which 'would have made Quintilian stare and gasp,' culled his weird words from this 'second glossary' and uses some which begin with later letters of the alphabet (e.g. *sonivius* in this astounding sentence: *quis*

enim me sonivium et non murgisonem fabula autumabit quam mentorem exfabillabit altiboans?). If we accept the usually accepted date and locality for the Anthology, we find this 'second glossary' in use in North Africa at the beginning of the sixth century.

This 'second glossary,' whether it was a second work of Placidus or by some other compiler (see Aul. Gell. 18, 7, 3 on the craze for 'glossaria et lexicidia'), was compiled directly from the brief interlinear or marginal explanations written in the compiler's copies of certain Republican authors, e.g. Lucilius (whence *gallicolā*: cortice nucis iuglandis viridis, per quem corpus humanum intellegi vult), Ennius (whence *mentis*: genitivum casum pro nominativo posuit; debuit enim dicere 'mens'), Naevius (whence *in flustris*: in portu), Livius Andronicus (whence *nefrendem*: infantem nondum dentatum qui frendere cibum non queat, id est frangere), and so on. If we had the glossary itself we should probably find that the order of the words was the order of their occurrence in the texts of the Republican writers. We should get the same clue as we get from Nonius Marcellus to the arrangement of the fragments of early literature. Still, as it is, we do get actual fragments of Republican writing, even though they are usually limited to single words, and the name of the book and its author is usually unknown; and it is a pity that the Thesaurus (I mean the great Latin Dictionary, not Goetz' 'Thesaurus Glossarum') does not indicate these 'Placidi glossae breviores' by some recognizable mark. For example, the word *caelitus*, a formation with the Indoeuropean suffix TÖS, 'from heaven,' ought to be an early Latin form; but the Thesaurus calls it 'vox inferioris aetatis,' because it does not happen to occur in any extant author of an earlier period. And yet its appearance among these 'glossae breviores' (*caelitus*: a caelo, quomodo divinitus a deo) gives it much the same claim to antiquity as if Nonius had cited it in his Dictionary of Republican Latin. Perhaps a stronger claim; for while Virgil (*antiquitatis amans*) is quoted freely by Nonius, it may be doubted whether so late a writer is ever the source of these 'shorter glosses' (6, 10 *adorea*: farra, ut apud Virgilium, presumably comes from an occurrence of

adore in an early author). Similarly *continari* 'to meet,' used by Apuleius and later authors, is claimed for Republican Latin by its appearance among the 'shorter glosses'; although in this case we have also a Sisenna quotation by Nonius. *Demusso* is a better example, for this verb (used by Apuleius, who revelled in archaic vocables) has no support from Nonius. In such cases it would be convenient if the Thesaurus would substitute 'Gloss. Plac. brev.' for 'Gloss. Plac.' The reader would then understand that the word in this actual form (e.g. *disputitum* in the 'shorter gloss' *disputitum*: *puduit*, *rubori fuit*) had been found by the compiler in some book of the Republican period.

The date of the compilation is unknown. The Salmasian Anthology gives us a 'terminus ante quem.' And we get a 'terminus post quem' from the glosses *ingluviem* (Cornutus *ventrem*, Plinius *edacitatem*), *magmentum* (*alii pinguissimum extorum*, *alii secunda prosecta*, Cornutus *quicquid mactatur, id est quicquid distrahitur*). The editor (or editors) of the Republican authors had used Cornutus' commentary on Virgil and the elder Pliny's 'libri Dubii Sermonis' in composing these two marginal notes. The 'ante quem' and 'post quem' limits leave a wide interval for choice, from the Archaic Revival down to the beginning of the sixth century. Heraeus' argument (in Berl. Phil. Woch. of 1908, p. 615) for the sixth century is not quite convincing, the use of *nam* in such a gloss as *colurnis* (*ex cornu factis, nam et colurni qui ex corulo fiunt*); and it remains to be seen whether any help can be got from glosses like *impulsas* (*impositas, unde hodie quoque 'impulsari fascem' dicimus quod magis 'imponi' decentius dicitur*). Like our 'clap on his shoulders' and 'place on his shoulders'). *Mu*, described as 'adhuc in consuetudine,' seems to have been an African interjection (cf. Plaut. *Caec.* frag. x; Class. Rev. 12, 364). A faint indication that Spain, the home of *P* (and probably of its cognate *G*), was also the home of the archetype of *R* is the Spanish *per-* symbol (pro *R*) in the gloss *Ambrohem*.

Nonius compiled his dictionary from marginal notes of this type, as we learn from his express statement (541, 25 *limbus, ut adnotatum invenimus, muliebre vestimentum*); as well as from his use of two copies of Plautus (i.e. the marginal notes in

two copies), one of which contained only the first three plays (see the small Teubner edition of Nonius, p. xv). I have made (in *Philologus* 63, 273 sqq.) a tentative reconstruction of the marginal notes on Plautus which were worked up by Nonius into dictionary form. They are of much the same type as the 'shorter glosses.' With the note on Plaut. *Amph.* 245 (=Nonius 128) involant] inruunt, evolant, we may compare Plac. 28, 37 (conceivably from the same line of Plautus) involant: invadunt, arripiunt. They often shew wrong readings and wrong interpretations, as do the 'shorter glosses' (e.g. Plac. 7, 16 arse verse: proverbium; 22, 8 on *Faunii modi*); but hardly so appalling an example as that which Goetz ascribes to the latter in the gloss which he refers to an explanation of Plaut. *Pseud.* 16 me antidhac (presumably mis-written or mis-read 'meant idac'), idac: antehac. (This would however be a mistake of the compiler, not of the annotator; and, if Placidus was the compiler, it can stand beside his explanation of *meditullium* as 'in quo aliqua meditantur'!) And Nonius seems to have taken from the annotation of Plaut. *Asin.* 158 (quo magis te in altum capessis, aestus te in portum refert) a batch of glosses (Aestus] marini impetus vel commotiones. Lucr. iv 'frigus ut a fluviis, calor ab sole, aestus ab undis aequoris.' Capessis] inmittis. Refert] revocat) which finds, I think, a parallel in that puzzling 'short gloss' *excetra* (Plac. 21, 11 Excetra: multiplex serpens. Rediviam [?]: redivivam. Quae nne significat; if that is the right setting). From the 'alio loco' of the gloss *caespitibus* (14, 36 caespitibus: glebis terrae cum suo gramine, interdum alio loco ramis) we may perhaps infer that the author had used the word in two passages. Similarly from the gloss *cluram* (15, 44 cluram vel clurum: simiam alias cercopithecum), that the author used both the First and the Second Declension forms. With the inaccurate citations found by Nonius in marginalia (e.g. of Virgil *Georg.* 3, 143 in a note on a passage of Varro, ap. Non. 531, 22) may be compared the inaccurate Virgil citation s.v. *altiboans*.

These 'shorter glosses' leave plenty of room for conjectural emendation, since they all come ultimately from a MS. of Placidus' Glossary into which they had been pitchforked by a

lazy hand. Our archetype shews such marks of carelessness as the fusion of two lemmas into one (e.g. 24, 23 *gnarificationum* and *grallis*) and the omission (by the rubricator) of the initial letter of a lemma (e.g. 29, 6 *aculabor* for *caculabor*, miscopied *iaculabor*). In attempting to emend them, we should remember that, while all manner of mistakes attach themselves and cling like burrs to glossaries, the peculiar 'causae erroris' in this branch of transcription are:

(1) Fusion of neighbouring glosses (when the first gloss did not close before the end of a line, and the beginning of the next gloss was not clearly marked, e.g. by a large initial letter or by the 'paragraphus').

(2) Transposition (occasionally omission) of a clause (when the blank space at the end of a gloss was utilized for the 'overflow words' of a neighbouring line). The archetype had (in the true Placidus portion):

Lupam meretricem a rapacitate vel a
libidine huius animalis, unde et lupa
Lepidula festiva. nar dicitur.

This led not to transposition, but to omission in *PG* (not in *R*), *unde et lupa lepidula festiva* (the 'overflow' being omitted).

(3) Capricious abbreviations (usually 'suspensions') e.g. of the lemma-word when repeated or of current words like 'dicitur,' 'significat,' etc. The letter *d* (with some form of abbreviation-stroke) may represent 'dicitur,' 'dicimus,' 'dixit' and other parts of the verb (e.g. 'dictum'). When the abbreviation-stroke traverses the letter, the symbol is indistinguishable from a *d* which had been written in error and obliterated. It might be omitted by a transcriber. The corresponding symbol of 'respondetur,' 'respondit,' 'responsum,' etc., viz. *r* with transverse stroke, originally denoted 'res' and, as a marginal symbol, denotes 'require' (-endum). Its earlier use may perhaps be found in the gloss *censio* (14, 46), where *res* has been omitted. In 22, 8 the variants perhaps point to *celebrā* (cf. my *Notae Latinae*, p. 416).

Transposition due to another practice (nōt peculiar to glossaries), the marginal supplement of an omitted clause, I

would find in the gloss *favisae* (22, 1). I take it that the page of the pro-archetype began with the lemma *forco*, the lemma which immediately follows *favisae*. The last clause ('a fruge danda') of the lemma *frugem fecisti* (22, 31) had been omitted at its proper place and supplied (by a corrector) in the top-margin of the page. It was preceded by some symbol for the common 'hoc minus est' (= hoc deest), either the usual *h̄m* or else *h̄mn* or the like. Hence the extraordinary ending of the lemma *favisae* in our MSS.: *hominum a fruge danda*.

A few random suggestions follow:

8, 17 *bubum*: *senium*, *angorem*. The *bubus* of Gram. Lat. I 75, 15 is more likely to be the *bovus*: *βουκόλιον* of *ibid.* I 551, 15.

14, 22 *ciet*: *movet vel invocat*. The famous uncial Glossary, Vat. lat. 3321 (written in Central Italy in the eighth century?), offers another use of the word, 'challenges' (Corp. Gloss. iv 34, 33 *movet caput*, *provocat*. On *movet caput* see Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 58).

14, 44 *colore*: *corpore vel cute*. If this comes from Plaut. *Rud.* 997, our MSS. of Plautus may be right in assigning the opening words of the line to Trachalio. He asks *quo colore est?* 'what sort of fish is it?', and Gripus, in replying, wilfully misunderstands this colloquial use of *color*.

15, 31 *conspiceor* (-cio *R*): *uideor* (-deo *R*). Read *conspicor*: *videor* ('am seen'). For the passive use of *conspicor* in early Latin see the Thesaurus. Cf. *despicor* Pass. in Plaut. *Cas.* 189 and, I would add, 185.

15, 45 *cassiculo* (Dat. or Abl.), presumably Masc. The evidence of Paul. Fest. 41, 19 is too weak to support a Neuter form 'cassiculum.' Festus may have confined his remarks to *cassiculo*.

16, 2 *caltulum*. If the gloss comes from Plaut. *Epid.* 231, it confirms the reading of the MSS. (*F n. l.*) of Varro *L.L.* 5, 131; whereas editors of Plautus print *caltulam*.

16, 27 Ritschl's unhappy attempt to efface the alliteration in Plaut. *Trin.* 652 should be ignored in the Thes. Gloss.

16, 34 *derupsit* (dir-?): *dispersit*. Rather *disperserit* (cf. *accepso* for 'accepero,' etc.).

21, 6 Has *R* omitted (cf. 64, 12) eliminat: procedit (see Skutsch in Glotta 3, 387)?

21, 9 eritum: domin(i)um may be right. With eritus, -us compare famulatus, -us; with eritio, famulatio, and so on (cf. Non. 109 famulitas, 206 famulatus and famulatio).

21, 7 egretus (egregius MSS.): erectus, evigil? Paul. Fest. 6 (s.v. adgretus) suggests derivation from ἐγείρωμαι.

22, 2 Have two glosses been fused, *forco* and <*forpex*> dicta ab eo quod feriendo petat?

24, 15 It seems necessary to mention that *gutturio* (-neo) is not Nom. but Dat. or Abl.

24, 20 gramis (i.e. gramiis) is not impossible (cf. Ennius' nonis Iunîs 'on the Nones of June,' a form overlooked by Skutsch when he denied the possibility of Plautus scanning e.g. *gratis* as a spondee). Cf. the gloss antîs.

25, 12 sqq. These 'shorter glosses' in the H-section have a curious suggestion of Plautus now and then. Thus *habeo* (habito... 'qui hic habet' pro habitat) suits the opening Scene of the Curculio, v. 32 quin leno hic habitat, v. 44 nempe huic lenoni qui hic habet (almost required by the rhythm). And *herbidis* (ab herbae colore, id est luridis) may offer a variant for the 'Palatine' edition's reading in v. 231 of the same play: cum conlativo ventre atque oculis herbeis. (By the way, the gloss *collativus*: magnus, e conlatione factus, illustrated by Goetz from Paul. Fest. 51, 15, is at least as closely related to Paul. Fest. 33, 23 *conlativum sacrificium*: quod ex conlatione offertur. It was because a 'joint' sacrifice, etc., was larger than the usual that Plautus, and possibly Plautus alone, facetiously applied the adjective to another unusually large object). But it is probably a mere accident that the gloss *hiras*, if changed to 'hiraе,' could be associated with Curc. 238 (hiraе omnes dolent), and a mere coincidence that, while *hostita* occurs in this part of the Glossary, Festus (s.v. status dies) cites Curc. 5 (si status condictus cum hoste intercedit dies), with the remark 'hostire ponebatur pro aequare.'

28, 34 iuvencam: iuvenem puellam. Some Republican writer had anticipated Horace (*C.* 2, 5, 6).

33, 24 minia: coturnicis (cotum aciae *codd.*) vox (cf. minurio,

μινύρομαι) is a possible (I cannot say 'probable') solution. It is not excluded by Paul. Fest. 33 (coturnix appellatur a sono vocis), since the quail has two notes.

36, 22 oppido: oppidi (quem MSS.) ad modum, sed nunc (i.e. in this passage) valde, if the repeated lemma-word was curtailed to *oi* or the like, which was miscopied 'quem.' But the *antigerio* gloss offers a difficulty.

37, 7 offucas: offers vel in fraudem das. This is intelligible as it stands; i.e. *offucas* has two meanings: (1) *offers*, in such a phrase as *offucare aquam* (Paul. Fest. 211 'in fauces obsorbandam dare'), (2) *in fraudem das*, when derived not from *fauces* but from *fucus* (cf. Paul. Fest. ibid. offucias: fallacias).

68, 9 (one of the 'shorter glosses'?) fac(i)e: faciam, ut (dice) dicam (cf. 16, 23 dice: dicam). It used to be a moot point whether these forms should be written with -ae (and regarded as a mere phonetic spelling of *faciam* and *dicam*) or with -e (an obsolete formation of 1 Sing. Fut. Ind. which has left trace of itself in the other Persons, -es, -et, -emus, -etis, -ent). Comparative Philologists now accept the second view. A remark of Quintilian (1, 7, 23) gives them support. He says that Cato's use of these forms is stated (positum) in Messala's book 'de S Littera.' This suggests that Messala mentioned them as a parallel to byforms like *amare* (-ris), *fortasse* (-sis), *mage* (-gis), etc. If so, they must surely have ended in *e*, not *ae*.

Let me take this opportunity of making two more guesses at the explanation of the gloss *egones* (not one of the shorter glosses of Placidus). We might change 'egones: sacerdotes rustici' into 'egones: sacerdotes Etrusci.' A mysterious word *ecn* appears now and then in the Agram Mummy 'liber linteus.' (Heraeus has already compared the *ergenna* of Persius 2, 26). Or we may retain the traditional reading and connect the gloss with the famous parody of Virgil *Ecl.* 3 init.: Dic mihi, Damoeta, 'cuium pecus' anne Latinum? Non, verum *Aegones* nostri sic rure loquuntur. Possibly some Christian Apologist referred to Pagan country-priests as *Aegones* (*Eg*-) 'of the Farmer Hodge type.'

It will be noticed that in this article Karl's division of the 'shorter glosses' into two portions (of separate origin) has been

ignored. It does not seem a true *κατ' εἶδη διαίρεσις*. The twofold division of the real Placidus glosses (into 1. hints on 'bona locutio' and orthography, 2. explanations of words or phrases in books) is more convincing, but need not imply that these represent a combination of two separate glossaries, if the following conjectural account of Placidus be true. I take it that 'Placidus grammaticus' lectured in some provincial (African?) town where his pupils knew little Latin (witness the elementary information imparted in a great number of the glosses) and no Greek (witness such glosses as *echo* 'graecum nomen est'). He was a Christian and a poor Latinist (e.g. referring apparently to Joh. 1, 14, he says 'effectus est carnem' is a permissible construction, though not so good as 'effectus est caro'!). Like a good Christian he hated the Jews of his town and, in correcting an error of Jewish Latin *lamentus* (facere, like 'fletus facere') for *lamenta* (presumably used by the Jews in speaking of their custom on the ninth day of Ab), he rates the nation in the Rialto style: '*lamenta*' dicimus genere neutro, numero semper plurali; '*lamentus*' autem genere masculino dicunt Iudaei et eorum filii, cimices non lecti genialis sed sandapilae amphitheatralis. A 'gloss' like this is clearly a note from a lecture by Placidus on 'bona locutio.' And the glosses on passages in books may quite well be notes from his lectures on books: e.g. *Heliton heros apud Latinos nullus est; quaerendusne in Graecis aut Persis?* (a note on a passage in which Helicon, brother of Cithaeron, was mentioned. The 'aut Persis' is curious). *Heliton* here need not be the error of a mediaeval scribe. The corrupt reading may have been found in the edition lectured on by Placidus, like the corrupt reading *sensa* in a copy of Donatus' commentary on Virgil(?) from which comes a gloss (apparently not by Placidus) *sensa: nota pro 'sensus' corporis 'sensa' dici; Donatus grammaticus ait 'Epicurus ostendit omnia comprehendere posse sensa corporis'* (Corp. Gloss. v 149, 2). Possibly the same work of Donatus contained the phrase (a scribe's error?) *regionem intra degit*, for the *Ars Major* of Donatus (391, 18 K.) is referred to in Placidus' note: *poetico more fecit; nam si volumus rectius loqui, 'in regione degit' aut 'intra regionem'*

dicimus; et postposuit praepositionem et perdidit vim suam, ut in Arte legimus. One of the authors lectured on was Virgil, for the phrase *in burim* (Georg. 1, 169) is the subject of a note. The others have not been identified. A Christian author is betrayed by such a phrase as *in aeternae vitae crepidine fundatus*, while the 'tumidus Afrorum sermo' is reflected in *numeros omnimodos pulsas tuo plectro* and the like. A dactylic hexameter poem is suggested by *iuvenale phaos*; perhaps Iambic Scazon by the description of a beggar, *aere vitam ducit ac manu*.

The pupil who had taken these desultory notes of Placidus' lectures arranged them alphabetically (by A-, not AB-) and published them as a Glossary. This flimsy production seems to have enjoyed undeserved popularity. It passed (from Africa?) into Spain, where Isidore made much use of it in his Etymologiae. He cites Placidus by name in his Differentiae. The 'second glossary' likewise passed from Africa into Spain, where its *caltulum* lemma was borrowed, as we have seen, by Isidore. But I prefer to regard it as a quite different book from the paltry Placidus glossary (in which all that is valuable is the mere traditional stock-in-trade of the Grammatici). I am unwilling to allow any connexion of the 'shorter glosses' with such Dogberries as Placidus and Placidus' pupil. The preserver of these precious relics of the older Republican literature claims a far higher place; he is worthy of mention beside Nonius Marcellus. Some owner, I take it, of the paltry glossary ('glossae acceptae ex auditorio Placidi grammatici' would be the true title) conceived the idea of adding their gold to the dross of Placidus. As we have seen, he stayed his hand after entering the glosses from A- to P-, being weary of the task of alphabetical selection. If the 'second glossary' had been (like the other) arranged alphabetically, he might have preserved for us the whole of it. That it was not so arranged we see from such glosses (already mentioned) as *caculabor* and *excetra*.

At what time and in what country the Placidus Glossary was enlarged and enriched by the addition of the 'second glossary' we cannot tell. Isidore used both, but, while it is likely, it is not demonstrable that he found the two combined in a single volume. The last word however on the whole

Placidus problem will be spoken by Goetz in vol. I of the *Corpus Glossariorum*, when that long-looked-for volume appears. In his article 'Glossographie' in the *Pauly-Wissowa Encyclopaedia* he does not commit himself to any theory. If he accepts the theory offered here, I hope he will substitute for 'glossae breviores Placidi' the more convenient title 'the pseudo-Placidus glossary'. Of course Deuerling's account (not to mention Ritschl's) is, to a great extent, antiquated now that the *Corpus* has provided the full material in accurate form.

W. M. LINDSAY.

THE 'ABOLITA' GLOSSARY (VAT. LAT. 3321).

One of the most famous MSS. with Latin glossaries is an uncial Vatican MS. which is labelled 'Vat. lat. 3321,' but which I shall call, for shortness, 'Vat.' It is a conglomerate of erudition suitable for monastery-students and has on the first leaf a picture of a monastery-teacher. On foll. 2-163 is a composite glossary printed by Goetz in vol. IV (pp. 3-198) of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. (It is followed by Eucherius Instr. II.) The compiler used as ground-work the well known 'Abstrusa' Glossary (I use the symbol 'Abstr.'), so called because its first gloss is *Abstrusa: abscondita*. He added to it the contents of another, of which no separate copies are extant. The addition, which is about as large as the *Abstrusa* groundform, is kept separate in Goetz' apograph by being enclosed in square brackets. These non-*Abstrusa* portions I shall indicate by the symbol 'Abol.', since their first gloss in the Vatican MS. is *Abolita: abstersa vel deleta*.

It is convenient to speak of the two component parts as the 'Abstrusa' Glossary and the 'Abolita' Glossary, even though critics may question the claim of the latter to the name. In some glossary-fragments at Munich mentioned by Goetz on p. xiii of his preface are relics of a still wider combination than in Vat. Its compiler used not merely *Abstr.* and *Abol.* (or extracts from them) but many other glossaries (or lists), and indicated each source by a capital letter in the margin. The *Abstr.* portions he indicated by the letter V, the *Abol.* portions by L. From the very scanty details given by Goetz it seems as if the batch of Terence glosses on p. 193 of vol. IV (*Vitio dent*, from Andr. 8; *Viso*, from Andr. 535, etc.) may conceivably have been a later accretion. For the gloss *Virops* (no. 36 on p. 193)

is immediately followed by a gloss which may be based on Festus, the gloss Vitiligo (193, 40): *macula alba in corpore: ἀλφόν Graeci et ψώραν vocant* (cf. Paul. Fest. 507, Vitiligo in corpore hominis macula alba quam Graeci ἀλφόν vocant... Lucilius: Haec odiosa mihi vitiligo est. Num dolet? inquit). It is the presence of several more or less certain Festus glosses in the Abolita Glossary which necessitates this enquiry into its history.

Vat. (which contains Isidore's *Differentiae*) was absurdly assigned by Mai to the 6th century. Goetz and his friend Gustav Loewe preferred the 7th, but the most recent judgments (by Liebaert and Loew) declare for the 8th. In Class. Quart. 10, 115 reason is given for believing it to have been written in Central Italy.

If Italian uncial is hard to date, South Italian minuscule can now be dated with precision, thanks to Dr Loew; so we may refer to the 10th century another representative of this compound glossary, a Monte Cassino MS. (no. 439), which I shall call 'Cass.' (cf. Loew 'Beneventan Script,' p. 350).

A palaeographer can have no doubt about the archetype's home. It was Spain. That is proved firstly by such spellings as:

f for *v*, e.g. 16, 25 *deforatores* (Abol.); 42, 29 *deforat* (Abol.); 124, 17 (Abstr.); 149, 47 (Abstr.). Similarly *v* for *f* very often. We seem to have a Spaniard's spelling of *profanum* in 151, 14 (from Festus 256, 6 = Plaut. fr. inc. 38) *Provanum habes: parvi penditur*. And if the first transcription of 50, 28 in Vat., *devotionem*, is more correct than *defectionem*, we may suppose that *despondeo* had in the annotated passage (*hic*) the sense of *devoveo* (*inscribo in tabula devotionis*). This gloss, *Despondit: hic in devotionem dedit*, would then confirm 50, 30 *Despensi: steriles*.

nicil and *mici* at 125, 17 (Abstr.), 177, 47 (Abol.);

perhaps also *au* for *ab*, e.g. 11, 32 (Abstr.), 151, 23 (Abol.).

So read 121, 38 *Mut[il]at placitum: violat, abiurat (aut iurat MSS.)*.

Secondly by the occasional survival of the Spanish abbreviation-symbols, *ihrslm* 'Iherusalem' 117, 2^a (Abol.); if this gloss comes from the archetype, and the 'per'-symbol at 15, 3 aliquan-

tisper (Abstr.) and 72, 21 semper (Abstr.). An Italian transcriber would take the Spanish 'per'-symbol for 'pro'; and we find *pro* for *per* at 29, 48 (Abol.), 132, 5 (Abol.), etc. In 139, 8 (Abol., not Abstr.) Peierat : ⟨per⟩iurat is probably the result of Peierat *pro* iurat, just as the Virgil gloss (or rather scrap of Virgil) *Muscos fontes* seems due to *Muscos i.* ('id est') *fontes*. The abbreviation-stroke over *flagra* at 183, 6 (Abol.) makes one think of the peculiarly Spanish abbreviation of the word *flagellum*, an abbreviation which would puzzle any Italian scribe. The gloss (from Festus?) may have been *Taenias : vittae sacerdotum, apud Praenestinos flagella* (i.e. at Praeneste the word bore the sense of *flagella*).

Thirdly by the very frequent substitution of *a* for *t*; since an Italian scribe would find Spanish minuscule *t* difficult to distinguish from Italian *a*. A few examples are : 82, 12 (Abstr.) *gestia* (for -tit); 82, 29 (Abstr.) *geria* (for -rit); 83, 12 (Abstr.) *gliscia* (for -cit). We should read 115, 20 *Memor : eo quod manet in mente[m]* (*maneam mentem* Vat.). In its more cursive form Spanish *t* resembles *o*; and we find *o* for *t* here and there in the compound glossary but not nearly so often as *a* for *t*.

Both constituents (Abstr. and Abol.) were therefore transcribed in an Italian scriptorium from a (minuscule) MS. which had been brought to Italy from Spain. Whether they arrived as two separate glossaries, or (as seems more natural) the compound glossary had already been compiled in Spain, is an open question. There are faint indications that the common original of Vat. and Cass. was written by an Italian; the un-Spanish *n̄* 'non' at e.g. 91, 49 (Abol.) and *ē* 'est' at e.g. 30, 30 (Abol.), 73, 12 (Abstr.)¹; but only faint. So much however is clear, that the alphabetical arrangement in Abol. had not been carried so far as in Abstr. The Abstrusa Glossary (by ABC-) regards the three opening letters of the word, the Abolita Glossary (by AB-) the first two only. Early scribes did not always recognise a

¹ That the Virgil glossary printed by Goetz in his vol. iv (pp. 427 sqq.) shews the same *Fasem* for *Fas est* is a curious coincidence, but nothing more.

Even the Virgil glosses in Abol. are not so closely connected with the Virgil Glossary as all that.

difference between a beginning like *fa-* and one like *fla-*, between *po-* and *pro-*, etc.; and so we detect from errors in transcription not merely that Comitatus followed immediately Comisatio in the Abol. archetype, but also that Postumus came directly after Proculus. (Or is 148, 2 a compound gloss?)

The grafting of an AB- order upon an ABC- order must have played mischief with accuracy¹. We cannot expect to get in Vat. or Cass. a correct presentation of the Abolita Glossary; especially in the longer sections such as the SU-section, in which four separate Abol. portions (of 32, 32, 18 and 28 glosses) are inserted (the Abstr. section being thus broken up into four portions of 27, 23, 26 and 14 glosses). Sometimes it seems as if the end of a page (column, leaf) was in these longer sections deemed a suitable place for the interposition of a portion of Abol.; for any less mechanical procedure would hardly have sandwiched the Abol. glosses 166, 20-42 between two so closely related Abstr. glosses as Sambucistria and Sambucinaris: ipse qui dicit (i.e. sings to her music). Similarly two Abol. glosses from the same line of Virgil (Aen. 1, 475) are separated by an Abstr. portion (36, 45-37, 14). If the same thing has happened in a Terence-batch, we should read at 162, 45 Resipisce (not Repeda). When a section begins with an Abol. (instead of Abstr.) portion, we may suppose that the preceding section had not reached to the end of the page (column) in the MS. of the Abolita Glossary. We may find too a clue to the pagination of the (or rather an) archetype of the compound glossary in corrections which we may suppose to have been entries in the upper or lower margin of a page, and to have been erroneously transcribed as separate glosses where they stood. To give two examples out of many: 112, 17 seems a (lower margin) correction of 112, 3-4; 172, 8 is a similar correction of 171, 46; and the riddle of 68, 33, Ex hoc: [magnifica vel a] modo, is solved if *magnifica, bella* was in the Abolita Glossary the corrected form (lower margin) of the interpretation-half of 67,

¹ In the PO-section, when we find that an Abstr. portion which ends POR- (at the gloss Portenta, 146, 28) is immediately followed by some Abol.

glosses beginning with these three letters, we suspect that these glosses have been shifted to this Abol. portion.

22 (or 68, 20^a) Eximia: magnifica. But these detections of the pagination of an archetype throw little light on the history of our text's transmission unless we can specify the archetype to which they refer. They help rather as examples of intrusion and displacement of glosses. An Abstr. gloss may have in this way wandered into an Abol. portion.

On the other hand it is important to notice that some Abol. glosses have not been enclosed in square brackets by Goetz. For examples we may select three which might put in a claim to be Festus glosses: 143, 16 Pipatio (the bracket should be shifted from no. 19 to no. 16; while no. 18, an intruder from no. 34^a, is an Abstr. gloss which may come from the same paragraph of a Grammar as supplied 145, 26; cf. 77, 23 and the Abavus gloss 343, 43); 144, 37 Plancus; 158, 26 Quique. Also 195, 31 Volutabra, etc. To judge from Goetz' apparatus, all these, and many others, are Abol. (not Abstr.) glosses.

Glossary-compilers and glossary-transcribers seize every opportunity of adding to their stock by what may be dignified with the name of cross-references. When a correction was written beside a gloss, both forms (the corrected and the uncorrected) were pressed into service by the next transcriber. The faulty Devulgat: notum facit was corrected at some time or other by the superscription of *divulgat*. This was transcribed thus:

Divulgat: notum facit.

Devulgat: quod supra.

Finally the lower gloss was whisked off to the DE- section, so that we find at 52, 39 (Abol.) Devulgat: quod supra, and four pages later (56, 28 Abstr.) Divulgat: notum facit. The 'quod supra' reveals the origin of the doublet in this case, and shews us that an Abstr. gloss has strayed into the Abol. portion.

This phrase 'quod (qui, quae) supra' (our 'ditto') was in the archetype often written q̄s (our 'd°'), a symbol sometimes retained in our MSS., sometimes expanded. It is wrongly expanded ('quae supra') in Vat. at 140, 28 Pervagatur: quod supra, a reference to 140, 26 Pererrat: perambulat vel peragrat. It would be hypercritical to insist that the intervening gloss

(140, 27) must be a later insertion. But the phrase often reveals a disturbance of the original order, and the symbol has often puzzled transcribers. One who mistook it for 'quaestio' (or 'quae sunt'?) has substituted qst as a more familiar form for his readers (see Goetz' *Thesaurus Glossarum*, s.v. *Factionarius*, where this is wrongly explained as 'qui praeest'). The gloss *Parma: genus scuti* (137, 29) was followed by a synonym *Parmula: quae (quod) supra* (137, 31), but this *Parmula* was wrongly transcribed 'Parimula.' The correction *Parmula* has wandered as a separate gloss (like the wrong form *Devulgat*) to 136, 29, while the wrong form *Parimula* retains the true place of the gloss (so correct *Thes. Gloss.* s.v. *Parimula*).

Other abbreviation-symbols of the archetype that deserve mention are the pair current in all glossaries, *ā* 'aut' and *ū* 'vel.' Though they are found throughout *Vat.*, they have often produced errors: e.g. 23, 16 (corrected at 23, 24) and 60, 22 (*a* for *aut*); 51, 6 (*an* for *aut*); 85, 21 (*aut* for *am*); 64, 35 (*um* for *vel*); 79, 57 (*vel* for *um*). Perhaps we should read 132, 18 *Olympum: caelum, immane* (miswritten *ūmane*). The capricious suspension *poſ* 'positus' (128, 38) was transferred as it stood to *Cass.*, but has been wrongly expanded to *post* in *Vat.* (cf. *neġ* 'negotii' 82, 27). I find trace of the initial-letter suspension, so frequent in quotations, in 99, 14, if the initial form was *Intrio: infundo*, *ut* (?) 'tute h(oc) i(ntristi)'; also in the repeated word at 29, 34 *Caperratum supercilium: triste s(upercilium)*.

So much for the history of the transmission. The history of the compilation of the *Abolita Glossary* is far more difficult and, if the alphabetical arrangement had been carried as far as in the *Abstrusa Glossary*, would be impossible. On this point a word or two is necessary. We have seen that *Abstr.* is arranged by ABC-; *Abol.* by AB- only. But in reality every glossary exhibits a movement towards more and more precision of alphabetical arrangement. In another MS. with our compound glossary (only a part, I to P, etc.) we find the two constituents amalgamated into one alphabetically arranged lexicon (by ABC-). This MS., *Vat. lat.* 6018, written, I think, in the beginning of the 9th century in North Italy (or Switzerland?), represents a later stage than *Cass.*, whose arrangement

agrees more with Vat. (where Cass. differs from Vat.'s order we are not informed by Goetz' apparatus). We are fortunate in having so early a representative of the text as Vat. But even in Vat. there is movement in the usual direction, and the division-line between the ABC- arrangement of Abstr. and the AB- arrangement of Abol. is not maintained throughout. Thus Abstr. does not adapt itself to ABC- till the DEF- words are reached (unless we except the CON- group), and elsewhere occasionally (e.g. in the OR- and PL- sections) remains at the AB- stage; while, on the other hand, it reaches sometimes (as in the PRO- section) the ABCD- stage. Abol. sometimes attains the ABC- stage. An example is the TR- section, where Vat. actually offers the heading 'De T et R et A,' although the arrangement breaks down here and there; e.g. the TRI- section shews (186, 41) Treumite: semitae, followed by its cognate and better spelt gloss Tramites: viae transversae, then by an apparent Festus gloss Transennam dicit tegulas per quas lumen admittitur Luc(ilius), a transeundo appell(atam). We may guess that Tramites was attracted to this part by Treumite, and took along with it the neighbouring Festus gloss. These few details may suffice to remind us that even in Vat. we find the Abolita Glossary in a form so appreciably removed from the original order and contents, that the lines of the frame-work are no longer clearly discernible.

One portion, the Virgil glosses (not discerned by Funck in *Commentationes Woelflinianae*), is however so patent as to suggest a later accretion. In most sections we find unmistakeable batches of these, arranged usually in the order of their occurrence, and so can restore with confidence a number of corrupt glosses to their original form: e.g. 52, 50-51 Decolor aetas: non similis, desidua debilitata (Aen. 8, 326); 169, 51 Set res animos incognita t(urbat), an actual scrap of Virgil (Aen. 1, 515). Conjectures like Acres animos: incitatos (Journ. Phil. 20, 57) are thus sent to limbo, the limbo that ever threatens any unmethodical or 'feet-on-the-hob' emendation. Here and there an error of transcription reveals the earliest arrangement of these Virgilian 'glossae collectae,' by A-, not AB-. Thus 152, 12, Prima peto (: primum locum, Perculit:) percussum deiecit,

shews the gloss *Prima peto* (Aen. 5, 194) immediately preceding the gloss *Perculit* (Aen. 5, 372). Similarly, if 126, 13 is really *Non* {ullo}: *nullo*, *Nec posse: nec valere*, we find *Non ullo* (Georg. 1, 22) immediately preceding *Nec posse* (Aen. 1, 38). Indeed if we could believe the compilation of the IN- section to be typical of the whole, we could not hesitate to call these Virgil glosses a later accretion. For they stand at the end of the section, and retain the AB- arrangement, whereas the preceding Abol. portions have, we may say, advanced to the ABC- order. But a wider survey convinces us that this feature of the IN- section is not a feature of each and every section. In the SI- section the Virgil-batch comes early; in the TR- section there is more than one batch, conforming to the ABC- arrangement, e.g. a TRA-batch at 186, 10 sqq., a TRO- batch at 187, 5 sqq. The Spanish spelling of *mihi* appears in a Virgil gloss (177, 47) *Sunt mici: habeo*. We are driven to the conclusion that the Virgil glosses stand on the same footing as the other constituents of the Abolita Glossary. It is their large number that gives them their prominence and their fairly well preserved coherence.

The Terence glosses (investigated by Gnaeg 'de glossis Terentianis cod. Vatican, 3321,' Jena, 1903) are not nearly so numerous, and therefore Terence-batches are not so prominent as Virgil-batches. Still they are fairly prominent in many of the sections and in some manage to retain fairly well the order of occurrence in the plays, so that conjectural emendation passes from conjecture to certainty. Thus we can refer to Hec. 629 (*dic filiae rus concessuram hinc Sostratam*) the gloss (43, 19) *Concessurum: migraturum* (*leg. -turam?*), and get a hint of a MS. of Terence which preserved in this line the old indeclinable *Fut. Inf.* It is unlucky that the Terence Glossary printed by Goetz in vol. v (pp. 529 sqq.) is drawn from only Andr., Adel., Eun. (in this order); for it reveals to us a MS. which had at Andr. 814 the true reading *grandicula* (see Thes. Gloss. s.v. and Kauer in Burs. Jahresb. 143, 183). It retains the primitive alphabetical arrangement (by A-, not AB-) and presents the glosses in each section in the order of their occurrence. Here and there an error of transcription reveals to us the earliest stage of all, the unsorted 'glossae collectae'; e.g. *Callide* (Adel.

417) was immediately followed by (I)staec (Adel. 418), Flos ipse (Eun. 319) by Vi (Eun. 319). To return to the Abolita Glossary, if the Virgil glosses of Abol. need not be regarded as later accretions, much less need the Terence glosses. Allowing 132, 5 Offirmare to be a Terence gloss (from Eun. 217), we find a Spanish symptom in the Terence portion of Abol., for Vat. offers *produrare* instead of *perdurare*.

Loewe (Prodr. p. 144) affirms the presence of a number of Apuleius glosses. I find them (e.g. Agasone 13, 37 ?) hard to detect (in the absence of an Apuleius Lexicon). An example of a possible Apuleius-batch in the CA- section is 29, 33-35: Crapula (Met. 8, 13 ?), Caperratum (Met. 9, 16 ?), Carchesium (Met. 11, 16 ?); another in the CI- section: Caeruleus (Met. 2, 9 ?), Circumforaneis (Met. 3, 2), Citimum (Socr. 8 ?), Circumlocutiones (Apol. 33 ?); another in the CO- section: Commodum (e.g. Met. 1, 24), Continantur (e.g. Met. 1, 24 ; 5, 31), Concipulassent (Met. 9, 2 ?), Comitialis morbus (Apol. 50 ?), Copia (e.g. Apol. 20), Confertos (Flor. 17), etc. These three examples at least reveal the danger in claiming for Festus each and every Early Latin gloss in Abol. It may be a Terence gloss; it may be an Apuleius gloss (possibly from a lost work of Apuleius), etc. Thus Vitiligo (mentioned at the beginning of this article) might be referred to Apol. 50; Aquariolus (if that is the true form of 135, 7, a gloss which one is tempted to complete by the *vel optio* of 128, 18) to Apol. 78. But Appendix: socia, comes, which has been referred to Met. 5, 24, is really an intruder from the Abstrusa Glossary (10, 35).

The Festus glosses, to come at last to the real subject of this article, are also hard to detect. There have been so many false claimants that we are justly sceptical; the gloss Scrupea, for example (see Thes. Gloss. s.v.). I find it more likely that a marginal note on Aen. 6, 238 produced two Virgil glosses, Scrupea: saxa nigra, Scopuli: saxa grandia, just as the note on Aen. 2, 23 seems to have been Carinae: medium navium, Rostra: pectora navium. The most convincing claimant is 123, 45 which appeared in the archetype as two glosses:

Nequinunt pro nequeunt ut solent.

Nequiunt greciam redire,

a corrupt version of a redaction of Festus p. 160 Nequinont pro nequeunt, ut solinunt, ferinunt pro solent et feriunt, dicebant antiqui. Livius in Odissia 'partim errant, nequinunt Graeciam redire.' (Paulus' Epitome reduces all this to a couple of words, Nequinont: nequeunt.) The long gloss (precisely how long it was is uncertain) has been broken into two; and since the two luckily begin with the same pair of letters, it has not suffered the fate of another gloss (from Festus¹?) not so long, whose second part has been whisked off from the AU- section to the AB- section at 4, 25, viz. 23, 11 Ausonia Italia dicta | ab Ausonio Ulyxis et Calypsus filio (cf. Thes. Gloss. s.v. Tartarus for another long gloss similarly treated). The corruption of the gloss Nequinunt we may refer to a very natural leap of the transcriber's eye from *solinunt* to *solent*: Nequinunt pro nequeunt, ut (solinunt pro) solent; 'nequinunt Graeciam redire.'

From this (we may say) indubitable example we may infer that the Festus glosses of Abol. did not come from marginalia like the Nonius Glossary printed by Goetz in vol. v (pp. 637 sqq.). Nor can we believe the gloss Nequinunt to have been a scholium on another author. For what passage of what author could information of this sort be required? Now that Anspach's discovery (see Class. Quart. 10, 110) has revealed to us the use by Italian ecclesiastics of a text of Festus as a quarry for scholia, our first impulse is to regard the Festus glosses as a later accretion to Abol., added when Abol. reached Italy. That is certainly the most natural explanation of the small group (printed by Goetz on p. xviii of the preface to vol. iv) which has intruded into an Italian MS. of the Asbestos Glossary, Vat. lat. 1469 written in 908 (in, I think, Central Italy); not the Monte Cassino MS. (no. 218) written in 909. It is too suitable an explanation to be overcome by the argument (Rhein. Mus. 40, 35) that two of the Lucilius citations specify the book from which they are taken ('Lucilius in xxii,' 'Lucilius in ii Satirarum'), while Festus normally does not (but cf. Fest. 180 Noctipugam ... Lucilius lib. ii). But I see no reason for believing the Festus

¹ If it is, then its neighbour may quam essent necessaria usu). But be also; if we read Aplustrum: amplius Augustum is a plausible reading. ficatum (cf. Paul. 9 quia erant amplius

glosses of Abol. to stand on a different footing from the Virgil or Terence or Apuleius glosses. From the Spanish symptoms *pro* for *per* and *v* for *f* (unless the verb was *vehebantur*) we can infer that the gloss Carracutium (29, 48) came to Italy from Spain. But we cannot (with our present knowledge) be sure that it is a Festus gloss. Its neighbour Capronae (29, 49) we might claim for Festus (rather than Apuleius Flor. 3 promulsis caproneis) if its original form was Capronae (ut Lucilius 'fluitare capronas'); hic medios inter tempora capillos. Proprie vero equorum iubae, etc. Certainly the word *hic* 'in this passage' suggests that the line of Lucilius (288 Ma.) which contains the word in the accusative case (the case of *capillos*) and with this unusual meaning had preceded.

As regards Festus-batches the order in Festus, or at least in Paulus' Epitome (not quite the same thing), supports the claim, e.g. in the AG- section of Aegrum: (ἀ)νύγρον (Paul. 6), Agonia and Agina (Paul. 9), Ammenta (Paul. 11) (but the first may be Atrum: nigrum); in the CE- section of Creperis (Paul. 46), Creterrae (Paul. 46, later than Creperum), Cernuus (Paul. 48); in the OB- section of Obbrutuit (Paul. 201),... Obstipum (Paul. 210),... Obmoveto pro moveto (prom.?) (a) d ant (e) (Paul. 222); in the OF- section of Offucias (Paul. 211), Offendix (Paul. 223), a couple which becomes a trio if we include Offivebant: claudebant seris (but see Thes. Gloss. s.v. officio). Landgraf (Arch. Lat. Lexicogr. 9, 170) wrongly uses this Offendix gloss in a Monte Cassino MS. (no. 90) of the 11th (not 10th) century as proof that the glossary in this MS. draws from Festus and not merely from Paulus' Epitome; for the gloss has clearly been borrowed from the Abolita Glossary.

But if the long Virgil and Terence groups were liable to have their arrangement disturbed, much more the smaller Festus groups. If a mere two or three glosses were contributed to an Abol. section, they would be apt to attach themselves to glosses of similar form or meaning. Thus the gloss Nequinunt seems to owe its position at 123, 45 to the presence of a gloss Nequeo at 123, 44. We can claim 19, 27, Apagete: aperite, for an (apparently) isolated Terence gloss; it is so peculiarly appropriate to a wrong-headed marginal note on the *apage te* of Eun.

904 (spoken 'ante ostium,' v. 895). We can equally claim as a Festus gloss 115, 19, *Metalli dicuntur in legem*, for this fragment can be restored to its original form (or something like it) with the help of Festus 132. The gloss was originally:

*Metalli dicuntur in lege mi
litari mercennarii*

(cf. 36, 22); and any Glossary which provides an item like, let us say, *Litterarii: mercennarii* may claim affinity with Abol. Another fragmentary Festus gloss has been found in 121, 4 *Muscerdas dicebant antiqui* (from Fest. 132 *Muscerdas prima syllaba producta dicebant antiqui stercus murum*). But it is conceivable that what the compiler wrote was *Mūscerdas*, etc. (with the mark of length over the *u*). Again 92, 1 *Insulae* agrees so closely with Paulus, p. 98 (as also 20, 27 *Arma*; 24, 1 *Aullas*; 27, 49–51 *Capulus*, etc.) that it can hardly be anything but a Festus gloss. (Does the mysterious *ut in mari natum* of 92, 3 belong to it?)

Enough has been said to prove that there are Festus glosses in Abol. To attempt a full list of them is not my purpose here; but this is a suitable opportunity for discussing a point of importance. Some possible Festus glosses appear in Cass. only, not in Vat. How can we decide whether they appeared in the archetype? A good example is 185, 41^b *Tongiliatim loqui: pravis verbis*, a *Tongilio parasito qui hoc invenerat risus aucupium, ut salutanti convicium responderet, maledicentem blandissime salutaret*.

That Cass., the later MS., has many insertions is undoubted (cf. Goetz' apparatus passim). The three Eucherius glosses (which observe the order of their occurrence in the *Formulae*) at the beginning of the AR- section (20, 17–19) are quite likely to be insertions (Vat. n.l.). The beginnings and ends of sections are appropriate places for insertions. But just as Cass. often shews the correct form of a gloss (e.g. the *Offendix* gloss 132, 3) where Vat. has departed from the archetype, so Cass. may and often does retain a gloss of the archetype which Vat. has omitted. The omission in Vat. may be an accident; e.g. the omission of *Remillo* and *Recellit* after *Recellens* (162, 6)

is clearly due to a 'saltus oculi' from *Recellens* to *Recellit*. It may be designed, in the case of long glosses; for these spoil the symmetry of an uncial page (more than in minuscule) and are apt to be sacrificed to convenience. We have clear traces of the deliberate curtailment of long glosses in Vat.; e.g. the Abstr. gloss *Pyra* is curtailed to three words (143, 35); compare *Culleus* (47, 20) and *Excetra* (70, 22) and *Decrepiti* (50, 29) and *De dimenso tuo* (50, 24) and *Fitilla* (76, 47). The long Abstr. gloss *Labyrinthum* (103, 26^a) is wholly omitted. Now *Festus* glosses would often be long; so we must give Cass. the benefit of the doubt in such a gloss as *Tongiliatim loqui*. On the other hand the long gloss *Asylum* which Cass. offers in the AB- section (3, 20^a) comes from the *Placidus Glossary*; and a borrowing from *Placidus* (124, 1 *Neotericus* cannot be proved to be a *Placidus* gloss, though it is worthy of the Christian 'semidoctus') or the pseudo-*Placidus Glossary* (133, 27, *Opplere: oblivisci ad plenum*, really does seem a misapprehension of *Oppletum: oblītum usque ad plenum*) has yet to be proved. And Cass. has interpolated from *Isidore* such long glosses as *Mitra* (117, 12^a) and *Monile* (118, 28^a), from *Etym.* 19, 31, 4 and 12; *Melotes* (115, 12^a), from *Etym.* 19, 24, 19. (Since 6, 9^a *Aconita[s]* presumably comes from *Etym.* 17, 9, 25, the Latin *Thesaurus* should not give prominence, s.v. *aconitum*, to the miswriting in Cass.)

A famous *Leyden glossary* has been resolved by Dr Hessels into its constituent atoms with the help of the headings which are prefixed to each part (*Glossae Verborum de Canonibus; de Eusebio; de Catalogo Hieronymi*, etc.). The *Abolita Glossary* has no such divisions and no such headings, and its re-arrangement has reached the AB- stage, so that even the detection of all the books used by its compiler may be now unattainable. Still the *Virgil glosses* and *Terence glosses* can be discriminated without too much difficulty (it is unfortunate that this was not rightly recognized when Goetz wrote the *Thesaurus Glossarum*) and two slighter threads are easy to pick out. One is a list of Greek technical terms of rhetoric, etc., e.g. at the end of the AN- section, *Antiphrasis* (18, 35) to *Analogia* (18, 45). The gloss *Antiphrasis* is longer than the rest and reappears in

fuller form in *Anecd. Helv.* p. xlviij (*Lib. Gloss.*) where the characteristic addition of an example from the Bible has suggested to more than one scholar the work of Julian of Toledo (*Hagen in Anecd. Helv.* p. xlv; *Funaioli in Riv. Filol.* 39, 42 sqq.). Another thread is a list from some *Onomatologia Sacra*(?), e.g. in the AB- section (5, 17) *Abennezer: lapis adiutorii*.

What of the rest? Since the known part consists of 'glossae collectae' from authors (*Virgil, Terence, etc.*), we have a right to infer that the unknown part is similarly composed, and that a lucky discovery or two may enable us to map out the whole region. Let us take the CO- section, one of the longest, as a sample of the *Abolita Glossary*; for the *Latin Thesaurus* is available for this part. The glosses within square brackets are some 300 in all, but if we identify with the help of the *Thes. Gloss.* the intruders from the *Abstrusa Glossary*, the number is reduced by about forty. Thus 40, 4-7 = 39, 17-20; or to take an example from the AE- section, 12, 3 *Aeneatores: tubicines* is an *Abstrusa* gloss (12, 3-4 = 11, 47-48) which has intruded (by the avenue of 'cross-reference,' or of 'marginal correction'); although 12, 11 *Aenatores: cornicines* is genuine *Abol.*, perhaps a *Festus* gloss (cf. *Paul.* 18 *Aenatores cornicines dicuntur, id est cornu canentes*). Any gloss which appears in *Abstr.* as well as *Abol.* must be really an *Abstrusa* gloss and must therefore be ignored in our investigation of the *Abolita Glossary*. And this reduced number, say 260, is further reduced by some half-dozen through the detection of repetitions. Thus the gloss, apparently a *Virgil* gloss (from *Aen.* 2, 1), *Conticuere: tacuerunt*, appears at 36, 15 in correct and 38, 22 and 39, 22 in incorrect form. Since it seems an isolated gloss, its true place is hard to tell. And, no doubt, a certain number more may be subtracted as mere fragments; e.g. 44, 20, *Cornicines: qui cum cornibus cantant*, may be the second half of the gloss *Aenatores*, just mentioned, and properly belong to the *Festus*-contingent in the AE- section. This possibility must always be reckoned with in investigating glosses; e.g. 31, 25 becomes intelligible if its original form was <Caducos>: *casuros vel cadentes*; 23, 38, which parades as an *Abol.* gloss, is the second half of the *Abstr.*

gloss 23, 9 : although the Latin Thesaurus does not allow us to refer *Catervatus* (29, 2) to any writer, we must remember that the original gloss may have been ⟨*Stipatus*⟩: *catervatus*, *multitudine circumdatus*, possibly a Virgil gloss like the preceding *Cano* and the following *Cantus dederunt*. Further, 45, 23–24 may be one gloss *Contactus*: *inquinatus*, *contagie* (-io?) *contactus* [in *culturis*?], just as 45, 18–19 are one, *Colon dictio longa*, *Comma brevis*.

With these reductions we find that the CO- section, which we have taken as a sample of the whole *Abolita* Glossary, offers less than 250 glosses for our investigation. At (or about) the beginning comes an apparent *Festus*-batch. The last (36, 28) contains, I think, a citation, its real form being *Comtionalis senex*: ⟨...‘*comtionalis senex*’ *emptus* (-tu’s), *manu missus* (-su’s) *et tutor auctor factus* (-tu’s).’ If so, the citations in the Latin Thesaurus, s.v. *comptionalis* (or rather the etymological but not current spelling ‘*coemptionalis*’) must be raised from two to four, since the sentence of Livy (3, 72, 3 *comtionali seni*) which stands s.v. *contionalis* must certainly be transferred here. (On the spelling -mt-, -ms- in Livy see Wessely’s preface to the Sijthoff facsimile of the Vienna codex.) With the mistake *cont-* for *comt-* compare 38, 39 *Contius*: *ornatius*. After the *Festus*-batch comes a long Virgil-batch. Then, somewhere on p. 38 (a page full of Abstr. intruders, as are also pp. 39–40) we are lost, until we find ourselves again on ‘*terra cognita*’ at the *Apuleius*-batch on p. 40. A long *Terence*-batch seems to follow. Then another unknown region on pp. 44–45. Finally a second Virgil-batch.

The amount of ‘*terra incognita*’ is therefore not so very large. The discovery of a single author used as fully as *Terence* has been used would almost suffice to redeem it. The Latin Thesaurus enables us to ascertain that it is in none of the works recognized by that comprehensive lexicon but rather in later works (of Spanish¹ ecclesiastics, etc.?) that the sources will have to be sought of such glosses as *Condensantes*

¹ A Spanish compiler is suggested in the gloss *Angiportum*. Cf. *Class. by the use of callis* for ‘a town-lane’ *Quart.* 6, 39.

(38, 31), Cottidianitas (38, 35), Constuduit (38, 37). The discovery of even one such source might throw enough light to facilitate the separation of the Festus glosses from the mass. For the present we may console ourselves with the reflection that, if it is a virtue for the student of grammar 'aliqua nescire,' the student of glossaries must usually make a virtue of the necessity 'pleraque nescire.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

HORACE *CARM.* I 14.

O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus? O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum. Nonne vides ut
Nudum remigio latus
Et malus celeri saucius Africo
Antennaeque gemant, ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinae
Possint imperiosius
Aequor? Non tibi sunt integra lintea,
Non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo.
Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Silvae filia nobilis,
Iactes et genus et nomen inutile,
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
Fidit: tu nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, cave.
Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
Nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
Interfusa nitentes
Vites aequora Cycladas.

The poem is an allegory; the ship is the ship of state. So much Quintilian tells us expressly (viii 8, 44): ἀλληγορία, quam inversionem interpretantur, aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendit, etiam interim contrarium. Prius, ut *O navis...portum* totusque ille Horatii locus, quo navem pro republica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace et concordia dicit. In the face of words like this it seems to me impertinent, almost indecent, to dispute the generally allegorical character of the ode.

But when we come to the real meaning of it, the problem assumes a different aspect. For the many guesses which have been given it will be sufficient to refer to the commentators, and the summary given by Orelli; *pensitatis interpretum sententiis de huius carminis argumento ac tempore id lucramur, ut ex incertis incertiores fiamus*. No fresh light, so far as I am aware, has been thrown since Orelli's day, and recent editions give up any attempt to define more closely.

Any solution has to explain two points, which must, if the ode has any inner meaning at all, be significant guides. Why is the Roman state called a "Pontic" keel? And why is there special danger for her in the channels between the Cyclades? The latter especially, from its emphatic position at the end, must be the kernel of the whole allegory.

To say, with Wickham, that "the pine of Pontus, the Cyclades, belong to the ship" is merely a helpless abandonment of any claim of Horace to be worth a moment's attention so far as his use of words is concerned. All ships were not built in Pontus, nor were they employed in nothing else than in sailing through the Cyclades.

Pontus was of course one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, of all the ancient seats of ship-building. So was Bithynia, where Catullus bought his yacht; and in I xxxv 10 "Bithyna," and for that matter the Carpathium pelagus, may be said to "belong to the ship." But there were other famous centres of ship-building, notably Ida; and commentators have not failed to ask why Horace did not call the Roman state an "Idaeon keel," with an obviously appropriate reference to the origin of Rome. What is obvious to us must have been at least equally obvious to Horace; if he said "Pontic" and not "Idaeon," it must have been with a purpose. A poet cannot venture upon allegory without weighing every word and assuring himself that it has a definite reference to his hidden meaning. But he may have it in view to obscure that meaning for reasons of his own. Horace may have wished the careless reader to be misled by the parallel of Pontica and Cyclades with Bithyna and Carpathium; but if he was really writing an allegory to be understood only by the *συμβετοί*—and that is presumably

the case here—he must have been all the more anxious in the choice of words which should lead those for whom he was writing to see through the veil. And I believe that it is still possible to understand, even for us.

Let us turn to another famous passage, which is at all events in *pari materia*, the prophecy of Juno in III iii 56;

Sed bellicosus fata Quiritibus
Hac lege dico, ne nimium pii
Rebusque fidentes avitae
Tecta velint reparare Troiae.

All commentators refer here to the passage of Suetonius which tells us that Julius Caesar shortly before his death was contemplating, according to the current rumours of the day, a transference of the capital of the empire from Rome to Alexandria (apparently A. Troas) or Ilium. The conclusion commonly—and in my opinion rightly—drawn is that these rumours were revived in Augustus' day, and that the Prophecy of Juno is to be regarded as a denial, almost semi-official, of their correctness. The earlier poem, I believe, deals with the same theme; it is a covert but passionate protest against the removal of the seat of government—passionate because the danger is sincerely believed to be a real one, and covert because it would not be safe to utter an open attack upon a policy which to all appearance was seriously entertained by Augustus.

One thing at least is clear—that, whether he seriously entertained it or no, his actions at one time of his life were such that they could not fail to give the impression; the rumours at least had a solid foundation in his movements. For two years after Actium he never went to Rome, but spent nearly his whole time in Egypt or at one point or another of the western coast of Asia Minor. His one hurried visit to Italy looks as though it were designed to emphasise the degradation of Rome. When he was called, during the winter of 31—30 B.C. spent in Samos, to deal with his discontented veterans, he sailed to Brundisium, where the senators and deputations were summoned to meet him; he had no sooner despatched the necessary business in 30 days, than he sailed

again to Corinth, Rhodes, Syria and Egypt. The next winter found him again at Samos, and it was not till August of 29 B.C. that he returned to Rome and celebrated his various triumphs.

This virtual deposition of Rome, though only temporary, had of course its intended effect in teaching the lesson that the capital of the empire was in the headquarters of the emperor, wherever he might be, and so contributed substantially, no doubt, to the establishment of the monarchy. But it must certainly have caused Augustus to consider seriously whether the banishment of Rome might not with advantage be made permanent. The question was of course finally decided in the affirmative by Constantine; but it must at least have forced itself upon Augustus. For several years the empire had practically been divided into an eastern and a western half under separate governments. The two halves had to be reunited, and no one could fail to ask whether a new capital, somewhere on the borders of the two, would not form a more central and therefore more effective seat of government. Rome was at the time enthusiastic on behalf of Ilium, its legendary birth-place; and if the change had to be made, Ilium suggested itself inevitably as the least shock to national sentiment.

It had another claim to consideration. The tendency to fission between east and west clearly dated from the overthrow of Mithridates and the annexation of his kingdom some thirty years back. It was this vast addition of territory which had displaced so materially the centre of gravity of the empire. "Rome has become a Pontic power"—so would run the argument for the removal—"and the Pontic territories must be ruled from the water-way between the seas." The argument was a sound one and ultimately prevailed; it probably may have failed in Augustus' mind only because Ilium was a site impossible for a great town, in spite of its command of the water-way; and because public sentiment confined the choice to this one place on the Hellespont. Alexandria Troas might have done; but after all, near though it was to Troy, it was not Troy, and had none of the glamour.

There is then good ground for supposing that the fears of a transference of the capital were not unfounded in the year

following Actium; and the ode is perfectly adapted to an expression of those fears at that particular moment. The battered ship of state is represented as having reached the harbour-bar, and as being about to enter when there is a sudden danger that it will set out to sea again, unfitted and unseaworthy. That is exactly the state of feeling which must have prevailed at Rome when it was learnt that Augustus was not coming further than Brundisium. Horace implores the ship boldly to put into port—let the government be once more settled, and settled finally, in the old capital.

The Pontica pinus now explains itself. To say "I admit that you are a Pontic keel" is the allegorical and poetical way of saying "I admit that you have become a Pontic power"—the great argument of the other side. "What of that?" Horace replies; "it is no more than a grand phrase; and in times of stress policy must not be built on fine phrases"—they are only the paint on the ship. And it is clear that "Idæan" is the last adjective which Horace could use; that would come from the adversaries. An Idæan ship would be sailing home, if it were bound for Ilium, and that is where Horace is eager that it should not sail.

Not less clear is the allusion to the channels of the Cyclades. They are a finger-post pointing straight to Ilium; they are the portal through which every ship bound for the Hellespont from Italy must needs pass. To say "Avoid the Cyclades" means for an Italian "Do not sail for Ilium."

And I feel confident that there is another key to the problem in the next ode; it is no mere chance that I xiv should be immediately followed by

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
 Idæis Helenen perfidus hospitam,
 Ingrato celeres obruit otio
 Ventos, ut caneret fera
 Nereus fata.

The two odes of gloomy foreboding are sharply cut off from the rest of the book by others of light character, amatory, personal, playful; "Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi," "O matre pulcra

filia pulcrior," "Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem." I am convinced that they are meant to be read together.

It will be noticed at once that the "Idaeen ships" appear here with all prominence; the purpose of the ode is to bring out to the full the disasters which did once follow a voyage of Idaean ships to Ilium; the moral is obvious. And the scene is marked in the first line as identical with that of the last line of the preceding ode; the narrow seas, *freta*, where the Idaean ships are becalmed to listen to the "cruel dooms" can, for a ship on a voyage from Sparta to Ilium, only be the very channels mentioned in the preceding line, the *aequora interfusa Cycladas*. This juxtaposition is of course certain, quite apart from any interpretation of either of the two odes, and is a clear indication of some connexion of thought.

My conclusion then is that the two poems were composed at the very time of Augustus' visit to Brundisium in the winter of 31—30, and express the incredulous indignation with which the Romans heard that he was to sail away again without coming to Rome—the note of interrogation after *fluctus* seems to me indispensable; "Can it be true that the waves are once more to carry you off?" Probably the pair may first have been handed round among sympathisers; it was not too safe to oppose openly a policy which was suspected—perhaps with good grounds—to be favoured by Caesar. But there was another safeguard against the danger, if they should come out. For they are both capable of a very different interpretation. The Nereus ode would of course pass, as it has always passed, for a purely mythological poem on the old theme of Troy; there is no patent reason why it should not stand for itself on its own poetical merits. But the preceding ode, xiv, inevitably provokes the question "What ship is meant?" If the question were asked in an awkward manner, as it well might be, it was open to Horace to reply, with an air of extreme innocence, "Of course the ship is that on which Caesar has just arrived in Brundisium, and in which I hear, with the greatest alarm for his personal safety, that he means to sail back to Samos. It is an appeal to him not to run such a risk." The ode would thus be a pendant to the other in which he appeals to Virgil's ship

to bring him safe home; *Navis quae tibi creditum Debes Vergilium* (I 3). There was in fact good reason to fear for Caesar's safety; the voyage from Samos, we are told, had been stormy and dangerous; the ship that bore the emperor's fortunes probably arrived at Brundisium battered and weather-worn; the return voyage through the narrow seas and lee-shores of the Cyclades was full of risks. To know that the emperor was coming at such a season had been to Horace a distressing anxiety; his one desire now was the affectionate longing that such a danger should not be undertaken again. Such would be the ostensible sense of the lines

*Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
Nunc desiderium curaue non levis.*

The covert sense is of course that which is commonly attributed to them—they mark the change in Horace's attitude towards the state since the days of Brutus.

It may be added that the double interpretation would seem to imply a slight variation in the sense of the phrase "*fortiter occupa portum*." In the covert sense the port is Rome, which the ship of state has not yet entered; in this case the words mean "boldly enter the port." In the overt sense, the port is Brundisium, where Caesar's ship is lying. I submit with all reserve that they may also mean "cling to the port."

When Augustus returned to Rome eighteen months later, in August 29 B.C., the policy of any removal of the capital was finally abandoned, and there was no longer any harm in publishing the ode. But Rome did not forget the fright it had had, and it is evident that later on it was worth while to let Horace, in the series of odes on patriotism written with the approval of Augustus, put an end once and for all to rumours, by placing a denial of them in the mouth of Juno. But the first expression of alarm, with its double meaning, remains, when properly interpreted, a pretty piece of wit, a real "*curiosa felicitas*."

WALTER LEAF.

ON SOME ANCIENT PLANT-NAMES. III.

19. ἄμωμον, Diosc. 1. 15.

There cannot be much doubt as to the identification of this; the difficulty is to reconcile the conflicting descriptions of ancient authors. To do so in a convincing way would require the aid of illustrations. I can only summarize the main facts.

Theophrastus, or at any rate the author of the ninth book of the *H. P.*, informs us, 9. 7. 2 τὸ δὲ καρδάμωμον καὶ ἄμωμον οἱ μὲν ἐκ Μηδείας, οἱ δ' ἐξ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν νάρδον. As a fact they all came from India; amomi nardique deliciæ... ex India, Plin. *N. H.* 16. 135. But Pliny in his account begins with stating, amomi uva...ex Indica vite labrusca, *N. H.* 12. 48, and then, following Dioscorides, nascitur et in Armeniæ parte... et in Media et in Ponto. But these, as in other cases, were the trade-routes by which the Indian product, varying in condition from the mode of collection and preparation, would reach the West. Pliny, *N. H.* 12. 50, tells us, simile his et nomine et frutice cardamomum. The latter I see no reason to doubt was the familiar Malabar Cardamom *Elettaria Cardamomum*, still in commerce. This belongs to the same family as Ginger, and the problem is to find some Indian plant of that family which will fit ἄμωμον. It must be premised that, as in other cases, the ancient writers could never have seen the living plant, though some hearsay account of it may have reached them; they could only describe the fragmentary portions which were met with in commerce.

The description of Dioscorides must be studied from this point of view; it is brief and sufficiently obscure. ἄμωμόν ἐστι θαμνίσκος οἶονεὶ βότρυς ἐκ ξύλου ἀντεμπεπλεγμένος ἑαυτῷ. Pliny translates βότρυς by uva, but both words, though especially

applied to the grape, have the general sense of cluster; Pliny himself uses *uva*, 16. 120, of the male flowers of the laurel. *Βότρυς* then was a cluster of dry fruits, ἐκ ξύλου, borne on a woody stalk, and closely packed together; this agrees well enough with the strobilus of an *Amomum*; Fée (1823) arrives at this conclusion without hesitation, *Flore de Virgile*, 17, though he fixes on the wrong species.

It is clear from Pliny that in ancient times there were two theories of the source of ἄμωμον. He mentions the theory of its origin in a vine only to dismiss it, as he probably saw that no known vine could possibly yield a spice. It was no doubt of literary origin and arose from a misinterpretation of *βότρυς*. Dioscorides combines both theories and furnishes the plant with φύλλα βρυονία ὅμοια, i.e. white Bryony, *Bryonia cretica*. The vine theory, however erroneous, is still current; the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 145, says, 'it [*Amomum*] may possibly be *Cissus vitigena* (Linn.) a native of Armenia.' This rests on the respectable authority of Sprengel (1807), *Hist. rei herb.* i. 142. More than twenty years later, *Diosc.* ii. 352, he was still of the same opinion, though he had discovered that the plant was not native in Armenia or outside India. Fraas, *Fl. class.* 98, accepts it with hesitation as the source of ἄμωμον. But Mr J. E. Gamble, who has no rival in a knowledge of the woody plants of India, informs me that *Cissus vitigena* (the correct form), or as it is now called *Vitis Linnei*, is a not very common South Indian species and is not aromatic. I hope this will dispose of the idea that any Indian vine had to do with ἄμωμον. It is however only fair to say that Pliny's *vitis labrusca* and the plant which Dioscorides had in view may represent some report of a wild Indian vine, quite possibly *Vitis repanda*.

We may now turn with more satisfaction to Pliny's second theory, 'ut alii existimavere, e frutice montuoso, palmi altitudine, carpiturque cum radice, manipulatim leniter componitur, protinus fragile.' I have no hesitation in identifying this with the Nepal Cardamom, *Amomum subulatum*; it is an under-shrub, frutex, sending up leafy shoots six feet high, native of the Himalayas, montuosus. The inflorescence which in its fruiting stage constituted the spice, springs from the rhizome, radix,

on a short stalk, palmi altitudine. It is, then, a strobilus consisting of densely crowded fruits, each with a subtending bract or scale-like leaf; these in drying become brittle, protinus fragile: in gathering the strobilus it must be gently compressed with the hand, manipulatum leniter componitur. Pliny adds, laudatur quam maxime Punici mali foliis simile: this is a Plinian ellipsis; what he means is quod folia (i.e. bracts) habet quam maxime Punici mali foliis similia; most like Pomegranate leaves, and therefore unmutilated and colore rufo. These were guarantees of freshness; old samples were bleached, pessimumque candidum, quod et vetustate evenit.

Drug-collectors played tricks, and we know from Galen that physicians had to learn to scrutinize their drugs with care. διὸ καὶ πολλάκις χρὴ τεθεᾶσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα διαγινώσκειν καὶ διακρίνειν ἀλλήλων τὰ παραπλήσια, 14. 56. Pliny tells us that dilapidated samples of ἄμωμον were 'faked' by gumming in pomegranate leaves to replace the defective bracts; adulteratur foliis Punicis et gummi liquido, ut cohæreat convolvatque se in uvæ modum.

I confess myself baffled by what Dioscorides says about ἄμωμῖς, but so was Pliny, apparet aut aliud esse aut colligi immaturum, N. H. 12. 49. I do not doubt that the latter was the truth.

We now have a consistent account of the Cardamoms known to the ancients. ἄμωμον came from North India and found its way to Europe overland; καρδάμωμον reached it by sea from Southern India. In the second century A.D. both were equally seaborne and liable to duty at the port of Alexandria, Flück. and Hanb. Pharmacogr. 644. At the present time ἄμωμον has disappeared from European commerce, having been supplanted by the Malabar Cardamom for which even in India it is only "a cheap substitute," Watt, Comm. Prod. of India, 65.

Ray's *Historia* put me on the track of the *Commentarius de Amomo* of Nicolo Marogna, 1608; it must be a rare book but I fortunately found it in the Kew Library. By an exhaustive examination of the texts he identifies ἄμωμον conclusively with the strobilus of an *Amomum*. His work seems to have fallen into oblivion. It was unknown to Sprengel: had it been other-

wise, it would have saved much trouble and confusion and perhaps made this note unnecessary.

There remains the perplexing question of the etymology of ἄμωμον. It is represented in Aramaic by ḥāmāmā and it has been hoped that this might yield to investigation. But Sir Charles Lyall tells me that "it only occurs in Syriac glossaries (where the explanations are given in Arabic) and it is from these only that we know of the Aramaic and the borrowed Arabic form; they do not occur in literature." We are driven therefore to the conclusion that the Aramaic word is only Semiticized Greek. This seems to be the opinion of the writer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* who has "= 'blameless' ?". He quotes Salmasius, in *Solin.* 284, for its use 'of any odour pure and sweet.' But Salmasius makes play with κιννάμωμον and καρδάμωμον which are not relevant; he quotes from Hesychius ἄμωμον, ἐν ταῖς ὀνομασίαις ὁ λίβανωτός, i.e. frankincense. I have not access to Hesychius, but Stephanus, 10931 C., gives ἀμφῶμος, the synonymy is therefore not free from doubt. Dioscorides 1. 68. 2 under λίβανος has λέγεται δέ τις καὶ ἀμωμίτης; but this may only imply that some sort of λίβανος recalled the odour of ἄμωμον. However it convinced Sprengel, *Diosc.* 2. 379, who says ἄμωμον vocabatur quodvis aroma purum et non vitiatum.

Of the etymology of κιννάμωμον we know nothing beyond the statement of Herodotus, 3. 111, ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κιννάμωμον καλέομεν. It cannot therefore be an expanded form of the Hebrew ḵinnāmōn; as κίναμον this only occurs in Nic. T. 947 perhaps from metrical necessity; it is used as a synonym by Pliny, *N. H.* 12. 86, cinnamum.

It is certainly singular that καρδάμωμον and κάρδαμον seem at first sight related in the same way. But in this case we have to deal with two dissimilar things. We owe the name and our first knowledge of κάρδαμον to Xenophon; it was our garden cress, *Lepidium sativum*, of Persian origin; it was eaten by the Persians as an ὄψον with bread, as we ourselves still use it. The etymology is unknown; but Sir Charles Lyall suggests:—'apparently Xenophon picked up the word κάρδαμον in Aramaic-speaking countries. One thinks of the Aramaic

hardalā, Arabic khardal which means mustard.' Stephanus says 'καρδάμων a cardamo denominatum videtur,' and this is not wholly improbable. Galen 19. 742 has ἀντὶ σινήπεως, κάρδαμον ἢ καρδάμων; both were therefore used as medicinal substitutes for mustard; the Greek mustard by the way was the milder *Sinapis alba*. I hazard the suggestion that of the two Cardamoms, ἄμων was that first known to the Greeks and that the South Indian kind was distinguished as καρδάμων, the prefix being borrowed from κάρδαμον.

This still leaves ἄμων in the air etymologically. I confess I am not convinced by Salmasius that it = sincerum. It seems to me that he cuts the throat of his argument by bringing in νάρδου πιστικῆς, Ev. Marc. 14. 3; I myself have no doubt that this much debated expression simply means 'pure nard,' but it tells against ἄμος being the word in use in such a sense. If Voss could have substantiated his theory that κάλλος meant 'a sweet unguent,' κάλλει τ' ἀμόμφ, Aesch. Pers. 185, might have been conclusive. But the word which the Greeks would have been more likely to use about φάρμακα and ἀρώματα was ἄδολος. One calls to mind φαρμασσομένη χρίματος...ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις, Aesch. Ag. 94; ἄδολος [στύραξ] Diosc. 1. 66 and ἄδολον γάλα, Ep. Petr. 1. 2. 2.

20. ἡ ἄμπελος τῆς Ἰδῆς, Theophr. H. P. 3. 17. 6.

One may wonder how many readers of Scott's lines in the *Lady of the Lake*, 1. 26,

Where Ellen's hand had taught to twine
The Ivy and Idæan vine,

know that the latter phrase traces back to an obscure and much debated passage in Theophrastus, φύεται μὲν τῆς Ἰδῆς περὶ τὰς Φαλάκρας καλουμένας. Nicander, T. 668, has of another plant ὑπὸ σκοπέλοισι Φαλακραίῳις, but the Scholiast explains that Φαλάκρα was one of the four summits of τῆς ἐν Τροίᾳ παρακειμένης Ἰδῆς. This disposes of the quite baseless statement of Karl Koch that the Cretan Ida was intended.

The labours of the botanists of the 16th century were vitiated by the assumption that the plants of Greece were to be found in Central Europe, which is far from being the case. Many wild identifications were the result, the incubus of which it is still difficult to shake off. The ἄμπελος τῆς Ἰδῆς of Theophrastus was θαμνώδες with ῥάγες μέλαιναι. It was promptly settled to be the whortleberry, *Vaccinium Myrtillus*, a native of Arctic and Northern regions which certainly does not grow on either the Mysian or the Cretan Ida. Bodæus rejects the identification but can suggest no other: Ray also rejects it but adds, non video cur ad id genus non possit referri, eodemque nomine generico insigniri, *Hist.* ii. 1487. *Vitis Idæa* was in fact used generically in the middle ages for various plants allied to the whortleberry; to one of these, the Cranberry, Linnæus gave the name *Vaccinium Vitis Idæa*. This does not count for much as he confessedly adopted ancient names at 'haphazard'. But it kept *Vitis Idæa* floating in botanical literature.

C. Bauhin, 1671, who simply contented himself in his admirable *Pinax* with reducing to order the discordant synonyms of previous writers, follows tradition in leaving the *Vitis Idæa* of Theophrastus as the whortleberry. All the modern German authorities, Billerbeck, Fraas, Lenz, down to the most recent, Karl Koch, are content to follow.

An obvious difficulty is that in all other cases ἄμπ-ελ-ος implies a climbing plant. This accords with Pott's etymology, Curtius, l. 448, from ἀμφί and ἔλ, 'clasping (with tendrils).' But the whortleberry is a dwarf shrub. Bauhin, 470, must have had his own doubts, for he makes the significant remark, 'idem paene Plinius, l. 14. c. 3.' This is the passage, *Plin. N. H.* 14. 43:—Alexandrina appellatur vitis circa Phalacram brevis, ramis cubitalibus, acino nigro fabæ magnitudine, nucleo molli et minimo, obliquis racemis prædulcibus, folio parvo et rotundo, sine divisuris. This is a verbal translation from Theophrastus; Alexandria was of course the town in the Troad. Pliny unhesitatingly then includes the ἄμπελος τῆς Ἰδῆς amongst the cultivated races of the Vine of which he gives a long enumeration. Having got the clue it is easy to see that what Theophrastus has given us is an excellent description of the Corinth (hence

'Currant') Vine, *Vitis vinifera*, var. *apyrena*. It was doubtless cultivated on the slopes of Ida, and was *θαμνώδες* because kept low for cultural convenience.

Nullum est jam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius. Looking casually into Gerarde's Herbal (1597), I was not a little astonished to find, pp. 1231, 2, the problem completely solved, a fact, as far as I can ascertain, ignored by every subsequent writer. He says that 'Vitis Idea' was 'a kinde of Vine' and identifies it with 'the Corinth tree,' i.e. the Currant Vine. He even quotes Philostratus, to whom I have not access, as stating that 'like unto this Vine' are those which grow in Lydia, which would be probable enough. Gerarde was notoriously nothing of a scholar and the whole of this proves to have been borrowed from Dodonæus (1583) *Stirp. Hist. Pempt.* 411 and 757, to whom the credit must be given.

Down to the time of Pliny the Currant Vine was only known as a product of the Troad. When introduced into Greece its cultivation was at first confined to Corinth, for the production of 'Raisins of Corinth' 'which Gerarde says are commonly called Corans or Currans'; in less popular language they were *Uvæ Corinthiacæ* and *Passulæ minores*. At the present day Heldreich (*Die Nutzpflanzen Griechenlands*, p. 43) says:—Bekanntlich sind die Korinthen eines der hauptsächlichsten Produkte Griechenlands und bilden eine bedeutende Einnahmequelle mehrerer Provinzen. A recent writer sees in 'the currant bun of the village shop...a powerful benefactor to Greece.'

In the 16th century the *Corinthia uva* had found its way westward. Lobel and Pena, *Adversaria* (1571) 278, say:—Ad topiariorum pergulas et fornices deducuntur hodie in Italicis et Pedemontanis hortis vites hujus. The story of the 'Lady of the Lake' is laid in the early part of the 16th century. That century was an age of botanical enterprise and the cultivation of exotic plants. It is not therefore impossible that the Currant Vine had reached Great Britain. But it does not seem probable, for Lobel remarks 'sed algidioris cœli impatiens.' And I must confess that I have not found any record of its ever being cultivated in our gardens. Scott's knowledge of it

must have been purely literary. He was so omnivorous in his reading that it is idle to speculate where he browsed or where he did not. He may have picked up the name from Gerarde. In his next lines,

The clematis, the favour'd flower
Which boasts the name of Virgin bower,

certainly comes straight out of Gerarde who grew it in his garden at Holborn. It was *Clematis Viticella*, a native of Southern Europe.

Dodonæus is no doubt right in identifying with the Currant Vine, *op. cit.* 411, the second kind of ἄμπελος ἀγρία which Dioscorides, 5. 2, describes as μικρόρραξ οὔσα.

21. σικύα, Theophr. *H. P.* 1. 13. 3.

σικύα has not hitherto been identified definitely. Theophrastus says:—ἐν δὲ τοῖς λαχανοῖς ὃ τε σίκυος καὶ ἡ κολοκύντη καὶ ἡ σικύα· πάντα γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἔχει καὶ προσαυξανόμενων ἐπιμένει τὰ ἄνθη πολὺν χρόνον. This fixes it botanically as a cucurbit grown as a pot-herb. σίκυος, hellenized from Sanskrit soukasa, was the cucumber, *Cucumis sativus*, brought from Northern India which was also the original home of the gourd, *Cucurbita maxima*. Cultivated cucurbits are very similar in habit and the Greeks would not appreciate technical botanical distinctions. They could only rely on what was obvious to the eye, such as the fruit. Theophrastus remarks incidentally, *H. P.* 1. 11. 4, τὰ [sc. σπέρματα] δὲ διεστῶτα καὶ στοιχηδὸν ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς κολοκύντης καὶ σικύας καὶ τῶν δένδρων ὡς Περσικῆς μηλέας. The arrangement of the seeds in both was like that of the citron. Notwithstanding the resemblance of the name it is clear that σικύα suggested a gourd rather than a cucumber. Athenæus gives us a good deal of further information. Ἕλλησπόντιοι δὲ σικύας μὲν τὰς μακρὰς καλοῦσι κολοκύντας δὲ τὰς περιφερεῖς, 59 A; it was therefore distinguishable from the gourd proper. But like that it came from India; Εὐθύδημος Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷδε περὶ λαχάνων σικύαν Ἰνδικὴν καλεῖ τὴν κολοκύντην, διὰ τὸ κεκομίσθαι τὸ σπέρμα ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, *Ath.* 58 F. This fixes it as the bottle-

gourd or calabash of Southern India, *Lagenaria vulgaris*. It was known to the Egyptians, Loret, *Fl. Pharaonique* 74, from whom it would reach the Greeks: it came by sea, while the gourd proper, which the Egyptians did not possess, came to Europe overland. The bottle-gourd, as its name indicates, is not spherical but its swollen part narrows into a neck; hence Galen, *Ling. Hipp. Expl.*, 19. 137, calls it (σικυώνη) τὴν ἀπιοειδῆ κολοκύνθην. Columella describes this, 10. 383, e tenui collo semen lege: sive globosi corporis. The rind when mature hardens into a tough shell: the gourds when cleaned out are used in the East for innumerable purposes. This was the case in Italy at the commencement of the Christian era. Cucurbitarum numerosior usus...nuper in balnearum usum venere urceorum vice, iam pridem vero etiam cadorum ad vina condenda, Plin. *N. H.* 19. 71. Columella, 10. 385-8, tells the same story,

sobolem dabit illa pacem

Naryciæ picis, aut Actæi mellis Hymetti,

Aut habilem lymphis hamulam, Bacchove lagænam,

Tum pueros eadem fluviis innare docebit.

I find no reference to any similar use in Greece. A statement in Theophrastus, *H. P.* 7. 3. 5, has hardly been understood for want of knowledge of Eastern practices; ἡ γὰρ σικύα ὁμοιοσχήμων γίνεται ἐν ᾧ ἂν τεθῇ ἀγγεῖον. The rind of the young fruit at the time it is used as a potherb is soft and plastic. It is a favourite amusement with the Chinese and Japanese to bind it in various ways or grow it in a mould of which as it expands it takes the shape and even the impression of inscriptions in high relief; crescitque qua cogitur forma, Pl. *N. H.* 19. 70.

But the Greeks got a very specialized instrument from the bottle-gourd: for it supplied Galen's τὴν ἱατρικὴν σικύαν, 19. 137, the primitive 'cupping glass.' This was Juvenal's ventosa cucurbita, 14. 58; but it by no means had 'the shape of a gourd' as Maclean says. Galen tells us exactly what it was like, τὴν ἀπύθμενον καὶ κωνοειδῆ σικύαν. It is obvious that such a thing, wide at the bottom and narrow at the top, could readily be cut out of a bottle-gourd of moderate size.

The difference of accent shows that *σικία* could not be merely a feminine of *σίκνος*. Galen gives as a synonym the extended form *σικυνώνη*, of which one may conjecture that it was an abbreviation, and Athenæus tells us, 58 F, *Μεγαλοπολίται δ' αὐτήν* [sc. *σικύαν*] *Σικυνωνίαν ὀνομάζουσι*. Sicyon was an industrial city; it was celebrated for the manufacture of shoes, et pulchra in pedibus Sicyonia rident, Lucret. 4. 1121. It may be conjectured that a minor industry was the production of the bottle-gourd and its conversion into various articles including 'cupping-glasses.'

22. Colocasia, Verg. *E.* 4. 20.

A good deal of ingenuity has been wasted by Sprengel and others on the etymology of *κολοκασία*; for Sir Charles Lyall informs me that there is no difficulty in accepting it as the hellenized form of the Sanskrit *kāla-kachu*, the name of an important Indian food-plant, *Colocasia antiquorum*. He tells me that *ch* is pronounced in W. India as *ts* and in N. E. India as *s*. This plant has spread through the tropics of the whole world; it is the Taro of the Polynesians and the Eddoes of W. Indian negroes. Under cultivation it has 'improved' and has produced many new races, some tolerant of a cooler climate. Technically it is an Aroid: it is a member of a plant-family in which the minute flowers are borne on a column-like structure, which has given rise to indecorous suggestion. The whole is enclosed in a modified leaf called a spathe. The Cuckoo-pint of our hedge-rows (*Arum maculatum*) will serve as a type. Its southern representative, *Arum italicum*, is the *τὸ ἄρον τὸ ἐδώδιμον* of Theophr. *H. P.* 7. 13. 2.

Colocasia was introduced from India into Egypt though at no very early time; its Arabic name *qulqās* obviously derives from *κολοκασία*. Its botanical affinity was recognized though its stature far exceeded that of any other Aroid either in Europe or in N. Africa. Pliny, *N. H.* 19. 96, describes it at second-hand:—"est...quod in Ægypto aron vocant, scillæ proximum amplitudine, foliis lapathi, caule recto duum cubitorum, baculi crassitudine, radice mollioris naturæ, quæ estur et cruda."

The reference to the squill comes in awkwardly, and shows that Pliny missed the point that it was only a measure of the size of the root: the squill has a bulb as large as a man's head; Pericles was called *σχίνο-κέφαλος* because he had a head like one, *σχῖνος* being a synonym. Galen mentions colocasia, 6. 650, as *τὸ ἄρον ἀπὸ τῆς Κυρήνης* and says that it had been introduced into Italy. It carried with it its oriental name, and Pliny, *N. H.* 21. 87 describes it under this:—"hanc e Nilo metunt, caule, cum coctus est, araneoso in mandendo, thyrsus autem, qui inter folia emicat, spectabili, foliis latissimis...seritur iam hæc in Italia." Thyrsus is the club-like inflorescence, and caulis is a thick leaf-stalk; for colocasia has no proper stem, the leaves springing directly from the underground tuber. Martial 13. 57 ridicules colocasia as a pot-herb;

Niliacum ridebis olus, lanasque sequaces,

Improba cum morsu fila manumque trahes.

This was because the Romans had not learnt how to treat it: the natives of India first peel off the fibrous cortex of the leaf-stalk, and then cook the inner portion; the Romans apparently did not eat the tuber, though from Pliny's other account the Egyptians did.

Columella, 8. 15. 4, only recommends colocasia as a suitable plant for a duck-pond; the inference is that it was not cultivated in his time as an article of food, though it soon was so. Palladius prescribes, along with other culinary plants, the planting of the bulbi, 3. 24. 14, and of the plantaria, 5. 3. 5: these were offsets from the tuber, and the method is that still used in India.

Conington, *Verg.* 1. 49, has the following note on the passage in the *Bucolics*:—"colocasium" is the Egyptian bean, which was introduced into Italy." This was *Nelumbium speciosum*. But Martyn, a sound botanist and scholar, to whom he usually goes for his botany, was clear upon a careful study of the authorities, *Virg.* 1. 172, that what Virgil meant was the plant now known as *Colocasia antiquorum*. He also makes another point which Conington overlooks: the acanthus was not the garden plant, *Acanthus mollis*, which no one would call ridens,

but the Egyptian Shittah tree, *Acacia arabica*. Virgil had Egypt in his mind and thought that in the Golden Age its products would enrich a new home. The prophecy is so far fulfilled that colocasia now grows spontaneously in many parts of Italy and under the name of *Caladium* is to be seen as a summer decoration in our public gardens.

Conington was not, however, without justification: for Pliny, *N. H.* 21. 87, has 'colocasia, quam cyamon aliqui vocant,' and this is κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος *Nelumbium speciosum*. Pliny goes on, as already shown, to describe the Aroid, but concludes, with that synthetic propensity which so often lands him in difficulty, by adding a statement as to the use of the leaves for drinking-cups which can only apply to *Nelumbium*. He has clearly mixed up two different things. As to the name he had authority: for Athenæus, 72 B, quotes Nicander as describing the roots of *Nelumbium* as τὰ ὑπ' Ἀλεξανδρέων κολοκάσια καλούμενα, and later on he quotes Diphilus Siphnius, ἡ τοῦ κυάμου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ῥίζα, ἥτις λέγεται κολοκάσιον, εὐστόμαχος τέ ἐστι. This would take back the introduction of the real κολοκασία to the 2nd century, B.C., as the name could hardly have obtained currency in Egypt unless the plant had come with it. Nicander himself, *Fr.* 82, has κυάμου κολοκάσιον which Pliny probably had in mind: and he is followed by Dioscorides, 2. 106. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the Greeks adopted κολοκάσιον in a general sense for an edible tuberous root just as potato is used in English for various plants which have nothing else in common but their tubers.

Joret (*Plantes dans l'antiquité*, 1. 68) thinks that the introduction of colocasia into Egypt took place 'vers le commencement de notre ère.' But it is difficult to resist its identification with τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλούμενον οὔγγον described by Theophrastus, *H. P.* 1. 6. 11. He says:—τὰ μὲν γὰρ φύλλα μεγάλα καὶ ὁ βλαστὸς αὐτοῦ βραχὺς ἡ δὲ ῥίζα μακρὰ καὶ ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ὁ καρπός. διαφέρει τε καὶ ἐσθίεται. For practical purposes the tuberous root was the 'fruit'; as a fact the cultivated strain of colocasia, like our potato, had almost lost ability to flower.

Theophrastus, *H. P.* 4. 8. 7, gives a full description of the

κνάμος. Pliny, *N. H.* 18. 121, 2, translates this almost *verbatim* and tacks it on to his description of the ordinary bean, faba. It is clear that he could not have had any first hand knowledge of *Nelumbium* and the inference is that in his time it was not cultivated in Italy. It cannot as a fact be grown more than temporarily in Southern Europe or without some artificial protection and even then succumbs to a winter of any severity; nor has it succeeded in holding its ground in Egypt. Pliny is content to include it amongst legumina, inter quæ maxime honos fabæ, 18. 117. So persistent is error that we find Liddell and Scott still describing *Nelumbium* as having a 'leguminous fruit' (s.v. λωτός). Nothing could be more unlike; for *Nelumbium* is a gigantic water-lily which bears a receptacle, not inaptly compared by Theophrastus to a wasp's nest (σφηκίον). A more exact comparison is to the rose of a watering pot; it has pits on its upper surface and each of these contains a bean-like seed; it was called κιβώριον. Beyond the superficial resemblance of the seeds, *Nelumbium* had nothing in common with the bean.

Herodotus, 2. 37, declares that the true bean was neither cultivated nor eaten by the Egyptians:—κνίμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔψοντες πατέονται. Its avoidance passed to the Pythagoreans; Pythagorica sententia damnata: ut alii tradidere, quoniam mortuorum animæ sint in ea, Plin. *N. H.* 18. 118. Yet Loret (*La Flore Pharaonique*, 111) shows that the statement of Herodotus is far too sweeping, as beans are found amongst funeral offerings in the tombs; cf. Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, 212 and Joret, l. c. i. 55. On the other hand the *Nelumbium* was an especially sacred plant, as it still is in the East. And though Herodotus says, 2. 92, that its seeds were eaten, it is more than probable that the priests would abstain from them. The prohibition, or at any rate a belief in it, might extend to the ordinary bean itself.

Athenæus identifies κολοκασία with *Nelumbium* and tells us, 72 B, ἔστι δ' ἐν Σικυῶνι Κολοκασίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. It is clear from the context that he means this to be taken as a fact. Considering that *Nelumbium* was little known to the Greeks

except as an Egyptian plant, it is certainly surprising. Two attempts have been made to explain it away. Salmasius, in *Solin.* 683 A, resolves *κολοκάσιον* into *κολὸν κάσιον* = curta lacerna, and Athene becomes 'short skirted' which she certainly was not in the Phidian tradition. Hehn has a theory scarcely less fanciful which is adopted by Murr, *op. cit.* 176. *Σικυών* derives from *σίκνος*, and was therefore the seat of a cultural industry of cucumbers and gourds, of which as 'Stadtgöttin' Athene was the tutelary 'pumpkin-goddess'; *κολοκασία* is accordingly equated to *κολοκύντη*.

Murr has shown that a large number of Greek place-names derive from plants; Hehn's theory is not therefore devoid of plausibility. But Pausanias who tells us much about Sicyon lends it no countenance. On the contrary the earliest name of Sicyon was *Αἰγιάλεια* and it received its latest from the grandson of Epopeus, *Gr. Descr.* 2. 1. 1. Sicyon had many industries, in later times that of shoes: it is scarcely probable that cucumber cultivation would be singled out for the especial protection of Athene. One may infer from the *σικυώνιον ἔλαιον*, *Diosc.* 1. 30. 5, that that of the olive was more important, and that Athene was its traditional protectress. Pausanias tells us that her temple at Sicyon was built by Epopeus who on its completion prayed for some sign of approval; *μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔλαιον λέγουσι ῥύηται πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ*, *G. D.* 2. 6. 3. The bounty of the goddess implied the olive rather than the cucumber and was evidently the more acceptable to Epopeus; he was eventually buried in front of the altar.

Nor is it clear that Athene was preeminently the 'Stadtgöttin' of Sicyon. For Pliny tells us, *N. H.* 36, 9 and 10, the story of how its people contracted with Dipoenus and Scyllis for statues of Apollo, Diana, Heracles, and Athene; and how a dispute arose, and it required a famine and the intervention of the Pythian Apollo before the work was completed. The statue of Athene was eventually struck by lightning and never replaced. Hehn's ingenious theory lacks corroboration. We may spare ourselves the heroic necessity of having to equate *κολοκασία* with *κολοκύντη*.

Pausanias preserves a large number of local titles of Athene

and other divinities; their origin affords a fertile field for speculation. Some seem to have been merely of local association with no more than topographical meaning. The temple of Ἀθηνᾶ Κραναία at Elatea stood on the edge of a precipice, ἀπότομος, Paus. 10. 34. 7; that of Ἀθηνᾶ Κυπαρισσία at Asopus in Laconia, Paus. 3. 22. 9, may have taken its name from adjacent cypresses. We know that *Nelumbium* was occasionally grown in Greece; Theophrastus only mentions one locality, Torone in Macedonia, *H. P.* 4. 8. 8. Alexandrian Greeks may have brought it to Sicyon as a sacred plant, and established it near the temple of Athene. That there were such borrowings from the cult of Egypt is confirmed by Aristophanes, *Fr.* 476

Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν πεποίηκας ἀντ' Ἀθηνῶν.

Κολυκύντη was the Gourd, *Cucurbita maxima*. I have hitherto followed De Candolle in attributing to it an African origin: but it was unknown to the Egyptians, and better botanical evidence traces it back to north-west India. We must distinguish it from the pumpkin, *Cucurbita Pepo*, believed to be American and therefore unknown to the Greeks. Theophrastus always associates the gourd and cucumber, τῶν λαχανωδῶν οἶον σικύου κολοκύντης, *H. P.* 1. 12. 2. The inference is that though the gourd has developed enormously under modern cultivation, it was originally of no great size, and this throws doubt on Hehn's suggestion that κολοκύντη connects with κολοσσός.

The cucumber, *Cucumis sativus*, like the gourd, came from Northern India; σίκυος is apparently hellenized from Sanskrit soukasa. It is probable that more than one race reached Europe; for Theophrastus tells us, σικύου δὲ καὶ κολυκύντης τοῦ μὲν εἶναί φασι γένη τῆς δ' οὐκ εἶναι, *H. P.* 7. 4. 6. Our familiar Telegraph cucumber is a very specialized product of modern cultivation; some Indian races cultivated in Europe approximate in shape to elongated melons. Whether the melon as we have it was known to the Greeks is at most extremely doubtful.

23. ὀποκάρπαθον, Plin. *N. H.* 32. 97.

The καρπ- words amongst plant-names are extremely obscure and confused with one another. The information about them is scanty: but two were reputed poisonous and there seems to have been a judicious 'conspiracy of silence' amongst ancient writers on the plants used for criminal or discreditable purposes. Thus Pliny, *N. H.* 22. 78, anxious not to corrupt our morals, refuses to give us any information which would enable us to identify the plant, buprestis; 'est vero causa quare venena monstremus inter gramineas coronas'! Galen, 14. 62, goes even further: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων γραφὰς τοὺς δημοσιεύοντας ἐπαινῶ. Some unknown writer supplemented the reticence of Dioscorides by compiling the spurious *De venenis* attributed to him. The ninth book of Theophrastus, *H. P.*, contains some unedifying information and is no doubt equally apocryphal.

It is not surprising therefore that Pliny treats opocarpathum *N. H.* 32. 97 as something perhaps too well known. He mentions it again as opocarpatum, *N. H.* 28. 158, and as sucus carpathi, 32. 58. He always associates it with dorycnium, thorn-apple, and as requiring the same antidotes. Poisoning with it must have been familiar. Pliny's sucus carpathi is reminiscent of Columella who in the choice of a site for a garden prescribes a soil unfavourable to deleterious plants: negat helleboros, et noxia carpasa succo, 10. 17; he uses the Doric form κάρπασον while Pliny preserves the primitive κάρπαθον. Here again we may assume that carpasum and its properties were within vulgar knowledge. For Columella's tenth book is thrown into the form of a poem, appealing to a popular audience, as he tells us it was written to supply the 'Georgici carminis omissas partes' and 'ex voluntate vatis maxime venerandi' with the encouragement of Virgil himself.

It is to be noticed that Columella associates κάρπασον with hellebores, i.e. the white and black, and implies that it was native in Italy. If it is remarkable that this is the sole reference in Latin literature which has come down to us, the reason may be that Columella has by metonymy substituted, perhaps

for metrical reasons, the name of the poison for the plant producing it, which was probably one not unknown to him.

It seems clear that the Greeks distinguished χυλός the raw juice of a plant from ὀπός the juice which had undergone some sort of preparation preserving it for use. Thus Galen, 13. 387, speaks of the admixture of ὑοσκνάμου χυλός with μήκωνος ὀπός, i.e. opium.

We look in vain in either the authentic works of Dioscorides or of Galen for any information about the poison. Galen, 12. 870, gives ὀπός καρπάσου as an ingredient in a remedy for toothache; in the *De Succedaneis*, 19. 738, he has a mere mention of it as an alternative for σμύρνης στακτή, something clearly different which will be considered in another note. The only account of the lethal properties of ὀπός καρπάσου which has come down to us is in the apocryphal *De venenis*, 13. I transcribe the passage: περὶ ὀποῦ καρπάσου. καὶ ὁ τῆς καρπάσου ὀπός ποθεὶς κάρον ἐπιφέρει καὶ πνιγμὸν ὀξύνη—βοηθοῦνται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ τὸ κώνειον πεπωκότες. Of course κώνειον was too well known to the Greeks for there to be any mystery about it. The statement is repeated by Paulus Ægineta, 4. 43, who however has καρπεσία which is obviously a corruption. It may be noted that in the preface to the *De venenis* we have ὀποκάρπασον, Pliny's ὀποκάρπαθον.

As far as I can ascertain no attempt has been made by modern commentators to identify the poison. It was of course vegetable: and the number of plant-poisons within the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans limits the field. There is only one which fits the extreme symptoms of insensibility and constriction of the throat, and that is White Hellebore, *Veratrum album* (Taylor, *Poisons*, 575). It may be remarked incidentally that this is the 'nobis veratrum est acre venenum' of Lucretius, 4. 642.

Helleborus albus had an immense vogue in medicine; the dried rootlets were used, ground to powder, farina, and administered in porridge. Pliny, *N. H.* 25. 56, describes the effects as alarming, strangulatus, intempestivas somni vires, precisely those of ὀπός καρπάσου. Dioscorides himself, 4. 148, is silent as to its poisonous properties except μύας κτείνει

σὺν μέλιτι, but mentions ὁ Γαλατικός καὶ Καππαδοκικός as πνιγωδέστερος. Galen. 11. 874 says nothing of its internal administration: it had probably fallen out of use except for external application.

Except the single instance in Galen there is no evidence that ὁπὸς καρπάσου was used in medicine. It may be conjectured that it was a concentrated extract, probably at first fluid but reduced to a solid by evaporation: a poison is likely to be compendious. It is not improbable that primarily it was an arrow-poison, for Pliny, *N. H.* 25. 61, says Galli sagittas in venatu helleboro tingunt. It may not be without significance that Pliny associates ὁποκάρπαθον with δορύκνιον which he says was so called quod cuspidis in proeliis tingerentur illo, *N. H.* 21. 179.

The poison like μήκωνος ὁπός was probably of local manufacture: its source may not have been generally known though Columella must have had some shrewd suspicion about it.

There is only one mention of κάρπαθον in Dioscorides, a synonym for περικλύμενον, *Ps. Dsc.* 4. 14; but this was a honeysuckle, *Lonicera etrusca*, apparently a mild tonic and in no sense poisonous. I can only conjecture that the name in this case meant a plant of Κάρπαθος. In *A Companion to Latin Studies*, 84, I have hazarded the suggestion that κάρπασον, sucus carpathi, derived its name from the same island.

There is some evidence that the identity of κάρπαθον with white hellebore was recognized in later times: for L. and S. quote καρπίον from the Hippiatr. as a 'vulgar name for ἐλλέβορος' and this is represented in Modern Greek by σκάρφη in the same way as Κάρπαθος has become Scarpanto.

24. ὁποκάλπασον, Gal. 14. 56.

This is a perplexing problem. It is clear that it is the ὁπὸς καρπάσου which Galen, *De Succidaneis*, 19. 738, enumerates amongst alternatives for σμύρνης στακτή the oil from crushed myrrh. Stephanus followed by the lexicons cuts the knot by identifying it with ὁποκάρπαθον. But this is not sustainable other than etymologically. When Columella, 10. 17, wrote of

plants undesirable on the site of a Roman garden, negat helleboros et noxia carpasa succo, he clearly had in mind something that would grow in a Mediterranean country and not an exotic from the shores of the Red Sea.

Galen gives us some very definite information: κατὰ τὴν ἀρίστην σμύρναν ὀποκάλπασον εὐρίσκεται, διαφέρον σμύρνης, 14. 56. But, as in other similar cases, it was difficult to discriminate; οἱ μὲν ἀήθεις ὄντες οὐ δύνανται διακρίνειν τὸ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου. Disastrous consequences followed; τὸ δὲ ὀποκάλπασον ἀναιρετικὸν ἐστὶ καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ τινα τύχην ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς χρόνοις ἀποθανόντας οἶδα διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῆς ὀποκάλπασον ἐχούσης σμύρνης, 14. 57.

Now σμύρνη or myrrha, myrrh, was a resinous exudation from the stem of *Balsamodendron Myrrha*: it hardened into a tear, and hence Dioscorides 1. 64 states, σμύρνα δάκρυν ἐστὶ δένδρου γεννωμένου ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ. It is clear that ὀποκάλπασον was an inferior sort of myrrh, τοιαύτη σμύρνη, Gal. 14. 58, apt to be intermixed with the true product. Such are still to be found in commerce; they are derived from other species of *Balsamodendron* and I have investigated them in the *Kew Bulletin*, 1896, pp. 86–95. Here the enquiry would have to stop but for another piece of information which Galen gives us incidentally. He often writes with a delightful simplicity, and he tells us, 12. 443, that though it is no part of a physician's business to advise ladies about dyeing or bleaching their hair, it has to be faced when ἐνίστε βασιλικαὶ γυναῖκες, αἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρνήσασθαι, μελανθῆναι βούλονται τὰς τρίχας ἢ ξανθισθῆναι. It may be suspected that the practice was not confined in earlier times to princesses; for the κόμας ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας, *Od.* 6. 231 of Ulysses, become ξανθὰς τρίχας in *Od.* 13. 399; it is common enough amongst savage races. Galen preserves for us the methods prescribed by Archigenes: these are followed by those for οὐλοποίησις, οὐλὰς δὲ ποιήσεις τρίχας, ἐὰν ἀφρῶ ἄλὸς μετὰ σμύρνης σμήχῃς, 12. 445, where ἀφρὸς ἄλὸς is obviously reminiscent of *Od.* 6. 226–231, ἐκ κεφαλῆς δ' ἔσμηχεν ἄλὸς χυόν... | ...καὶ δὲ κάρητος | οὐλὰς ἤκε κόμας. I suspect, for a reason to be explained presently, that the σμύρνη was either ὀπὸς καρπάσου or mixed with it: for Archigenes pro-

ceeds, ἡ ὀπῶ καρπάσου χρίε καὶ μένουσιν οὖλαι καὶ μέλαιναι, it cleaned the hair without taking out its curl or changing its colour.

This solves the problem; there can be no doubt that this ὀπὸς καρπάσου was identical with hotai, a spurious Myrrh produced by a spiny shrub, *Balsamodendron Playfairii*, growing in great abundance all along the Somali coast. In the *Kew Bulletin*, 1896, 94, 95, I have collected all the available information about it. The gum occurs in large tears: with water it readily forms a frothy emulsion: it is collected by the Somalis, who use it as soap and especially for cleansing the hair. It may be objected that myrrh was Arabian and hotai is African: but the former is not collected by the Arabs but by Somalis who cross the sea for the purpose and pay a tribute for the privilege: it may be conjectured that the collection of myrrh by the Somalis goes back to antiquity. That they should have mixed the genuine and spurious kinds is not surprising; nor was it necessarily dishonest, for Prof. Engler of Berlin, the most recent writer on myrrh-producing plants, has fallen into the error of identifying the plants producing myrrh and hotai and therefore inferentially the products themselves.

The poisonous properties of ὀποκάλπασον now require elucidation. Myrrh is certainly innocuous, it was little used in medicine and merely survives on its reputation. I have verified the interesting fact that an offering of it is made annually by the Sovereign at the Feast of Epiphany at the Chapel Royal, St James. Hotai is in a different position. I am not aware that it has ever been subjected to chemical analysis; but the fact that it forms a frothy emulsion with water and is used as soap points to its containing saponin, a principle widely diffused in the vegetable kingdom, but quite haphazard. Plants containing it are known as Soapworts: they have the property of cleansing woollen textiles especially without as Archigenes says affecting either the texture or the colour; and this is more than can be said of soaps of chemical origin. The soapwort most in use in modern times is *Quillaia* bark, the *Bois de Panama*, to be found in every French town: it is the product of a Chilian tree, *Quillaja saponaria*. Its commercial import-

ance may be inferred from the fact that on November 23, 1916, it was declared absolute contraband by an order in Council.

Now saponin is a poison though not a very virulent one. Hotai is described as 'acid to the throat.' This agrees with saponin which acts as 'a local irritant in the alimentary canal, and after absorption is more or less depressing to the muscular and nervous systems.' It is quite conceivable that in considerable amount the result might be fatal. Galen at any rate forbids the administration of ὀποκάλλασον internally: but if used εἰς ἔμπλαστρον, αὐξήσεις αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, 14. 58, the acidity of hotai would add to its stimulating effect.

The problem still remains of the confusion of two different things as ὀπὸς καρπάσου. Apparently Galen followed Archigenes. But such transfers of names are not uncommon: κολοκασία is an example. We ourselves have identified κέδρος, a juniper, with a *Pinus* and used it as well for scores of other trees.

25. καρπήσιον, Gal. 12. 15.

Liddell and Scott define this as 'an aromatic wood chiefly brought from Asia, Galen.' What he actually says is, however ὅμοιον μὲν ὑπάρχει τῷ καλουμένῳ φοῦ κατὰ τε τὴν γεύσιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, 12. 15. Dioscorides says of φοῦ, 1. 11, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀγρίαν νάρδον καλοῦσι· γεννᾶται μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ. It may be inferred that it was a substitute for the costly aromatic nard which was an Indian Valerianaceous plant. φοῦ was a Valerian and the description given by Dioscorides fits *Valeriana Phu*. The Greeks and Romans appreciated the Valerian odour and flavour: it was an Indian taste which does not commend itself to modern Western peoples. καρπήσιον must also have been a Valerian and therefore could not be a 'wood,' though it was aromatic: ἔστι γὰρ αὐτὸ παραπλήσιον μὲν [τῷ φοῦ], ἰσχυρότερον δέ, καὶ...ἔχον τι ποιότητος ἀρωματιζούσης ἐν ὁσμῇ τε καὶ γεύσει, Gal. 14. 72. According to Galen 12. 15 and 16, it was found in Pontus, Pamphylia, and Syria: this fits in with *Valeriana Dioscoridis* which according to Boissier occurs in all three localities. From a therapeutic point of view he adds of the Pontic sort, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸ πλεονάζον κινναμώμου τὴν

δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρίστης κασσίας οὐκ ὀλίγῳ λειπόμενον, 12. 15. But he goes farther and makes the perplexing statement as regards the Pamphylian, λεπτὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ κάρφη, παραπλήσια τοῖς ἀκρέμοσι τοῦ κινναμώμου, 14. 72. How could any part of a herb resemble the twigs of a woody plant? It must be premised that Galen was only a physician and not a botanist as well, like Dioscorides. He deals with drugs as he accepted them from the pharmacist, mere dried fragmentary parts, often necessarily ambiguous in their nature. He seems to have satisfied himself from their examination that κασσία and κιννάμωμον as he met with them were derived from the same tree, and this is probable enough: it was *Cinnamomum iners* from Southern India. He says, 14. 70, καὶ γὰρ καὶ γίνεται ποτε κιννάμωμον ἐκ μεταβολῆς αὐτῆς [sc. κασσίας], ὥστε ὅλον μὲν ὀράσθαι τὸ οἶον δένδρον ἀκριβὲς κασσίαν, ἀκρέμονας δέ τινας ἐν αὐτῷ κιννάμωμον. But, as Dioscorides, 1. 14, reminds us, κινναμώμου ἐστὶ πλείονα εἶδη ὀνομαζόμενα. The only possible explanation of λεπτὰ κάρφη seems to me that given by Matthioli as long ago as 1564, *Comm. Diosc.* 42, that they were the dried slender fleshy roots which we know the Valerian to possess, and he points out that Galen, 14. 66, had already compared κιννάμωμον to the rootlets of hellebores, οἷα περὶ τῶν ἑλλεβόρων ἀμφοτέρων ἰδέα ἐστί. This disposes of the only piece of evidence to support the theory that καρπήσιον was an aromatic wood of Indian origin.

26. ξυλοκάρπασον, Galen, 19. 731 and 738.

The word does not appear to occur elsewhere. Liddell and Scott give it with the explanation 'the wood of flax.' But the flax-plant is herbaceous and not woody. It is true that the flax-fibres in the slender stems surround a woody core: but this is broken up and combed out in preparing flax for spinning. In the ordinary sense of the word 'wood of flax' does not exist.

Galen gives the word in the *De Succedaneis* first as a substitute for καρδάμωμον, secondly as itself replaceable by κιννάμωμον. The obvious inference is that it was aromatic. We may conclude then pretty safely that ξυλοκάρπασον stood in

the same relation to ὀπὸς καρπάσου that ξυλοβάλαμον does to ὀπὸς βαλσάμου, and that it consisted of the twigs of the myrrh-producing plant *Balsamodendron Playfairii* discussed in a previous note.

The error into which Liddell and Scott have fallen is based on one which lurks in the lexicons. Thus Andrews quotes 'carbasa' [for carpasa], Col. 10. 17, as an irregular plural of carbasus. This we know from Pliny, *N. H.* 19. 10, was a fine linen produced in Spain, 'tenuitas mira ibi primum carbasis repertis.' It is generally admitted that carbasus is latinized from κάρπασος which occurs in the *Periplus M. R.* 41 and means cotton: it in turn represents the Sanskrit karpāsa. Lucan, *Phars.* 3. 239, describing India, can only have had cotton-muslin in mind, fluxa coloratis adstringunt carbasa gemmis. The noxia carpasa succo of Columella was as pointed out in a previous note a poison and not a textile.

It is reasonable to suppose that the cotton-fabrics which reached Europe from India would be muslins and fine in texture; little would be known of their material, and their name would come to denote only textile quality and so be used to include the fine linens of Tarragona which resembled them in fineness.

In a previous note on βύσσος I have pointed out that the Mediterranean region had its own indigenous flax, a perennial species, *Linum angustifolium*, which supplied a textile material in the prehistoric age, but was displaced by the Asiatic cultivated plant. I learn from Mr W. F. Smith that Sir James Frazer, whose Commentary on Pausanias I had not been able to consult, is in agreement in it 'on the subject of βύσσος' as a survival of the prehistoric textile.

I must correct an error into which I had fallen in overlooking the fact that the Russian *Linum perenne*, no doubt also a prehistoric textile plant, is distinct from the Mediterranean *Linum angustifolium* which at one time had been identified with it.

W. T. THISELTON-DYER.

The Journal
OF
PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

HENRY JACKSON, LITT. D.

H. W. GARROD, M.A.

ARTHUR PLATT, M.A.

VOL. XXXV.

London :

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Cambridge : BOWES AND BOWES.

DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO., LTD.

1920

CAMBRIDGE : PRINTED BY
J. B. PEACE, M.A.,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CONTENTS

No. LXIX.

	PAGE
The Siege of Praeneste. ROBERT GARDNER	1
On the Lex Iulia Municipalis. E. G. HARDY	19
The Change from the Ancient to the Modern Greek Accent. CLARA M. KNIGHT	51
Apollonius III. ARTHUR PLATT	72
Aeschylea. ARTHUR PLATT	86
The Catharsis-Clause in German Criticism before Lessing. JOSEPH E. GILLET	95
'Arcus.' G. P. BIDDER	113
Some Homeric Aorist Participles. ARTHUR PLATT	128
Emendations of Marcus Aurelius' Commentaries. A. S. L. FAR- QUHARSON	133
Juvenal and Two of his Editors. S. G. OWEN	142
On <i>Eudemian Ethics</i> III v, vi. HENRY JACKSON	147
Contamination in Morphology. CLARA M. KNIGHT	152
On Porson's Emendation of <i>Persae</i> 321. H. J. C. B. H.	161
Notes on Plato's <i>Phaedrus</i> . ARTHUR PLATT	162

No. LXX.

	PAGE
The Early Roman Treaties with Tarentum and Rhodes. M. CARY	165
The Land Legislation of Julius Caesar's First Consulship. M. CARY	174
Aristotle's Lecture-Room and Lectures. HENRY JACKSON . . .	191
Triste Profundi Imperium. A. E. HOUSMAN	201
Ancient Historians and their Sources. G. H. STEVENSON . . .	204
Clausulae and Platonic Chronology. L. BILLIG	225
A New Supplement to the Berne Scholia on Virgil. H. J. THOMSON	257
The Ibis of Ovid. A. E. HOUSMAN	287
On the <i>Hippias Major</i> . DOROTHY TARRANT	319
Aeschylea. ARTHUR PLATT	332

THE JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

THE SIEGE OF PRAENESTE¹.

The year 82 B.C. heralded a campaign in the Civil Wars which proved to be of vital importance for the future of Rome and Italy, despite the conspicuous, and, one might have thought, almost decisive successes of Sulla and his chief lieutenant, the proconsul Metellus, in the previous year. Sulla's advance along the Via Appia² from Brundisium to

¹ To Dr T. Ashby, Director of the British School at Rome, I must express my sincere thanks for visiting with me the country in the neighbourhood of Praeneste and Mt Algidus and for much help in this attempt to deal with the topographical problems connected with the siege of Praeneste. I must acknowledge also the kindness of Professor J. S. Reid who not only read through this paper, but also made many invaluable criticisms and suggestions, chiefly in relation to the literary evidence, of which I have gladly availed myself.

² Plutarch, *Sulla* 27. It is certain that he went along the Via Appia and not along the road from Brundisium to Beneventum through Canusium and Herdoniae, described by Strabo in full (vi. 3. 7) and by Horace in part (*Satires* i. 5), because mention is made of incidents at Tarentum and Silvium,

stations on the Via Appia. In Appian i. 84 we read *πρώτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίγνετο μάχη· καὶ θνήσκουσι Νωρβανοῦ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐβδομήκοντα, τραυματῖαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοί. καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐς Καπύην ἀνέφευξεν.* This corresponds closely with Florus; *primum apud Capuam sub amne Volturmo signa concurrunt.* The two go back to the same source and Canusium is clearly a blunder for some name in Campania. The mention of the river Volturnus suggests Casilinum, where the opening skirmishes before the great battle of Tifata may have taken place. Norbanus may have attempted to bar Sulla's course at Casilinum, but, in this case, his line of retreat would be to the W. of the Volturnus not to the E., on which side Capua lay. Nothing is known of the details of the battle of Mount Tifata. Velleius' text

Campania had been marked by no opposition from the Lucanians or Apulians, and, on his reaching Campania, was crowned by his victory over Norbanus at Mount Tifata and the defection of Scipio's army at Teanum Sidicinum. During the winter season Norbanus was kept closely blockaded in Capua and an abortive attempt was made to come to terms with him.

In the spring of the following year the struggle was renewed on both sides with surprising enthusiasm. Its character, too, underwent a decisive change. Instead of remaining, as it had begun, merely a struggle for the possession of government between the leaders of the Democratic and Oligarchical parties, it was transformed into a great national conflict, the expiring effort of Samnium to cast off the yoke of Rome. All the primitive rivalry between Samnite and Latin, all the deepest animosity which had burnt so furiously in the old days before the conquest of Italy, was rekindled into one last gigantic beacon flame, which was but the signal for its own final extinction.

The most advanced and determined leaders of the democracy, Carbo and young Marius, the twenty year old son of the victor of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae, were appointed to the consulship. The former went north up the Via Flaminia to oppose Metellus and Pompeius in the neighbourhood of Ariminum; the latter, with 40,000 troops under his standards, among whom would be many of the veterans who had served under his father, marched down towards Campania to relieve Norbanus at Capua. But Sulla, leaving a detachment to maintain the blockade, anticipated his arrival and marched up into Latium to meet him. The two armies met somewhere in the Volscian Hills (the Monti Lepini). Whether they were marching along the Via Appia or the Via Latina, the two great military highways between Rome and Campania, is not explicitly stated and a divergence between our two authorities, Plutarch and Appian, forbids a decisive statement upon the

(post victoriam † qua demendes † montem Tifata, ii. 25. 4) is hopelessly corrupt and Halm's reading *defendens*

montem Tifatam seems improbable. Nor do we know who was the second ἀνθύπατος (besides Sulla).

point. Plutarch¹ abruptly breaks away from his account of the surrender of Scipio to say that 'after this Marius with eighty-five cohorts challenged Sulla to battle near Signium.' 'Signium' is undoubtedly the old Latin colony of Signia (the modern Segni) situated on the northern slopes of the Volscian Hills; the Via Latina runs at the base of the escarpment following the level ground in the Sacco valley. Thus the two armies would have marched along the Via Latina from Rome and Campania respectively. But from the narrative of Appian² we gather that after Sulla had captured Setium Marius, who was encamped in the neighbourhood, retreated gradually, but, on reaching what was called the Sacred Harbour (or Harbour of Sacer), arrayed his forces for battle and fought with desperate courage. In this case the Via Appia, not the Via Latina, would have been the road taken by the two commanders. 'Setium' or Setia (now Sezze) stands upon a rocky summit at the southern edge of the Volscian Hills looking down upon the Pontine Marshes, a thousand feet below, through which runs the Via Appia, some four miles further south. Perhaps on general considerations³ it is better to assume that it was nearer Signia

¹ Sulla 28. Ἐκ τούτου περὶ Σίγνιον Μάριος ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε σπείρας ἔχων προῦκαλεῖτο Σύλλαν.

² Appian B. C. i. 87. Σύλλα Σήτιον καταλαβόντος, ὃ Μάριος ἀγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ὡς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἱερὸν λιμένα, ἐξέτασσεν εἰς μάχην καὶ ἡγωνίζετο προθύμως. Vell. Pat. ii. 26. C. Marius... apud Sacriportum pulsus a Sulla acie Praeneste, quod ante natura munitum praesidiis firmaverat, se exercitumque contulit. Cf. also Florus, iii. 21. 23, Aur. Vict. Vir. Ill. 68. 75.

³ Our best and indeed only account of the Civil War is given by Appian. We must use his narrative as our foundation and regard Plutarch only as a secondary source. But in this particular instance it would seem that Plutarch is more likely to be correct. Writing considerably before Appian he

derived information from the lost memoirs of Sulla, and, however these may be tainted and falsified by personal caprice, they are more likely to be correct upon a topographical point of this sort than the source (probably Livy) employed by Appian. Plutarch indicates that he used or inspected a number of authors. He mentions Fenestella both in the life of Pompey and in that of Crassus. Sallust, too, was very likely used. Livy's topographical passages are notoriously untrustworthy. Even apart from the relative reliability of our sources the Via Latina seems preferable to the Via Appia. Its line of communication is more natural though more difficult; but, if Sulla advanced along the Via Appia from Tarracina, it is hard to say why he should cross the dangerous Pontine Marshes to capture Setia,

rather than Setia that Sulla and Marius first faced each other. The scene, too, of the engagement at Sacriportus seems to turn the balance of probability in favour of Signia. To reach the generally recognised site of Sacriportus¹ from Signia is merely

which cannot in any way be said to command the Via Appia in the same way as Signia commands the Latina. The Pontine Marshes *par excellence* command the Via Appia between Ad Sponsas and Tarracina, and Horace (*Sat.* i. 5. 3-23) tells us forty-five years later (37 B.C.) that a canal boat rather than a road was used to convey travellers from Forum Appi to Tarracina.

Previously, however, to the construction of the Via Appia from Rome to Capua in 312 B.C., there must have existed a road which ran from Velitrae across the valley to Cori and along the base of the Volscian Hills to Tarracina. The mutineers from Campania (*Livy* vii. 29) would march up it from Lautulae to the Alban Hills. Setia indeed commands this road, which must have been in regular use even long after the Via Appia was built across the Pontine Marshes, because of the great difficulty of maintaining the military highway in a fit condition for regular traffic. Nerva and Trajan devoted great attention to this dangerous stretch, the Decennovium as it was called. It is generally assumed from the well-known inscriptions (*CIL.* x. 6824, 6839) that the Decennovium was not, like the rest of the Via Appia, paved with *silex* until the time of Nerva and Trajan. The same troubles made their appearance in the middle ages, owing to the increasing damage inflicted by the marshes, and till the end of the 18th century the road running below Cora Norba and Setia was regularly used as a post road. If, indeed, it was Setia rather than Signia that Sulla captured

he would certainly have marched up from Tarracina along this earlier and more natural road. There may be some MS. corruption, but the possibilities of ΣΙΓΝ being changed into ΣΗΤ, or vice-versa, are a matter of palaeography rather than topography. Dr Reid thinks that perhaps *Anagnia* was the town captured by Sulla, as he might have wanted to try a turning movement between Anagnia and Praeneste by way of Capitulum Hernicum, the modern Piglio. This may have been difficult, but quite possible. Indeed, when he was advancing against Rome from Praeneste, he sent parties δι' ἐρέρων καὶ ἐρέρων ὁδῶν. *Appian* i. 88. 7.

¹ It is generally believed that the Torre Piombinara or Pimpinara near the modern railway station of Segni marks the site of Sacriportus. (Cf. *Papers of British School at Rome*, Vol. i. p. 280 and v. p. 422.) S. Ilario about 3 kilometres to the west is certainly to be identified with *Ad Bivium* where the Via Latina and the Via Labicana joined; Compitum Anagninum, however, much further east may have been the original point of junction of the two roads. It is unfortunate that classical literature does not throw any further light upon the position or nature of Sacriportus. That it was in the neighbourhood of the junction of the Via Latina and the Via Labicana is merely a hypothesis deduced from the relative positions of Signia and Praeneste. On the other hand, if it was near Setia that Sulla and Marius first met, we should naturally suppose Marius to have retreated

a descent of some six miles from the higher ground into the heart of the Sacco valley; but, on the other hand, the difficulty of the mountain paths in the northern Volscian Hills, which hereabouts reach over five thousand feet in the summits of M. Semprevisa and M. Lupone, militates against the supposition that two large armies could have cut across this rugged chain.

However, a decisive battle was fought at Sacriportus. Plutarch's¹ account is embellished with a number of details, in which we can clearly detect the influence of Sulla's memoirs. Marius' troops had occupied all the roads, to the great discomfort of Sulla's advance guard. A heavy storm of rain burst over the combatants. Sulla's lieutenants were urging him to postpone an engagement in order to allow his wearied troops to enjoy a few hours' sleep; but a sudden attack from the enemy roused his men to fury and they repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Appian² says that the wavering of Marius' left wing spread dismay among the rest. Five cohorts of infantry and two of cavalry deserted to Sulla, while the remainder broke and fled to Praeneste (the modern Palestrina), hotly pursued by the victors. The fugitives who first reached the walls of the friendly city found the gates open, but as Sulla's troops drew nearer, the gates were shut and Marius only

through the valley E. of Velitrae towards Praeneste. In this case Sacriportus must be localised in the valley between Velitrae and the Volscian Hills rather than in that of the Sacco. Nibby (*Analisi* iii. 52) and Gell (*The Topography of Rome and its vicinity*, p. 358) favour the view that the *Torre Piombinara* marks the site of Sacriportus. Bunbury (in *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geog.* ii. p. 871) places it in a similar position, though the fact that he says that Marius' line of retreat from Setia lay in the opening between the Alban hills and the Volscian mountains does not support his view too strongly. The

Torre Piombinara is surely quite out of the way of the direct line of retreat through the Velitrae valley to Praeneste. Again, the precise meaning of Sacriportus (or *ὁ ἑρὸς λιμὴν* as Appian translates it) cannot be satisfactorily determined. The 'Harbour of Sacer' is very indefinite. In any case junction of the Via Latina and the Via Labicana was of great strategic importance and possibly this fact may really decide the question, for Marius, if he retreated that way, must have seen the necessity of an attempt to maintain communications with Rome.

¹ *Sulla* 29.

² *B.C.* i. 87. 6-8.

escaped destruction by being drawn up over the battlements¹ by means of a rope. Those less fortunate were cut down or captured; the Samnites, of whom great numbers fell into Sulla's hands, were massacred in cold blood, ὡς αἰὲ χαλεποὺς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένους. The siege of Praeneste² then began.

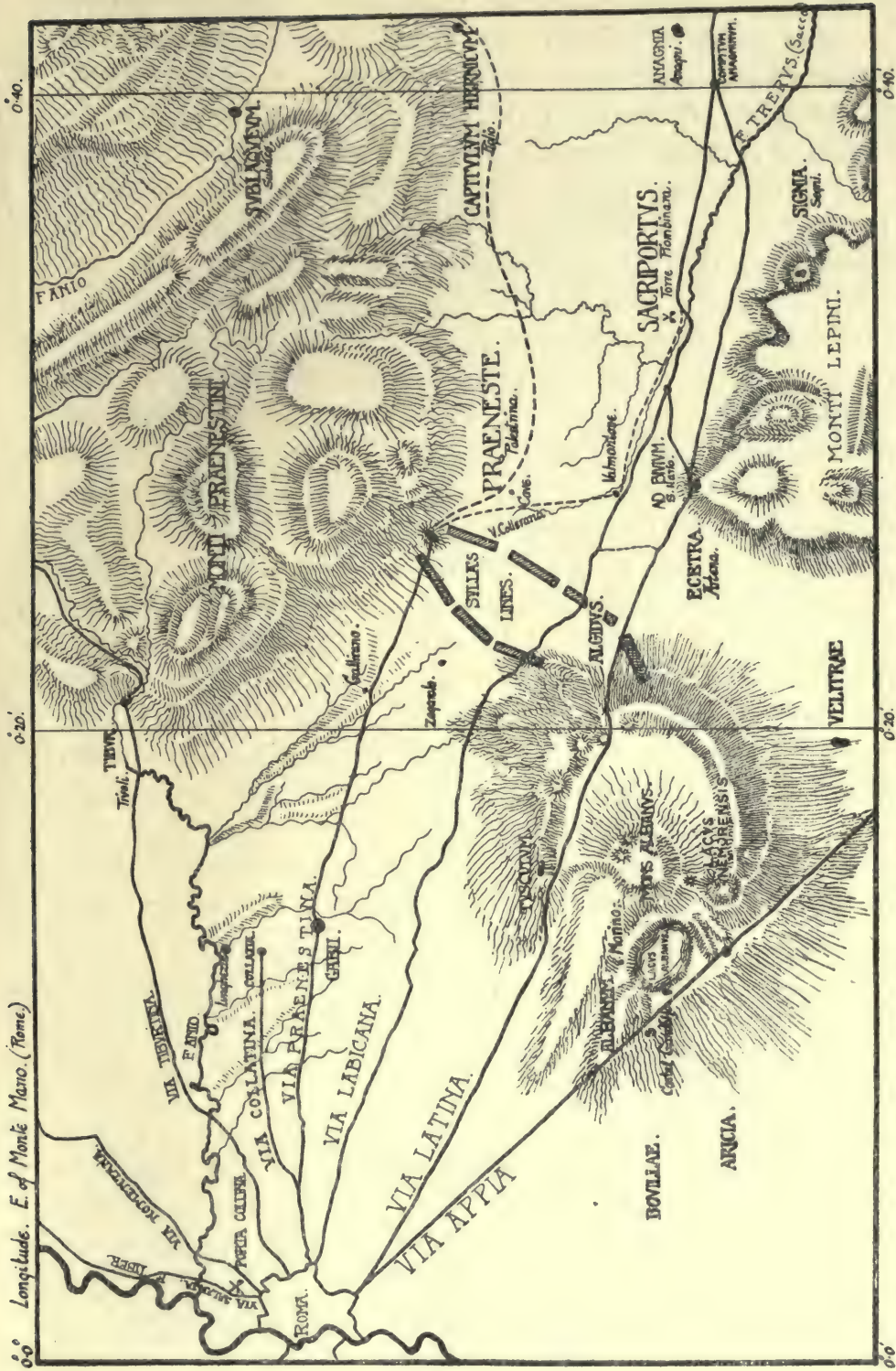
There was perhaps no ancient city in Latium whose position was so important strategically as that of Praeneste. From Tibur the escarpment of the Apennines runs straight down in a south easterly direction to join, as it were, the Volscian mountains above Signia, but, at Praeneste, its line suddenly changes to due east and then descends roughly parallel with the present Sacco valley (the ancient Trerus or Tolerus). Between Praeneste and the base of the external crater of the Alban Hills lies an area of undulating ground, at its lowest point 361 metres above sea level. From the base of the hill upon which Praeneste stood this curiously undulating expanse, in which the differences of level are frequent but never serious, gradually rises so that the traveller who walks from Palestrina station towards the Pass of Algidus finds himself imperceptibly rising and gaining from time to time an increasingly magnificent view of Palestrina and the clear cut summits behind. By the time that the Pass of Algidus is reached he has climbed some 200 metres. Between Palestrina and Valmontone the monotonous undulations assume an aspect resembling that of a valley; and the same is true, though in a slightly more pronounced degree, of the Valle Collerano running S.E. from the village of Cave. A distance of some eight kilometres separates Palestrina from the nearest edge of the Alban crater; to the modern village of Artena (possibly the ancient Ecetra)³

¹ It seems absurd to suppose that this was actually the case and that all or nearly all of his followers were put to death. Velleius (ii. 26) more soberly says apud Sacriportum pulsus a Sulla acie Praeneste, quod ante natura munitum praesidiis firmaverat, se exercitumque contulit. Diodorus xxxviii. 15 says ὁ δὲ Μάριος μάχη τῇ πρὸς Σύλλαν γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος,

ὅμως ἡττηθεὶς κατέφυγεν εἰς Πραίνεστον ἅμα μυρίοις πεντακισχιλίοις.

² Livy, *Ep.* lxxxvii. Sulla C. Marium, exercitu eius fuso delectoque ad Sacriportum, in oppido Praeneste obsedit.

³ Cf. T. Ashby and G. J. Pfeiffer in *Supplementary Papers of the American School in Rome*, i. 87 seq.



PLAN ILLUSTRATING THE OPERATIONS ROUND PRAENESTE. 82 B.C.

SCALE. 1:250,000. ROMAN MILES. 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100

where the Via Latina skirts the N.N.W. edge of the Volscian Hills the distance is eleven kilometres. The low ground between the S.E. edge of the Alban Hills and the opposite extremity of the Volscians is only about four kilometres across, but partakes of the same physical characteristics as that which it cuts at right angles to the south of Praeneste.

Praeneste, like Tibur, was an early outpost against the Aequi. In later times it commanded three roads to Rome, the Via Praenestina, the Via Labicana and the Via Latina. The first ran direct to the capital across the tiny rivulets which fall into the Anio between Tibur and Rome and was prolonged in the other direction to join the Via Labicana¹; the second, after its divergence from the Latina, runs along the northern edge of the Alban Hills; the third cuts through the Pass of Algidus into the plateau between the inner and outer crater edges and emerges into the Campagna below Tusculum. But it was the strength of Praeneste as a fortress no less than the importance of its position in commanding three approaches to Rome that caused Sulla to be at such pains to capture it and the democratic leaders to set such store upon its relief. At the extremity of the spur of the Apennines where Praeneste stood a narrow ridge falls gently from the mountain, sweeps up into a final peak seven hundred and sixty metres high, upon which there is just sufficient room for a citadel to stand, and then sinks rapidly to a slope four hundred and seventy-two metres high. The bulk of the city was built upon this slope. Her arx was an almost impregnable citadel; only starvation could reduce it. In the early struggles her strength as a fortress and her position with regard to the strategic relationships of the surrounding peoples explain the continual series of crises² through which she passed.

¹ For the relations between the Via Latina and the Via Labicana see *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iv., Vol. i. 215 seq., 275 seq., iii. 6 seq., v. 425.

² Strabo v. 3. 11 well describes her position: ἀκραν γὰρ ἔχει τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὑπερθευ ὁρος ὑψηλόν, ὅπισθεν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς

συνεχούσης ὀρεινῆς αὐχένι διεξενγμένον, ὑπεραῖρον καὶ δυσὶ σταδίοις τούτου πρὸς ὀρθίαν ἀνάβασιν. His comment upon her position is well deserved: ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλαις πόλεσι πλείστον τὸ εὐεργκὲς πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τίθεται, Πραϊνεστίνοις δὲ συμφορὰ γεγέννηται διὰ τὰς Ῥωμαίων στάσεις.

Such, then, was the fortress into which Marius and the residue of his defeated troops barely escaped with their lives. The victor immediately took steps to reduce the city, but by starvation¹ rather than by actual assault. Trenches were dug and blockading walls erected, a considerable distance, as Appian says, from the city itself. Sulla's lieutenant, Lucretius Ofella, superintended these operations. In view of subsequent events they must have been very extensive and carried out with the usual skill displayed by the Romans in making² entrenchments. Leaving Ofella in command, Sulla³ advanced against the capital. Carbo, meantime, who had been operating with but scant success against Pompeius and Metellus round Ariminum, was informed of Marius' defeat at Sacriportus and his position at Praeneste. He saw the necessity for an immediate⁴ attempt to relieve his colleague, but was unable to take steps because Sulla had invaded Etruria in person. The interest of the war then centred round Praeneste.

From Etruria Carbo sent Marcius Censorinus with eight legions to force the blockade of the fortress. But this officer did not even reach the neighbourhood of Praeneste, because Pompey⁵ (apparently somewhere in Umbria) caught him in a defile, defeated him with great loss, and drove him to take refuge upon a neighbouring hill. Censorinus himself escaped,

¹ Appian *B. C.* i. 88. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Μάριον ἐς Πραϊνεστίνων κατακλείσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος, καὶ Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἐπέστησε τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς οὐκέτι μάχη παραστησόμενος Μάριον ἀλλὰ λιμῶ.

² Entrenchment work was the Roman soldier's most elementary duty. Marius entrenched his position on the Rhone in 102 B.C. with great thoroughness, while Caesar's lines round Dyrrhachium in the Civil war and Alesia in the Gallic war were of enormous extent.

³ Appian, *c.* 88. 7. Σύλλας δὲ στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ μέρη δι' ἐτέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ὁδῶν περιέπεμπε, ἐντελλόμενος τὰς πύλας καταλαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἀποκρουσ-

θεῖεν, ἐπὶ Ὅστια χωρεῖν.

⁴ Plutarch represents Carbo as flying to Africa at once without attempting to relieve Praeneste. *Sulla* 28: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ μικρὰ προσκρούσαντες οὗτοι μεγάλας συνέτριψαν δυνάμεις τῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε τὸν μάλιστα τὴν ἐναντίαν στάσιν συνέχοντα Κάρβωνα νύκτωρ ἀποδράντα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ στρατιὰν εἰς Λιβύην ἐκπλεῦσαι. But possibly among the victories of Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus and Servilius, mentioned by Plutarch in the previous paragraph of the same chapter, we are to include the success gained by Pompey over the first attempt to relieve Praeneste.

⁵ Appian, *B. C.* i. 90. 3-4.

but his unfortunate followers, regarding him as being in collusion with Pompey, took matters into their own hands. One legion defaulted to Ariminum, other troops went back to their homes, the residue, a mere handful, seven cohorts strong, remained faithful to their general and made their way back with him to Carbo in Etruria.

But a more determined attempt was made from the south. Seventy thousand¹ troops, of whom the majority would be Samnites and other *socii* making their last futile effort against the tyrant city, under Lamponius of Lucania, Pontius Telesinus of Samnium (surely a descendant of the old Samnite general) and Gutta from Capua, marched up the Via Latina with intent to relieve Praeneste. But Sulla, who must have returned posthaste from his successes in Etruria² to forestall this huge host, blocked their passage. Appian's language is ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἧ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου. The locality and nature of these στενὰ constitute an interesting topographical problem, to which it will be more convenient to return later, when the remaining attempts to raise the siege have been described.

Then Marius³, on hearing of these two unsuccessful attempts to relieve Praeneste, entered upon a campaign of active opposition to the besiegers by sallying forth from the gates and erecting a large fort between the city and Ofella's lines. Engines of war and troops were posted there and an effort was made to force the blockade. But all his devices were baffled and he was forced to retire to the city.

Yet a third⁴ attempt was made to relieve Marius. Carbo

¹ Appian, *B. C.* i. 90. 5. Μάρκον δὲ Λαμπώνιον ἐκ Λευκανίας καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσίνον ἐκ τῆς Σαννίτιδος καὶ τὸν Καπυαῖον Γούτταν, μεθ' ἐπτὰ μυριάδων ἐπείγομένους Μάριον ἐξελεῖσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἧ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου.

² These successes are described by Appian, *B. C.* i. 89, 90. 1-2.

³ Appian, *B. C.* i. 90. 6. καὶ ὁ Μάριος ἀπογιγνώσκων ἤδη τὰς ἔξωθεν

ἐπικουρίας, φρούριον ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ μεγάλῳ ὄντι ἤγειρεν, ἐς δὲ καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι τὸν Λουκρήτιον. πολυημέρου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ποικίλης τῆς πείρας γενομένης, οὐδὲν ἀνύων ἐς Πραινεστὸν αὐθις συνεκλείετο. Livy, *Ep.* lxxxvii. Marium erumpere temptantem reppulit.

⁴ Appian, *B. C.* i. 92. 1. Κάρβων δὲ ἕτερα δύο τέλη στρατιωτῶν ἐς Πραινεστὸν ἄγειν ἔπεμπε Δαμάσιππον, ὑπερ-

despatched two more legions from Etruria under Damasippus¹ to attempt to break through the blockading lines. But in vain. ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὔτοι τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα, as Appian says. Damasippus and his men had no other course but to return whence they came. Despairing of the democratic cause, Carbo then fled to Africa leaving Carrinas, Censorinus and Damasippus to oppose Sulla and his capable officers. These three², in conjunction with the Samnites and others under Lamponius, Telesinus and Gutta, of whom we have heard nothing since their repulse by Sulla from before Praeneste, made a last desperate effort to cut through the blockade. But not even the combined army, which must have numbered nearly 100,000 men, was able to make any impression upon the lines.

Baffled and disappointed they advanced upon the almost depopulated and starving Rome and encamped ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν one hundred stades away from the city gates. With the Battle of the Colline Gate we are only concerned in so far that Plutarch³ says that when Sulla was being hard pressed fugitives from among his troops fled to Ofella before Praeneste and urged him to abandon the blockade with all speed, since Sulla was dead and Rome was in possession of the enemy. Thus the siege of Praeneste was within an ace of being raised.

ἐπειγόμενος Μάριον ἐκλύσαι τῆς πολιορκίας· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὔτοι τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα.

¹ Damasippus, otherwise Brutus, was last heard of in c. 84. 4 as Marius' agent in the massacres at Rome (cf. Livy, *Ep.* lxxxvi.). On Sulla reaching Rome, it is most natural to suppose that he fled to Carbo in Etruria and came from the north to Praeneste.

² Appian, c. 92. 5. Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Δαμάσιππος, οἷς εἶχον ἅπασιν, ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἐχώρουν, ὡς ὁμοῦ τοῖς Σαννίταις βιασόμενοι πάντως αὐτὰ πειρᾶσαι. οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ὥς, ἐφέροντο ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ

τροφῶν ἅμα καταληψόμενοι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ πρὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν.

Plut. *Sulla* 29. Ἔσπευδε μὲν γὰρ ἅμα Λαμπωνίῳ τῷ Λευκανῷ (ὁ Σαννίτης Τελεσίνος) χεῖρα πολλὴν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Πραινεστὸν ὡς ἐξαρπασόμενος τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν Μάριον. Plutarch proceeds to give an account of the battle of the Colline Gate and so assumes that the Samnites tried not *twice* but *once* only to force their way into Praeneste. Their first attempt is mentioned only by Appian (c. 90. 5); Plutarch mentions apparently only the second.

³ *Sulla*, c. 29, end.

We are now in a position to examine the topographical problem presented by the phrase of Appian *ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἣ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν*. Plutarch's narrative does not help us at all. Only in connexion with the Battle of the Colline Gate does he say that Lucretius Ofella was in charge of the blockade of Praeneste. Only one attempt at relief does he mention, that on the part of the Samnites, nor does he succinctly state from which direction it came. From the sober and unimaginative narrative of Appian we infer that four distinct attempts were made to raise the siege. With the first, that of Censorinus from the north which came to an evil end in some Umbrian defile, we are not here concerned, for there can be no possible connexion between the *στενὰ* mentioned in that context (c. 90. 3) and the *στενὰ* (c. 90. 5; 92. 1. 5) which are the subject of our consideration. On the second occasion, when Lamponius, Pontius Telesinus and Gutta made their first effort, we must undoubtedly assume that they marched up the Via Latina from the S.E. They found their passage blocked by Sulla, *ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἣ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν*. The same fate befell the two legions subsequently despatched by Carbo under Damasippus. But, assuming that Damasippus came from the N.E., as seems highly probable, did he encounter Sulla in the same *στενὰ* which proved fatal to the Samnites advancing from a diametrically opposite direction? And again, when the Samnites joined forces with Carrinas, Censorinus and Damasippus, did the whole army attack the same *στενὰ* from one and the same direction, as the narrative would lead us to believe, or did they deliver a simultaneous attack from N.W. and S.E.?

It is generally thought that these *στενὰ* are south of Praeneste, but it is hard to find an exact spot to satisfy all the conditions. On the south side of Praeneste the nearest locality which justifies the appellation of defile (*στενὰ*) is the veritable ravine between Anagni and Ferentino through which the railway from Rome to Naples closely follows the course of the Sacco. But to assume¹ that this is the *στενὰ* in which the last

¹ Fernique (*Etude sur Préneste in de Rome et d'Athènes*, 1880) recognises that this defile (San Germano) is

three attempts at relief were frustrated by Sulla is absurd, for not only is it much too far from Praeneste (nearly 17 miles), but it is impossible to explain how the relieving forces from the N.W. managed to entangle themselves in it, unless they were at pains to make a long détour either across the heights above Praeneste or round the Alban Hills and across the inhospitable summits of the Volscians.

Such is the nature of the ground between Praeneste and the bases of the Alban and Volscian Hills that we cannot genuinely apply the name of defile to any of the insignificant undulations which are its predominant physical feature. From the N.W. corner of the walls of Ferentinum (the modern Ferentino some 20 miles E.S.E. of Palestrina) a splendid view is obtained of the Sacco valley, bounded on the N. by the Apennines and the S. by the Volscians, right up to Palestrina and Algidus. The lines of hill seem to converge upon the low ground separating these two points. After the steep drop S. of Palestrina the ground presents the appearance of a perfectly straight line which rises very slightly as far as the base of the Alban crater. Although it presents the appearance of a pass it does not seem sufficiently narrow to be genuinely *στενὰ*. Viewed too, from the N.W. (very conveniently from the station of Lunghezza on the railway between Rome and Tivoli) the same features are observed. We see the same broad pass, generally presenting easy communication, but not entirely innocent of lurking defiles¹ in which an army could be checked.

quite out of the question. He says 'Il ne me semble pas probable, d'après le texte d'Appian, que Sylla ait été attendre l'ennemi au défilé de San Germano, et de l'autre part dans les environs mêmes de Préneste il n'y a pas de véritable défilé: on ne peut donner ce nom au val Pepe, qui s'étend dans la direction de Valmonte, ni à la vallée qui s'étend de Palestrina à Cave.'

¹ The country, indeed, looking from Lunghezza towards Gallicano and Zagarolo is pierced with numerous small defiles, traversed by tributaries

of the Anio. Between the Lago di Gabii and Gallicano the Via Praenestina crosses several ridges and defiles rather sharply. The cut known as Cavamonte below Gallicano (cf. E. Lear, *Illustrated Excursions in Italy*, 1846, p. 2) by which the Via Praenestina is taken through one of these ridges is quite artificial; thence to Palestrina the road runs perfectly straight and easily. These defiles are characteristic of the band of country between Tibur and Praeneste, where the central Apennine chain sinks

There is, however, nothing there resembling the true defiles of the Etruscan plateau, which when viewed from an equivalent height seems to present a perfectly straight and unbroken edge, but to the observer from such a vantage point as Soracte or the Ciminian volcano, is indented with countless gorges and ravines, deep and precipitous, in which many a Roman army must have perished during the long struggle for supremacy in Southern Etruria. Indeed, the famous pass of Algidus at the N.E. edge of the external crater of the Alban Hills through which the Via Latina passed is the only true defile in the vicinity of Palestrina, but to hold it alone would be quite inadequate, for while blocking the Via Latina it would leave open the Via Labicana and the Via Praenestina. It has been held probable by authorities¹ who have had opportunity to examine the country that the high ground between Palestrina and Cave is the best place to forestall any movement of an enemy endeavouring to relieve Praeneste. But though this locality is admirably suited for the prevention of an attack from the S.E., it leaves the line of advance from the N.W. entirely open, and, however gently we are to treat Appian's use of the word *στενὰ*, it must be acknowledged that this locality fails to satisfy two important conditions.

A consideration of our literary and topographical evidence allows us to venture the hypothesis that the word *στενὰ* used² by Appian here refers to the whole of the broad pass between the spur of the Apennines upon which Praeneste stood and the N.E. and N.W. extremities of the Alban and Volscian Hills respectively. This was *par excellence* the *στενὰ, ἡ μόνη διαβατὸν*

finally into the plain. But they could be easily turned and could not seriously interfere with the advance of an army from the N.W.

¹ Cf. Appian, *B. C. i.*, edited by J. L. Strachan-Davidson, pp. 93, 94, note 5, where the opinions of G. M^cN. Rushforth (late Director of the British School at Rome) and St Clair Baddeley are given.

² Appian is probably copying from Livy, and it is not improbable that the

word used by Livy which Appian has rendered by *στενὰ*, did not convey exactly the same meaning of a narrow defile as is to be derived from the Greek. If the word used by Livy were *saltus* it would apply quite well to an open valley with sides not at all precipitous. The real equivalent of *στενὰ* would be *angustiae*. *Saltus* is occasionally but loosely applied to such a place.

ἦν, because any army marching to the relief of Praeneste would necessarily have to enter this broad pass between the hills whether it came along the Via Labicana or Praenestina from the N.W. or along the Labicana from the S.E. We suggest that Sulla's lines extended right across the undulating ground from the pass of Algidus to Praeneste (see sketch map, p. 7). A cohort stationed near the Pass could well hold the position against great numerical odds, while observers upon M. Castellaccio just to the north of the defile would have no difficulty in detecting a relieving army in its advance from the S.E. or the N.W. From a point at the bottom of the escarpment we might assume that the blockading lines took two general directions, namely N.N.E. and E.N.E. The former would frustrate any attack from the side of Rome, the latter from the side of Campania. On nearing Praeneste they might curve inwards and terminate at the foot of the escarpment N.W. and S.E. of the hill upon which the city stands. Praeneste, thus, would in a sense be the centre of the base of a triangle formed by blockading lines, whose apex was below Algidus. Only by supposing lines of such a nature can we explain the facility with which Sulla baffled the attempts at relief. Furthermore, the facts that the interval between Praeneste and the blockading lines was so large (ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος, Appian, i. c. 88. 3; ἐν τῷ μεταίχμῳ μεγάλῳ ὄντι, ibidem c. 90. 6), and that Marius was able to plant a fort some distance from the city seem to favour the hypothesis that the lines radiated out from near Algidus, like the two arms of a triangle. It is possible, of course, that the whole country was much more extensively wooded than at present. This contingency would considerably modify the conditions of the blockade and give much support to the theory that one of the small valleys, S.E. of Praeneste, which are at present in no sense στενὰ, ἢ μόνη διαβατὸν ἦν, may be that which was so successfully blocked by Sulla.

In the case of the fourth and last attempt to raise the siege it seems extremely probable that a combined attack was made upon the blockading lines, by Carrinas, Censorinus and Damasippus, from the N.W. and by the Samnites from

the S.E. Otherwise, if, as we suppose, Sulla held the whole of the ground between Algidus and Praeneste, no invading army from the N. could attempt to relieve Praeneste from the S. side except by making a *détour* round the Alban Hills and coming up the valley from Velitrae. Upon the failure of this effort we read that the combined armies marched upon Rome and encamped ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν¹. The scene of this encampment must be somewhere on the lower western slopes of the external Alban crater, within the triangle formed by the ancient Bovillae and the modern villages of Castel Gandolfo and Marino. To reach it we may assume that the democratic leaders, attacking from the N., retreated down the Via Labicana and then struck across towards the Via Appia, whereas the Samnites who were endeavouring to break through Sulla's lines on the S.E. side could not but march down to Velitrae where they would soon strike the Via Appia.

The Battle of the Colline Gate secured the fall both of Rome and Praeneste. The heads of Carrinas and Censorinus were sent by Sulla to Ofella with instructions that they were to be paraded in triumph round the walls. Just as Hannibal realised that his cause was lost when the head of his brother Hasdrubal was thrown by the consul Nero before his lines in Apulia, so the brave people of Praeneste realised that further resistance was hopeless when they beheld the grim emblems of Sulla's victory. They, too, could expect no better fate, if they further provoked the relentless anger of their conqueror. Seeing no further prospect of relief, for everywhere the democratic forces were at their lowest ebb, the rank and file broken and shattered, their commanders either dead or in exile, they surrendered the city to Lucretius Ofella. Marius, in endeavouring to escape through one of the drain² passages

¹ The modern village of Albano rose upon the ruins of the camp established there before the time of Septimius Severus, who quartered in it the second Parthian legion. In the later republican days Albanum had become

a stereotyped name for a villa on the slopes below the Alban lake. Alba Longa should be placed near Castel Gandolfo. (Cf. T. Ashby, *Journal of Philology*, 1899, xxvii. p. 37 sqq.)

² Plut. *Sulla* 32. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ

beneath the city was captured and committed suicide. His head was sent by Lucretius to Sulla, who, casting it down in the Forum before the rostra delivered with cynical brutality the proverb ἐρέτην δεῖ πρῶτα γενέσθαι πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν.

A grand inquisition was held at Praeneste. According to Plutarch¹ Sulla began to judge and condemn each man privately and upon his individual merits, but, as such a procedure was too lengthy, all the captives to the number of twelve thousand were herded together and summarily executed, his host alone being spared. Appian² gives a slightly discrepant version. Ofella either imprisoned or executed all senators who had served under Marius; but the survivors of these met with instant doom when Sulla arrived from Rome. Thereupon the population and the rank and file were marched out into the plain before the city, unarmed and helpless. Sulla followed the example of the five men³ of Lacedaemon, who enquired of the captive Plataeans if in the course of the war they had served Sparta and her allies to any good purpose; but, unlike them, he was actuated more by private enmity than public spirit, for he spared only those 'who had been useful to himself in any way.' Those who had not been so fortunate were divided up into three companies, Romans, Samnites and Praenestines. The Romans were pardoned, even those whose execution would have been justified, but all the rest were cut down. The city was given over to the pillagers, who doubtless

Μάριος μὲν ἀλίσκόμενος ἑαυτὸν διέφθειρε. App. B.C. i. 94. 1. τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδοσαν, Μαρίου καταδύοντος ἐς τάφρους ὑπονόμους, καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ ἀνελόντος ἑαυτόν. Livy, Ep. lxxxviii. C. Marius Praeneste obsessus a Lucretio Ofella Sullanarum parte viro, cum per cuniculum captaret evadere, saeptus ab exercitu mortem sibi conscivit. id est, in ipso cuniculo, cum sentiret se evadere non posse, cum Pontio Telesino fugae comite stricto utrimque gladio concurrir; quem cum occidisset, ipse saucius impetravit a servo, ut se occi-

deret. Strabo v. 3. 11. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρυμνότητι καὶ διώρυξι κρυπταῖς διατέτρηται πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῶν πεδίων ταῖς μὲν ὕδρεας χάριν ταῖς δ' ἐξόδων λαθραίων, ὧν ἐν μὲν Μάριος πολιορκούμενος ἀπέθανε.

¹ Sulla 32.

² B.C. i. 94.

³ Thucydides iii. 52. 3-4. With regard to Sulla's trick of enquiring whether prisoners had done him any good, cf. Plut. Sulla 30, where some are asked to earn their pardon by attacking their former comrades.

revelled in the magnificence of its public and private treasures. Gallant Praeneste had fought its last fight.

[NOTE. This article was written in December 1913. The years between have confirmed the impression that the blockading of these *στεινὰ* by armies so trained in the construction of field works as those of the Romans was a very ordinary feat. Earth-works, wide trenches and barricades presented a formidable obstacle to troops who were without the support which artillery has given to human courage and physical effort. In modern warfare an attack on an entrenched position invariably succeeds, granted perfection in preparations. In ancient times, however, a defending force, securely established in the field works of the period, whatever their nature may have been, stood an excellent chance of holding out against great numerical odds.]

ROBERT GARDNER.

ON THE LEX IULIA MUNICIPALIS.

Prof. Reid's recent article on "the so-called Lex Iulia Municipalis" (J. R. S. vol. v, part 2) had been looked forward to with some interest. He was known to have regarded the inscription as an enigmatical document, but there was always the chance that, out of the special study he was devoting to it, he would evolve some conclusions, more or less definite, on the most essential questions which require answers. It cannot be said that these anticipations have been fulfilled. With the exception of a new hypothesis as to the identity of the *professi* in the opening lines of the Table, Prof. Reid's conclusions are all negative or destructive. If he found the document enigmatical, he has left it a disconnected medley. Apart from the opening section, to which a probable date may be assigned, we have, it appears, to deal with incoherent extracts, often abominably reproduced, from undatable laws or projects of law. No connexion and no common purpose is to be detected in these *disiecta membra*, no one throws any ray of light upon any other, and the question, why they are all found together on a tablet discovered at Heraclea, is regarded as too insoluble to be approached at all.

I may frankly explain why I am desirous of dealing briefly with some of Prof. Reid's main points. If they are accepted, or allowed to pass unchallenged, all the more constructive portion of my own article (J. R. S. vol. iv, part 1), always courteously referred to by him, would fall to the ground. I was of course never sanguine enough to expect any wide acceptance of my conclusions in a region littered with shattered or obsolete hypotheses, but I am reluctant to allow Prof. Reid's unqualified verdict of 'unacceptable' to go forth against them without some criticism of the arguments on which that verdict rests. I shall

therefore, without any unnecessary restatement of my own position, make an attempt to disarm the fresh objections made to it, and then ask the perhaps very small public, sufficiently interested in the discussion, to re-examine my paper in the light of criticisms made and replies offered.

THE PROFESSI.

With regard to the first section of the Table, and especially its relation to Caesar's reform of the *frumentationes*, I may perhaps be allowed to refer to a restatement of my own interpretation in the Classical Quarterly (Jan. 1917) in connexion with a theory put forward by Prof. Jefferson Elmore (J. R. S. vol. v, part 1). I am glad to find that Prof. Reid rejects that theory on grounds which do not differ essentially from those used by me. As far as its bearing upon the nature of the whole document is concerned, I should be well content with the hypothesis which Prof. Reid substitutes for that which we both reject, for, if I understand him rightly, he regards lines 1—19 as forming part of the law in accordance with which Caesar's *recensus* and corn reforms were carried out. That is also my view. But I cannot agree with the hypothesis, now for the first time put forward, as to the persons who are to make the *professio*, and whose names and declarations are to be recorded in the public archives and posted up in the forum.

According to Prof. Reid they were the *domini insularum*, through whose agency Caesar is said by Suetonius (*Iul.* 41) to have effected the *recensus populi* in the city district by district (*vicatim*)¹. I quite agree that the selection of the *domini insularum* to carry out the *recensus* is a proof that for the future there were to be no recipients of corn outside the tenants in the *insulae*. Accordingly, we are told, the first step in Caesar's reform was to disqualify from the receipt of corn all owners of

¹ It will perhaps be convenient to quote the passage of Suetonius. *Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium, frumentum e publico ad*

centum quinquaginta retraxit; ac ne qui novi coetus recensionis causa moveri quandoque possent, instituit, quotannis in demortuorum locum ex iis, qui recensi non essent, subsortitio a praetore fieret.

house property in Rome, as well as all those who, as occupants of separate houses, could have no equitable claim on the score of narrow means (p. 218). I do not discuss the question here whether the legal disqualification of these classes was necessary, or whether the *frumentationes* had always been for the poor alone, since Prof. Reid admits that the well-to-do had all along been practically excluded by considerations of social respectability and pride.

It was therefore to the inhabitants of the *insulae* only that the *recensus* was applied, but instead of the persons affected having to present themselves before a magistrate, Prof. Reid believes that the owners of the *insulae* were required to make a *professio* of all their tenants who were Roman citizens domiciled in Rome, the aliens and minors being omitted from the returns. Any owners of *insulae* absent from Rome, when the returns had to be made, could make their declarations through business agents, while those still in the position of *pupilli* or *pupillae* could make them through their legal guardians. In this way the passage of Suetonius is brought into connexion with the Table. The *professi* of the latter are the *domini insularum* making returns of their tenants, while all those persons, whose names are thus returned, are the *recensi* of Suetonius. I will merely note at this point that, if this explanation takes full account of the words *per dominos insularum*, it seems to ignore the word *vicatim*. If that word means anything, it must mean that the *domini* made their returns locally, that is, in each *vicus* where they had property, whereas the *professiones* of the Table are clearly all made to the same central magistrates.

Putting this however on one side, we are told that the most radical part of Caesar's reform was the reduction of this total number of persons enumerated (*recensi*) or returned to a fixed maximum of 150,000. But this reduction, according to Prof. Reid, followed upon, and formed no part of the *recensus*. The latter was a mere enumeration of those returned by the *domini*, while the former, he argues, must have been effected by a *sortitio*. This method would involve the least break with the hitherto accepted principle of equal claims for all, and is also indicated by the use of the term *subsortitio* in connexion with the annual

maintenance of the number. Again, the *recensus* and the *sortitio* which followed it were, in Prof. Reid's view, processes which took place once and once only. All the *recensi* were so far on an equality that they were all admitted to the *sortitio*, but those failing to secure a place among the 150,000 would remain permanently excluded, for there was no reason why any citizen should have more than his one chance. Vacancies in the list of recipients, caused by death or removal, were to be annually filled up by means of a *subsortitio*, applied solely to persons who had not been enumerated at all, *ex iis qui recensenti non essent*. At first sight it might seem difficult to find such persons, and the difficulty, as I have shown, is fatal to Prof. Elmore's system, but Prof. Reid declares them to have been those who had either become adult, or had domiciled themselves in Rome during the current year. These persons, like the original tenants in the *insulae*, we must suppose to have been presented to the praetor who managed the *subsortitio* through a *professio* made by the *domini insularum*, but somewhat arbitrarily we are forbidden to regard them as *recensi*. Presumably too the principle of one chance only would be applied to these annual applicants for a place on the list. The various hypotheses involved in this explanation not only, it is contended, bring the statement of Suetonius into intelligible relation to the Table, but get rid of three great stumbling-blocks, the penalisation of the *professi* by exclusion from the *frumentationes*, the mention of *pupilli* and *pupillae*, who are seen to be, not would-be corn recipients, but owners of *insulae*, and the necessity, involved in some other explanations¹, of supposing something like 170,000 names to have been posted up in the forum.

That this explanation is a great improvement on Prof. Elmore's, with which however it has more than one point in common, I do not deny. But it is not only, as its author admits, unsupported by evidence, but, while introducing fresh difficulties of its own, is not consistent with a satisfactory interpretation of Suetonius. According to this theory, Caesar's reform, resulting in the restricted list of 150,000 recipients of corn, consisted of

¹ This difficulty is inherent in Prof. Elmore's view, but not, as Prof. Reid

seems to assume, in mine. This will appear below.

three stages: (1) the preliminary disqualification of all owners of house property and all occupiers of separate houses, (2) the enumeration (*recensus*) with the help of the *domini* of all citizens domiciled in Rome and living in *insulae*, and (3) the application of a *sortitio* to these *recensi*, involving the permanent exclusion of all save the prearranged number of 150,000 on whom the lot fell. Now this view obviously depends on the assumption that the *recensus* was pure enumeration, with no element of selection, and therefore not what Dio calls it, an ἐξέτασις, and further, that both the *recensus* and the *recensi* dropped out of all relation to the *frumentationes* when once the supposed *sortitio* had taken place.

But why should a *recensus* any more than a *census* signify a mere counting of heads? Why should it not connote a process first of reaching a total by means of enumeration, and then of reducing it by some selective method to a smaller total? Surely Prof. Reid cuts the ground from under his own feet by first declaring that there is no difference between *recensus* and *recensio*, and then admitting that the latter can be used to describe the censorial register. In every passage where the word *recensus* is used (Suet. *Iul.* 41; *Aug.* 42; Liv. epit. 115)¹ it is not only in connexion with the corn distributions, but is closely associated, if not identified, with the reduction in the number of recipients. That the *recensus* and the reduction were not only parts of the same scheme, but involved one another, seems to me certain from the first sentence quoted above from Suetonius. Again, if Caesar adopted the method of selective exclusion in the case of the owners of *domus* and *insulae* (and Prof. Reid says that he did) is it not reasonable to assume that he would have adopted some analogous method with the 320,000, found by the *recensus* to be present recipients? Or are we to assume that the differences between comfortable and straitened means within that number were so slight as to be negligible? But, if we are justified in giving this wider scope to the *recensus*, and in regarding it as really an ἐξέτασις, and not a mere enumeration, then it would seem far more natural to understand by the term *recensi* not the first list gained by counting, but the reduced list

¹ I have discussed the passages fully in the *Classical Quarterly*.

of 150,000 persons, which after all was the final cause of the whole process.

Nor is there any validity in the inference from the use of the term *subsortitio* that there must have been a previous *sortitio*. The word simply means the appointment of substitutes by lot, and is therefore exactly appropriate, where it is not the creation of a list *de novo* that is in question, but the filling up of gaps in a list already existing, however that list was originally formed. I may add that the attempt to link up the *subsortitio* with a preceding *sortitio* is peculiarly unfortunate on Prof. Reid's theory, because the two processes are applied to essentially different categories, the persons submitted to the *sortitio* being absolutely ineligible for the *subsortitio*.

Once more, if the *recensus* was over and done with as soon as the total of 320,000 *recensi* was arrived at, how was it that Caesar foresaw in future years the possibility of disorderly assemblies *recensionis causa*? This phrase, which Prof. Reid only notices in remarking that *recensus* and *recensio* are identical, is really fatal to his theory. It proves that the *recensus* was not a process which took place once and once only, since the *subsortitio* is represented as a contrivance for making the *recensio* in future years more orderly. The passage also proves that those *qui recensui non essent* were eager to become *recensi*, and if so, the *recensi* must have been something more than a mere enumerated total; they must have been a select class with privileges attached to it.

I may notice here that Prof. Reid never makes it clear whether in his view the 320,000 persons of Suetonius represent the total of all burgesses domiciled in Rome (i.e. for him, the total of potential recipients) or merely the total of those dwelling in the *insulae* (a total practically co-extensive with actual recipients). If the former, his *recensi*, to whom the supposed *sortitio* was applied, would be appreciably less than 320,000. If the latter, there would have been no need to disqualify the *domini insularum* etc., since they were already outside the total which Suetonius declares to have been that of recipients up to the time of the *recensus*.

But apart from what seems to me the misinterpretation of

recensus, *recensi*, *recensionis causa* and *subsortitio*, let us see whether the identification of the *professi* with the *domini insularum* makes the first section of the Table easier to understand. The names of the *professi* as well as the contents of their declarations (*ea quae professus erit*) are not only to be preserved in the public archives, but also posted up legibly in the forum at the place where corn is distributed. We know that in the fourth century A.D. there were in Rome over 44,000 *insulae*, but it is obvious that no safe inference can be drawn from this as to the number of *domini insularum* in Caesar's time. Indeed, though we may have some misgivings, there is little to be said for or against Prof. Reid's contention that their number was sufficiently small for the list to be manageable and of practical utility. But a much greater difficulty lies in the fact that along with the names of the *domini insularum* (if these were the *professi*) there had to be published the contents of their returns, *ea quae professus erit*. This would mean, if Prof. Reid's view of the *recensus* is correct, that each *dominus* would have to return at least the names, if no other details, of all the eligible tenants in his *insula* or *insulae*, so that even if the number of *domini* was manageable, the list would have to include the names of 320,000 tenants. Prof. Reid admits that the magistrate would be obliged to have these names for the purpose of the *sortitio*, and of course the complete list might well be placed in the *tabularium*. But how could they be contained on a notice-board in the forum so as to be legible to the public? To meet this, Prof. Reid, disregarding the provision of the Table that the lists in the archives and in the forum were to be duplicates, suggests that the latter was a mere summary, containing the names of the *domini*, and under each the number of those returned by him in this or that *insula*. Even if we were justified in taking such a liberty of interpretation, it is difficult to see how such information would interest the public, for whom the notice was clearly intended. What the people would be anxious to know was not how many tenants each *dominus* had, but whether their own names were duly submitted to the *sortitio*. Nor is the clause excluding the *professi* from the *frumentationes* more but less intelligible on this hypothesis. For not only does it assume that the *domini insularum*

as well as occupants of separate houses have already been specifically disqualified, but, even if they had not been, the nature of the *professio* made by the former so clearly put them outside the ranks of the *recensi*, who alone were entitled to the *sortitio*, that this additional safeguard, as Prof. Reid calls it, would be quite unnecessary.

With regard to the stumbling-block caused by the mention among the *professi* of *pupilli* and *pupillae*, Prof. Reid surmounts it neither more nor less successfully than Prof. Elmore. If these minors were not applicants for the *frumentationes*, but either owners of tenement houses registering their tenants, or owners of property making an annual return of it, it is of course natural that their names and statements should be lodged in the *tabularium*, but why, if as minors they were ineligible for the corn distributions, should they appear in the forum list, and share in a prohibition, which in their case was *ex hypothesi* superfluous?

In dealing with the *subsortitio*, Prof. Reid has his own explanation of the statement of Suetonius that it was applied each year to those *qui recensenti non essent*. The *recensi*, i.e. those enumerated in the *recensus*, had all had their chance in the *sortitio*, and all but 150,000 had lost it, and lost it permanently. However many vacancies occurred in the privileged list, they were hopelessly left out in the cold. This is what Prof. Reid regards as a system involving the least possible break with the older régime, in which all citizens had been on an equality. But each year saw minors becoming adult, and fresh citizens domiciled in Rome from outside, and these were the *non recensenti* to whom the *subsortitio* was applied. If Prof. Reid thinks that such an arrangement would have prevented the disorderly assemblies which, according to Suetonius, Caesar hoped to prevent by the *subsortitio*, I cannot agree with him. Would the older citizens, many of whom had shared in the corn doles for years, and perhaps needed them no less than those favoured by the lot, be content quietly to stand aside and see the coveted vacancies filled by these youths and interlopers, or can we ascribe to Caesar an arrangement so inequitable and so provocative?

Prof. Reid finds in Suetonius a clear implication that the persons admitted to the *subsortitio* were few in number. I fail

myself to discover this implication. But, if, as I believe, the *recensus* was the whole process by which the list of 150,000, the *recensi*, came into existence, not by lot, but by some sifting and ἐξέτασις, it is not necessary to suppose that all the excluded, *qui recensi non essent*, perhaps something like 170,000 in number, were allowed to register themselves as candidates for the *subsortitio*. The *recensus* would have revealed, and perhaps classified, degrees of poverty, and the same selective method, which had marked out the 150,000, would also decide each year, taking account of the number of vacancies, how many and who might properly make the *professio* as candidates for the *subsortitio*. That the number of *professi* was somehow limited, is shown by the phrase in line 1—*quem profiteri oportebit*. As probably most of those whose names appeared in the forum had received corn in the past, and all had equal hopes of a lucky draw, there might be a risk that careless magistrates might anticipate the *subsortitio*, and it was to meet this risk that the prohibiting clause was inserted. On the whole, it seems to me that this new hypothesis, though in some respects preferable to that of Prof. Elmore, is not in harmony with the evidence, and creates more difficulties than it solves.

The questions involved in the second section of the Table in connexion with certain aedilician duties it is not necessary to re-open, as I find myself in substantial agreement with all that Prof. Reid says. He does not indeed accept the very slight positive indications of Caesarian date, but he admits, I think, that no period was more appropriate to such regulations.

It is when we come to the three divisions of the third section, dealing (a) with qualifications and disqualifications for municipal office, (b) with the municipal *census* in Italy, and (c) with instructions to commissioners sent to *municipia fundana*, that Prof. Reid finds my position unacceptable,

SECTION III (a).

I confess that I find it hard to discover any positive conclusion at all, or the solution of any difficulty in Prof. Reid's treatment of this division of the Table. He starts with the assumption that in this, as in the following sub-section, we are

dealing with "extracts from laws or contemplated laws dealing with municipal affairs in Italy," but declines to regard the two sets of provisions as belonging to the same law, or to accept for either any indication of date except the reference to the Sullan murder agents, which points for sub-section (a) to a date later than 64 B.C. He is however clearly averse to the Caesarian date, especially for sub-section (b), and therefore, we must assume, would place both the original laws between 64 or 62 B.C. and the opening of the civil war¹. I must point out at once, though I may have to return to it, a noticeable inconsistency in Prof. Reid's position as to the treatment of Italian municipalities after the Social war. On the one hand, he is explicit in holding that no general obligatory law was ever passed interfering with the internal affairs of the Italian cities which accepted the *lex Iulia*, while he reiterates his assertion that it was by spontaneous assimilation, and not by legislative compulsion, that municipal institutions were developed. On the other hand, it appears that, even before we come to the legislative activity of Caesar, there are extracts from at least two general obligatory laws² interfering very drastically with the internal arrangements of Italian towns, and enforcing their regulations with severe sanctions. I do not know whether it is a consciousness of this contradiction that presently induces Prof. Reid to withdraw his assumption, at least as far as sub-section (a) is concerned, that it is an extract from an actual law³. "The category of circumstances, presented in the *Tabula*, which shut out men from municipal honours, bears in its front no sign of having been extracted from a statute, but rather the opposite" (p. 235). What leads to this conclusion is the unexampled slovenliness of the document, which points to

¹ It is inferred that sub-section (a) is later than 64 because it was in that year that Sulla's exemption of his agents from the charge of murder was ignored by Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 11). With regard to the census regulations, it is inferred from *pro Arch.* 11 that they were probably later than 62.

² That they were both general laws in the sense of binding all Italian com-

munities, is sufficiently obvious. As both sub-sections are "extracts," there is a presumption that both laws contained other compulsory provisions.

³ The hypothesis of a contemplated law seems unjustifiable, unless it can be suggested how an extract from an abortive law found its way on to a bronze at Heraclea. —

the production of an amateur, not of an expert legislator. This slovenliness is illustrated in several ways. (a) By surplusage of expression, of which however only three doubtful instances are given. In l. 132 we have *comitiis conciliove*; in l. 98 *comitiis* alone. Prof. Reid cannot explain *concilio*, therefore it is otiose. In l. 107 we have *neque dicere neve ferre sententiam*, and he gives reasons, perhaps good ones, against the usual distinction drawn between these phrases. In l. 122 we have in connexion with rewards received by Sulla's agents *qui cepit ceperit*, and it is argued, with no point that I can see, that, as provision against the repetition of such an act would be futile, the engraver must have inadvertently, through familiarity with the collocation of the two tenses, inserted the word *ceperit*¹. (b) Clauses seem occasionally to be omitted. Only a single instance however in this sub-section is given, though another is suggested in the census regulations after l. 156. Very much the same matter is dealt with in ll. 98—107 and 126—134, and yet the sanction, which concludes the former provisions, is absent in the latter. Surely such points, even if there were more of them, are negligible as arguments to show that we are not dealing with "a certified copy from an original source." (c) A good deal more puzzling is the fact that, while in ll. 83—88 and 108—125, the restrictions and prohibitions apply to *municipia, coloniae, praefecturae, fora* and *conciliabula*, the intervening lines 89—107 omit the two last classes, so that, as the document stands, there was no reason why a *praeco* should not be a *decurio* in a *forum* or *conciliabulum*².

¹ I do not understand why so much importance is attached to this point, or why I am so pointedly reproved for expressing a confident opinion which unfortunately differs from his own. At any rate, his reasons for rejecting *ceperit* seem wholly irrelevant. "It is difficult to believe that any legislation would be directed against a repetition of the horrors consequent upon the Sullan edict"; and "to enact a penalty in anticipation of such an event would be obviously futile" (p. 233). But the object of the legislation on the Table

was not to prevent the repetition of any of the moral or legal delinquencies enumerated, nor to enact penalties for them. It simply declared that persons who had done certain things, or should do them in future, were ineligible for municipal senates. If *ceperit* were omitted, the receivers of blood money in future proscriptions would not be affected, and as proscriptions were admittedly in the air, no legislator, least of all Caesar, would have neglected the eventuality.

² Prof. Reid regards this as a *re-*

I will only say with regard to this somewhat striking inconsistency that, if it is due to slovenliness, the fault is more likely to have lain with the engraver than with an amateur draftsman, while, if the variation is intentional, however the reason for it may elude us, it points to more method about the composition of the document than Prof. Reid allows for. (d) But what he lays most stress upon is "the chaotic character of the disqualifications in lines 108—125." It is impossible to believe them drawn up by a Roman legislator, or passed into law by the *comitia*, since "as they appear on the *Tabula*, they bear the guise of a collection of notes jotted down as the framer chanced to think of them, or had come across them in study or experience." I think that any one who takes the trouble to refer to the list, will agree with me that the absence of order is much exaggerated. No doubt we should have expected to find condemnation in criminal courts placed along with the other cases of conviction at the beginning of the list, while taking the gladiatorial oath is curiously sandwiched in between disqualifications of quite another character. But with these exceptions, there is a certain method and order, and even if there had been less, the person responsible for the document was more likely to have been carelessly citing or copying an original than inserting his own random notes in what at least purported to be a legal provision. This last point is proved by the opening words of the clause immediately following the list of disqualifications: *Quod hac lege in municipio colonia praefectura foro conciliabulo senatorem...esse...non licebit* etc. (l. 126).

But it is not only the chaotic classification of the disqualifications that Prof. Reid depends on. He argues, if I understand him rightly, that legal disqualifications to office were in themselves contrary to Roman usage. According to that usage, the admission or rejection of candidates at elections was a matter

ductio ad absurdum, but may it not suggest a possible clue to the difficulty? The restrictions on *adlectio* (ll. 83—88) and the disqualifications on moral grounds (ll. 108—125) apply to all communities, large and small. But the restrictions as to age and occupa-

tion are tacitly left more elastic in the smaller places, where a narrower circle would be available for municipal office. This would be somewhat analogous to the exceptional eligibility of freedmen in the *colonia Iulia Genetiva*.

not of law but of custom, being left to the discretion of the presiding magistrate, who might, if he thought fit, ask the advice of the senate. This is of course true, and if the clauses in question had purported to affect Rome, the objection would have been to the point. But what was left to magisterial, and especially censorial, discretion at Rome might well be reinforced by legal sanctions in Italian towns, where there were no censors, and where the magistrates had no authority comparable with that of the holders of *imperium* in the capital¹.

But even where Prof. Reid, contrary, I think, to his real view, speaks of this sub-section as if it were an extract from an actual law, he still maintains that there is no indication of date, and that the only reason for assigning it to Caesar's time is the fact that other provisions on the Table may reasonably be referred to that period. This brings us to Cicero's letter to Lepta (*ad fam.* 6. 18), written at the beginning of 45 B.C., which I have argued, as against Legras, to be conclusively in favour not only of Caesarian date, but of Caesarian authorship. Prof. Reid sweeps away the inference, which so many scholars have held and hold to be irresistible, with an off-hand and arbitrary pronouncement that though there is evidence in the letter that Caesar drafted a law bearing on qualifications for local senates, and some presumption that such a law was passed, "it affords no proof whatever that this portion of the *Tabula* was extracted

¹ Another argument used by Prof. Reid illustrates the danger of quoting from memory. He declares (p. 233) that a clause in the *lex Malacitana* (c. 54) provides that disqualifications are to be as at Rome, no special enactment being mentioned. This last point, it is argued, would be inconceivable, if a law so important as a *lex Iulia* had been in existence, specifying the disqualifications. In the first place, the *lex Iulia municipalis* did not affect Rome at all, and therefore on Prof. Reid's citation of the passage, we should not expect it to be mentioned. But, as a matter of fact, the clause in the *lex Malac.* says nothing about

Rome, but declares candidates to be ineligible, in whose case there is any impediment *propter quam, si civis Romanus esset, in numero decurionum conscriptorumve esse non liceret*. This certainly points to a general and compulsory rule being in force in Domitian's time with regard to the senates of burgess communities in Italy or the provinces. This need not of course have been the *lex Iulia municipalis*, which under the imperial system had probably long since become obsolete, but the disqualifications alluded to may for all that have owed their origin to that law.

from the law." The disability of *praecones* was of long standing, as proved by the regulations made by Claudius Pulcher for Halesa in 95 B.C. (*in Verr.* 2. 49. 122).

Cicero's words prove nothing except that Caesar's projected law was to make no change in this respect. But is Prof. Reid sure that the disability, as stated on the Table, i.e. limited to those actually carrying on the trade of a *praeco*, was of long standing? He may have grounds for his statement which he does not produce, but the words *de quaestu quem qui fecisset ne legeretur*, show that at Halesa at any rate the disability was not so limited. When therefore Prof. Reid talks of Caesar's projected law making no change, he is begging the whole question, viz. the identity or non-identity of the provision on the Table with Caesar's provision, for he assumes that the provision on the Table was earlier than Caesar, and that he merely repeated it in his law. It is obvious that he can only escape from this dilemma by proving that this carefully defined disability was older than Caesar. On his view, Seleucus, a *praeco* or *ex-praeco*, must have known of the existing regulation, that *praecones* were ineligible only till they relinquished the trade, but feared that the new law might make the disability more stringent. In view of Caesar's well-known policy with regard to admission to the Roman senate this seems improbable. If Caesar contemplated changes, all would expect not greater stringency but greater liberality. Seleucus, it seems to me, must have heard rumours that the old disability was to be modified, and it was his anxiety to get first-hand evidence on the point which led up to Cicero's letter to Lepta. If we take into account all the indications available, the balance inclines to the view that Caesar's provision, as reported by Balbus to Cicero, was a change and a concession, and not, as Prof. Reid thinks, the retention of an old rule. If so, the coincidence, so often insisted upon, between the information given by Balbus and line 94 of the Table is far too striking to be other than conclusive.

But there is more to be said. If the provision on the Table was in existence before Caesar's dictatorship, why should he have legislated on the subject, and if he did pass a law about the qualifications of *decuriones in municipiis*, what title was more

appropriate to such a law than *lex Iulia municipalis*? Prof. Reid can only answer these questions by putting forward an hypothesis for which there is no solid basis whatever. There is nothing to show, he declares, that the projected law of Caesar was of a general character, i.e. like the clauses on the Table, applicable to all Italian towns. Even from this I fear I must dissent, for the antithesis between *in senatum Romae legerentur* and *in municipiis decuriones esse* surely marks the latter as a generic phrase. But, it is urged, Seleucus is a Greek name, and we know from Strabo that 500 distinguished Greeks received the nominal citizenship of Novum Comum in 59 B.C. Therefore Seleucus probably belonged to Novum Comum, and Caesar's projected law may have been one of a series of special enactments for Cisalpine Gaul, such as the *lex Rubria* and the *Fragmentum Atestinum*. The only thing to be said for this hypothesis is that, if accepted, it would get Prof. Reid out of a difficulty. I will merely point out, (1) that the distinguished Greeks, who had received the citizenship of Novum Comum 14 years before, were non-resident, and would therefore have no interest in these disqualifications; (2) that, if Seleucus was a *praeco*, he could not have been one of the distinguished Greeks specially honoured by Caesar in 59; and (3) that there is no evidence whatever for a series of special laws for Cisalpine Gaul in addition to the *lex Rubria*, the *Fragmentum Atestinum* being almost certainly part of the latter law¹; (4) that, if qualifications and disqualifications for office were not likely to be defined by legislation in Italian towns, there seems no reason why the case should have been different in the towns of Cisalpine Gaul.

As the result of the foregoing considerations, I cannot accept Prof. Reid's two main conclusions with regard to this sub-section; (1) that in all probability it is not an extract from any law actually passed; and (2) that, even if such a law was passed, there is no indication, either in the letter of Cicero or elsewhere, that it was passed by Caesar, or in the Caesarian period.

¹ On this point I may be allowed to refer to my article on the *lex Rubria* in the English Historical Review, July, 1916, pp. 377-8. On the hypothesis that

the last paragraph of the Table refers to *municipia fundana* in Cisalpine Gaul only, see below.

SECTION III (b).

This sub-section, which provides for a census of Roman citizens in all *municipia*, *coloniae* and *praefecturae* of Italy, whenever a census is held in Rome, need not detain us long. Prof. Reid regards it as an extract from a law or contemplated law, but not from the same law as that which contained the previous sub-section, and he insists that there is no point of connexion or coherence between these two parts of the Table. I do not see that this consideration has any weight, for, though I assume both chapters to belong to the same law, I do not suppose them to be consecutive chapters, and therefore we need not look for more logical connexion between them than between any other two parts of the Table.

I had ventured to lay down three points about the census scheme of the Table, (1) that its object was to secure the simultaneous census of all Italy, (2) that the amount of labour, combination and organisation involved in it would have been such that few statesmen besides Caesar would have faced it, and (3) that even Caesar stopped short at Italy, and shrank from the task of co-ordinating in one vast simultaneous census all the Roman citizens domiciled in colonies, *municipia* and Latin communities throughout the empire. Prof. Reid does not like any of these suggestions. (1) The object was not a simultaneous census, for "that was already provided by the system which required all burgesses to be registered at Rome. Its purpose was rather decentralisation" and is comparable with the plan of Augustus for allowing the Italian colonies to send their votes to Rome at elections instead of attending the *comitia*. I agree with all this except the statement that a simultaneous census was already provided for. It was probably just because the *frequentia Italiae*, carried out for the last time in 70, had proved impracticable that decentralisation by means of a simultaneous census was resorted to. (2) It is argued that the simultaneous census, even if it had extended to the provinces, would have been far less complex than the republican practice and that it is therefore not necessary to postulate as its author a statesman of Caesar's calibre. I reply that it was the differ-

ence between a cumbrous, unworkable method with no system, no guarantee of complete registration, and no adequate organisation, and a systematic and thorough handling of the problem which, though involving innumerable officials and immense labour, was calculated to achieve its object. To what statesman after 62 B.C. other than Caesar would Prof. Reid attribute so wide reaching a measure, and if it was Caesar's law, was any date so probable as during the dictatorship¹? (3) But "it is strange that Caesar, if he was the author of the scheme, should have confined it to Italy. He was the first Roman leader who carried out on a large scale the policy of multiplying Roman communities abroad, and for these decentralisation was more important than for Italian cities." Undoubtedly the scheme on the Table took no account of Roman citizens domiciled in urban communities outside Italy, and would therefore not produce an exhaustive census. But neither would it have produced an exhaustive census, if it had belonged to the period between 62 and 49 B.C., for not only would one or two Spanish colonies and Narbo in Gaul have been omitted, but the important burgess colonies in Cisalpine Gaul, and the ever increasing number of Roman citizens domiciled in the Latin towns of the Transpadane country. As for the far more numerous Roman colonies, Latin colonies and *municipia civium Romanorum* in Caesar's time, there may have been several reasons why he did not include them in his simultaneous census. Not the least would be, as I suggested, the greatly increased labour and organisation required, if the returns from Gaul, Spain, Africa and even remote colonies in the East had to reach the censor at or about some fixed date. No doubt decentralisation would be essential, but its method might vary from that adopted within Italy. It would be more natural for the governor of each province to be made responsible for the census being carried out, and ultimately to forward the returns received by him and his staff to Rome. It

¹ The theory of the careless engraver is surely pushed to its extreme limit, when the significant phrase *censor aliusve quis magistratus* is eluded by the suggestion that it is "a mere

mechanical and inaccurate imitation" of the same phrase used in the second section of the Table. I merely note the suggestion which, as an argument, can convince no one.

would be easier in this way to make allowances for differences in distance and means of communication. If Prof. Reid thinks that the regulations on the Table could have been supplemented by the addition of a few words so as to make them applicable to the provinces, I fancy that an attempt to draft such a supplement would convince him of his mistake. As a matter of fact, Caesar's scheme for extra-Italian colonisation was perhaps only in its infancy in 45 B.C., and he may well have intended to wait for its further development before making the simultaneous census universal and imperial instead of Italian.

SECTION III (c).

The last sub-section, evidently forming the conclusion of the Table, contains a provision that commissioners, who have been empowered to frame *leges datae* for *municipia fundana*, may within a year after the passing of the law make additions, changes and corrections in their charters. Prof. Reid considers this, as I do, to be the most important portion of the Table, but he apparently only means by this that it raises the most important and perplexing questions. To the clause itself no importance whatever seems to be assigned, and no explanation of its object is suggested.

The first of these questions is concerned with the meaning of the term *municipia fundana*, but though the discussion raises some interesting points, it throws little light upon the clause in the Table, because it is contended that the term, as employed in it, has some special and exceptional meaning which no attempt is made to determine. Apart from this special sense, whatever it may be, and as applied to Italian towns, the term would seem to denote either towns which had accepted or become *fundi* to the *lex Iulia de civitate*, or towns which had accepted the whole of the Roman *ius civile*. I prefer the latter interpretation, though the former would not upset my conclusions as to the document as a whole. Prof. Reid apparently at one time took the same view himself, for he says in the Municipalities of the Roman Empire (p. 113) that a *municipium fundanum* was "a town not originally Roman, which had accepted the Roman franchise and a Roman form of law." He has now however

come to the conclusion, contrary to what he admits to be the almost universal belief, that Italian towns, on accepting the *lex Iulia* and becoming communities of Roman citizens, did not commit themselves to the necessity of substituting Roman law for "the law by which they had been previously governed," and that more probably the acceptance of the *lex Iulia* left their internal codes untouched. A couple of quotations will make his conception sufficiently clear. "To me the idea that a great number of communities first had their laws made identical with those of the Romans, and then that the function of the *lex data* was to introduce differences, such as certainly existed at a later date, seems unnatural" (p. 239). Again, in remarking on my suggestion that probably there was not much activity in sending out commissioners earlier than 59 B.C., he asks what was the position of the towns up to that date. "Were they tightly bound to Roman law for the thirty years between 89 and 59 B.C., and then did the commissioners introduce relaxation? Did laws passed at Rome during those thirty years become automatically part of the local code, or was it still needful for the communities to give express assent to them? Did the acceptance of the *lex Iulia* put an end to the freedom of legislation within the local communities?" (p. 240). I venture to think that all the difficulties and anomalies which these passages conjure up are purely imaginary, and are wholly due to the confusion between 'Roman law' and 'Roman laws,' and to the loose use of the term 'codes.'

When I say that Italian towns, on accepting the franchise, became *fundi* to Roman law, I mean that, as communities of Roman citizens, they naturally and *ipso facto* adopted the whole body of the Roman *ius civile*, and became subject in the last resort to the praetor's supreme jurisdiction. In the sense that there could be no option about this adoption of Roman law by Romans, the change was compulsory, but the *innumerabiles de civili iure leges* already voluntarily adopted, and the manifest advantages of the adoption both to individuals and communities¹,

¹ A few Greek cities might prefer the *libertatem foederis* (a phrase surely implying the alternative of compul-

sion), but there is no other indication of reluctance to accept either the franchise or Roman law. The point of

would make the obligatory aspect fade out of sight. The towns then were, if Prof. Reid likes the phrase, tightly bound to Roman law (not from any yearning for uniformity, but from the inherent conception of a common citizenship) and the commissioners with their *leges datae* introduced no differences, and made no relaxation in this respect. The *leges datae* were not municipal codes of law, but municipal charters, regulating the political constitution and preserving or creating a miscellaneous collection of local administrative bye-laws, in which, while there was probably general uniformity, there was room for many differences of detail. The position of a town therefore before a commissioner was sent to it was one in which, while subject of course to the *ius civile*, and to any new *leges de civili iure*, it was free to retain, if it chose, its existing ordinance, political and municipal. As for new laws, other than those *de civili iure*, potentially the *municipia fundana* would be bound by them, that is, as far as the scope of the law affected them, but I should doubt the propriety of saying that these laws became part of the municipal codes. Where laws affected national or imperial interests, *de nostra republica, de nostro imperio, de nostris bellis, de victoria, de salute*, there had never been, even before the enfranchisement, any option of accepting or rejecting them (*pro Balb.* 22)¹.

Though it did not appear to me to be open to any doubt that all burgess communities would be *ipso facto* subject to the Roman *ius civile*, I indicated four incidental proofs of it. Prof. Reid's treatment of these calls for some reply. (1) I cited Cicero's words (*pro Balb.* 21) *ipsa denique Iulia, qua lege civitas est sociis et Latinis data, qui fundi populi facti non essent, civitatem non haberent*. He denies their relevancy on the ground that *fundi* has no wider application than to the *lex Iulia* itself. As a matter of fact, the words quoted are inconclusive apart from their context, and I now rest my position not on them so much as on their place in Cicero's whole argument in sects. 19 law at Arpinum diverging from Roman usage is surely one of the exceptions that prove the rule. Cato would never have mentioned it if it had not been exceptional.

freedom of legislation within each community," it appears from extant *leges datae* that whatever corresponded to legislation was in the hands of the *decuriones*, and that it still continued within the limits set by the charter.

¹ As for what Prof. Reid calls "the

to 22. It would be out of proportion to discuss here at length what for my present object is a minor point, but if my readers will look at a paper in the *Classical Review*, August, 1917, they will see that I do not shirk it. I will only note, as emerging from the argument, (a) that only federate states (*Latini et socii*), and not burgess communities, are spoken of as becoming *fundi* to Roman laws, the reason being surely that the latter were already subject to them. (b) The essence of the term *fundus fieri* is voluntary adoption, a point ignored by such expressions as "tightly bound to Roman law," and "having their laws made identical with those of the Romans." (c) The reluctance of Heraclea and Naples to accept the citizenship is unintelligible, if its acceptance "merely entitled the cities to the privileges of Roman citizens, and left their internal codes untouched" (p. 239).

(2) I declared that the whole meaning and object of the *lex Rubria* implies that the enfranchised towns of Gallia Cisalpina had adopted the Roman *ius civile*. Prof. Reid's question—if the complete Roman code had been accepted, why pass the *lex Rubria*?—makes me wonder what his conception of the *lex Rubria* can possibly be. My own is contained very fully in the *English Historical Review* of July 1916. If I am asked how the law indicates that the Transpadane cities, on becoming Roman, adopted the entire Roman code, I adduce the following points. (a) The directions for judicial procedure contained in it are applicable in all the communities of the enfranchised province. (b) The magistrates may set up a *iudicium* for *damnum infectum*, a process of Roman civil law, applying a formula from the praetor's *album*. (c) They may also conduct a *legitimum iudicium*, possible only between Roman citizens, for *certa pecunia credita*, an action notoriously peculiar to Roman law. (d) There is under specified conditions, e.g. if more than the sum of 15,000 sesterces is at stake, provision for a *revocatio Romae*. (e) This *revocatio Romae* is shown by the *Fragmentum Atestinum* to have been non-existent before the enfranchising *lex Roscia* of 49 B.C., which is obviously the dividing line between two different juristic systems. (f) The fact that such extreme steps as *ductio*, *missio in possessionem* and *proscriptio bonorum*

are reserved for the praetor, is inconsistent with the supposition that the towns retained their own internal codes. (g) It is provided in the *Fragmentum Atestinum* that certain cases of delict are to be tried in Rome, except where in cases involving less than 10,000 sesterces the defendant desires the case to be tried in the municipal court.

(3) I argued that many of the disqualifications for admission to municipal senates imply the validity of Roman law in Italian towns. Prof. Reid is not able to deny this, but he cryptically replies that this is not sufficient, since there should have been complete identity. I am quite at a loss to understand his point unless he means that nothing short of what logicians call induction by complete enumeration would justify the inference I have drawn.

(4) Apparently very much the same fallacy underlies his answer to my last instance. I cite the case of the Roman citizen at Salpensa, who is unable to manumit a slave, as the Latin citizen can, before the municipal *IIvir*, and has to go before the proconsul. I regard this as an indication that the Roman citizens lived under Roman law, while for the Latins there was their own municipal code. To object that this does not prove an identical form of manumission for all Roman colonies, and that even if it did, the proof relates to one process of law only, seems to me irrelevant.

Another proposition which Prof. Reid is very reluctant to accept is that the newly enfranchised towns of Italy, the *municipia fundana*, were compelled to receive *leges datae*, charters, or as he prefers to call them, municipal codes, at the hands of official commissioners. "I do not believe in the generally accepted notion that every Italian community, on agreeing to become Roman, received from Rome a legislator, who drew up for it a *lex data* or new municipal code" (p. 241). Three classes of Italian towns are distinguished, the colonies, the small units raised to full municipal honours and the old-established states which became parts of the Roman body politic. For the first two classes it is here admitted that *leges datae* were necessary. It is also admitted that, owing to special conditions, the newly enfranchised towns of Cisalpine Gaul, and the burgess and Latin

communities in the Western provinces, would also have commissioners and *leges datae*. These admissions certainly clear the ground, and leave only the long-established states in Italy. For these, he declares, apparently quite unconscious that he is begging the question, there was no need for commissioners or *leges datae*, because their machinery was long-established. At the same time he guards himself against awkward instances by suggesting that in the event of internal dissensions, they might voluntarily call in an arbitrator to play the part, it might be, of an official commissioner¹.

Presumably Prof. Reid would include under this class the cities which accepted the franchise under the *lex Iulia*, but there was surely a great difference between their case and that of states like Arpinum which had one by one become *municipia civium Romanorum*. The latter were comparatively few, entered the Roman body politic at different times, and, if they had not all passed through the intermediate stage of imperfect *municipia*, had probably more or less thoroughly already assimilated Roman forms. In these circumstances and at that period, the absence of system, in which Prof. Reid sees so much merit, may have been in place. But the *lex Iulia* marked a new epoch for Italy, and one that may well have called for greater uniformity. In the enfranchised communities the process of assimilation to Roman forms had reached very various stages; in some probably it had hardly begun at all. But the new conception of a *communis patria* and an *Italia tributim descripta* would call for something like a general acceptance of a *forma communis* in municipal government and administration. To bring this about, the system of *leges datae*, long since applied, as Prof. Reid admits, to important categories of towns; would seem the natural means. There is no need to assume that the system involved coercion or compulsion, since so much indulgence was shown to local anomalies and *consuetudo* that there was no motive for resistance, and there is no shred of evidence that the commissioners were

¹ In the case of Puteoli there was probably no official *lex data*, but, if he intends to apply his hypothesis of mere internal reform to Tarentum and

Heraclea, or even to Arpinum, he has nothing tangible to support him, and in the case of Tarentum positive evidence against him.

unwelcome. He himself suggests that Heraclea and Naples came in by a vote of the majority of citizens.

It is of course true that of particular and actual *leges datae* between Sulla and Caesar there is little evidence. I call attention however to three points which in one way or another he evades. (1) The phrase in what the Digest calls the *lex agraria* of Caesar *qui h. l. coloniam deduxerit municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituerit*, whether the law was passed in 59 or not, points to *leges datae* being at least contemplated not only for colonies, but for the other communities enumerated as well. He gives no explanation of, and indeed ignores the point entirely. (2) The last paragraph of the Table implies that commissioners had been sent to draw up *leges datae* for *municipia fundana*. Prof. Reid, as we shall see below, escapes the natural inference by arbitrarily relegating the *municipia* to Cisalpine Gaul. (3) We have evidence of primary importance in the fragment of the Tarentine law. It is surely remarkable that in an article of 41 pages on the *lex Iulia municipalis* this document is only mentioned in two lines of a foot-note. The remark made on it is still more extraordinary: "The *lex Tarenti* is in Latin, but that is no cogent reason for supposing it to be a '*lex data*'." I think, if my readers will refer to l. 9, they will find in the words *in diebus XX proximeis...post h. l. datam* a sufficiently cogent reason for the supposition.

The question as to the object and necessity of a general municipal law I do not propose to reopen. Prof. Reid energetically restates Mommsen's latest view, but as he does not think it worth while to notice my arguments as against both Mommsen and Legras, I will leave my readers, if they will, to weigh them for themselves. Any hint of compulsion or system in Roman law or administration is anathema to Prof. Reid, and from his standpoint it seems surprising that the Romans should have bound either themselves or others by any laws at all. With regard to my suggestion that Cinna may have passed a general law to embody the *forma communis*, and to serve as a guide to commissioners, I admit that his criticism has deprived it of all reasonable support from the inscription of Poetelia. I still think however that the presence of *quattuorviri* at Larinum before

Sulla's dictatorship is significant, and I entirely disagree with the pronouncement that Cicero's virtual identification of the enfranchisement of Transpadane towns with their election of *IIIIviri* has little bearing on the matter. He declares it to be most improbable that enfranchised communities "were required to use particular titles for their magistracies." He has so keen a scent for compulsion that he finds it in words of mine which he has actually just quoted, and which were carefully framed to exclude the idea of compulsion; "defining the normal titles of magistrates, but no doubt leaving room for local varieties in certain cases." That the titles *IIviri* and *IIIIviri* were recognised by legislation as normal, it is futile to deny in the face of the *lex Tarenti*, the *lex Rubria* and the Table of Heraclea. In view of the discretionary varieties which I assume, it is not a very successful point to object that in creating praetors in the short-lived colony at Capua Cinna's friends overrode his law. Prof. Reid promises some further consideration of topics arising out of the Table. May we hope that he will include a fuller discussion of the chapters assigned in the *Corpus Gromaticorum* to a *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, and by a passage in the Digest to an agrarian law of Caesar? The problem of the five names I did not attempt to solve, but I suggested that, if the phrase *qui hac lege coloniam deduxerit, municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituerit* really occurred in Caesar's agrarian law, that law must have contained provisions for the 'constitution' of Italian towns by means of commissioners and *leges datae*. He rejects this with much contempt, but makes no attempt whatever to explain the phrases in question, nor does he throw any light on the identity of the *lex Iulia* referred to in cap. 97 of the *lex Ursonensis*. It is certain that the three caps. preserved in the *Corp. Grom.* are extracted from some law dealing on general lines with matters appropriate to a *lex data*, and that it gives instructions to commissioners to see to these matters¹. Does he believe that it was a Caesarian law, and if

¹ It seems to me futile to argue that cap. 104 of the *lex Ursonensis* need not have been copied from the *lex Iulia*, because rules about bounda-

ries were of such long standing as to have become traditional. Why then were the rules embodied in a chapter of a general law, and when they were

so, what sort of law was it, and when passed? I cannot think that the views expressed on p. 247 as to the agrarian law of 59 are well considered. I do not go into the question whether there were two laws or only one, though I think the evidence is against the latter view, but in any case Cicero's conversational phrase *Campana lex* must either mean the provision in the law about the Campanian land, or, if it does mean a law limited to that land, we must suppose that Caesar's main and general law was the first, and that the second law, alone alluded to by Cicero, was for the immediate appropriation and division of the *ager Campanus*. The admission that Caesar's law contained a provision affecting the lands of Volaterrae and Arretium is at once fatal to the contention that the agrarian legislation of the year was limited to the *ager Campanus*. Is it conceivable that, after two such comprehensive schemes of land purchase and Italian colonisation as those of Rullus and Flavius, the former containing the design of Caesar himself, the programme of the coalition would have thrown overboard everything but the Campanian land? It would have been far more in keeping with the situation if the legislation was much wider in space, time and content than any previous measure.

It is unfortunate, considering the importance which he assigns to the concluding paragraph of the Table, that Prof. Reid's treatment of it should be the least convincing portion of his article. In the first place, unless his contention that commissioners were not sent to the enfranchised towns of Italy after the *lex Iulia* is to be given up, it is necessary to attach some limited application to *municipia fundana*, and above all, to exclude them from Italy. What this limited application may be, or why it is assumed for a term which is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, we are not told; but what seems to him the most probable account of the law to which this provision belongs is that it was one of a series of special measures by which Caesar dealt with the peculiar conditions of Cisalpine Gaul. Now for this series of special measures there is no evidence whatever. The three principal reasons which, it is argued, called for special so embodied, how could they be made except by means of its *lex data*? applicable to particular communities

legislation as well as for the sending of commissioners with *leges datae* were (a) the fact that so many communities were newly enfranchised (a fact not calling in the case of Italy, according to Prof. Reid, for either general legislation or *leges datae*), (b) the large size of the Transpadane *territoria* requiring special delimitation (a matter which had probably been attended to by the *lex Pompeia*), and (c) the system of 'attributed' tribes within the territories of many communities. One piece of special legislation of course there was, the *lex Rubria*, but it had nothing to do with the size of *territoria*, and Prof. Reid goes out of his way to say that the *attributae regiones* were not regarded by it. Another piece of special legislation, gratuitously suggested for Cisalpine Gaul, is the projected law dealing with qualifications of *decuriones*. I have already dealt with this hypothesis, and I will only ask whether this provision would have a place in the *leges datae* of the Cisalpine *municipia fundana*. Prof. Reid could hardly deny that it would, and is therefore committed to the position that a general municipal provision is made applicable to individual towns by means of their *leges datae*, precisely the situation I argue for in Italy.

So far there is surely no reason worth serious consideration for referring this last paragraph of the Table to Cisalpine Gaul. But, as Prof. Reid points out, the commissioners alluded to are *functi officio*, and are called upon after an interval to resume their work. But, as there is no provision in the clause for replacing any commissioners who might have died during the interval, the space between the original *lex data* and its proposed revision must have been a very brief one. On this ground he rejects my suggestion that perhaps most of these commissioners had been sent out in 59 and the following years, and gets a much shorter interval by taking the enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul in 49 as the occasion. I do not myself think the difficulty of the longer interval very serious, but, as my reasons are not acceptable to Prof. Reid, I will not repeat them. I must point out however that his own theory is open to precisely the same difficulty, since commissioners appointed in 49 may have died before 45, and though such cases might be fewer, we should equally expect to find them provided against. If "it would

have been easy to provide by a few words for replacing the commissioners" who may have died, I do not see why the carelessness of the engraver should not be called to the rescue once more¹.

But surely if these commissioners had drawn up their *leges datae* after the enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul in March 49, there must have been some special reason why they were called upon to revise them four years later. What sort of additions, changes and corrections were to be made? To this question Prof. Reid has no answer; he can only admit that the omission of the purport of the ordinance is most extraordinary, as is also the contrast between its vagueness and the detail of the preceding clauses of the Table. If so much has to be admitted, I think it is pertinent to ask where is the importance attributed to this concluding paragraph. It seems in Prof. Reid's hands to throw no light on anything, least of all on the connexion of the Table with Heraclea.

We are told that the solution of this last point "unless further relevant ancient material should come to light,...must for ever elude the grasp of scholars" (p. 248). Nevertheless scholars will probably go on suggesting solutions, and Prof. Reid himself has been unable to resist the temptation of adding another hypothesis. I shall conclude this article by briefly comparing it with my own explanation which is declared to be 'most unacceptable.' Though the grounds of this disapproval are not stated, I imagine that it is mainly directed against the assumption, that commissioners were sent to the enfranchised towns of Italy, and were not confined to those regions outside Italy which, like Cisalpine Gaul and subsequently other provinces in the West, presented special and exceptional problems. My own theory is, that the last paragraph of the Table, so far from standing out of all relation, and even in strong contrast to, the

¹ Prof. Reid says that a few words would have been enough to provide for the replacing of a deceased commissioner by a substitute. If this is so, I suggest that the few words may have been inscribed in the law, but

omitted in the Table, not through the carelessness of the engraver, but because at Heraclea the original commissioner, being still alive, did not think it necessary to insert them.

other sections (being confined to Cisalpine Gaul, while they refer to Rome or Italy) is not only organically connected with the two sets of provisions immediately preceding it, but gives the clue to the whole document. I assume it to be the concluding clause of the same general municipal law to which the clauses on municipal honours and the Italian census belonged¹. It implies that commissioners had been authorised at certain unspecified dates in the past to frame *leges datae* for a number, unspecified again, of Italian towns, and they are now instructed to make within the next year certain changes and additions. I suggest that these would be primarily any innovations contained in the municipal law itself, such as the two inscribed on the Table, and perhaps others contained in the lost portion of it, but there might also be included other arrangements, which the commissioners in their discretion might deem it advisable to introduce.

Now assuming, what seems not improbable, that Heraclea received a *lex data* in the same period in which Tarentum received one, I suggest that, when Caesar's municipal law was passed, with the novelties as to qualifications for office and the census, which with perhaps other changes were to be inserted in municipal charters within the next year, the commissioner of Heraclea, whether the person originally appointed or some one to replace him, decided to give a public notification to the town of the changes and additions to be made in the local charter. He therefore caused to be engraved on the back of an obsolete bronze tablet the two provisions from the municipal law together with the clause on the authority of which he was acting, and quite possibly other provisions from the same law, now lost with the bronze containing the earlier part of the document. In addition to this, he may have thought it appropriate to the circumstances of Heraclea to incorporate certain parts of Caesar's recent legislation for Rome, especially

¹ In these clauses the towns, as already 'constituted,' are *municipia*, *praefecturae* etc. In the last clause, as communities for whom *leges datae* were prepared, they are generically

municipia fundana. Quite possibly there was a separate clause providing that the additions and changes should be made also in the *leges datae* of colonies.

the new system of *frumentationes* and the new regulations as to streets, traffic and open spaces.

I claim for this theory that it at least supplies a reasonable explanation of the facts. If the document is what I suggest, its heterogeneous character is accounted for, since we should not expect to find "linked together into an organic whole" a set of ordinances merely intended to amend or fill up gaps in an existing charter. At the same time, it does connect organically the concluding clause with the rest of the document, and in doing so, makes concrete and specific the "additions, changes and corrections" which it enjoins. When Prof. Reid declares that these changes "touch on affairs which would certainly have been left to the discretion of the municipalities," he strangely forgets that by his own admission the provisions as to municipal office and as to the Italian census were extracts, if not from actual, at least from contemplated laws, while there are several provisions in the brief fragment of the Tarentine law closely analogous to those on the aedilician duties¹.

Let us now turn to the explanation which Prof. Reid considers "far easier, though not free from difficulties." He agrees with me, it seems after all, in thinking that the document may have been a notification to the people of Heraclea of certain proposed reforms. But in his opinion it was a scheme of internal reform, and the person responsible for the Table was presumably either a party leader in Heraclea, or an arbitrator called in by the citizens; at any rate he was not a commissioner *lege plebeive scito permissus*. Though there is no evidence, and no analogy, except possibly at Puteoli, to support this hypothesis, it works smoothly enough, so long as we look only to the first two sections. But then Prof. Reid's difficulties begin, though he is apparently not conscious of them till he reaches the final clause. After remarking that the regulations at Rome in connexion with corn distributions and the policing of the streets

¹ As Prof. Reid, in spite of the words *post hanc legem datam* (was this too an addition of the engraver?), refuses to accept the Tarentine law as a *lex data*, I should be content to

cite the provision which it has in common with the *lex Ursonensis* and the *lex Malacitana*, on the dismantling of houses.

might well be voluntarily adopted by Heraclea, he declares that the same may be said of the rules for municipal office and membership in the senate. Yet there is this difference, which seems to be overlooked, that the latter rules, as published at Heraclea, purport to be part of a legal enactment, already binding upon Heraclea as a *municipium*. How can a measure, by which Heraclea was already bound, belong to a programme of internal reform subsequent to 46 B.C.?¹ It will not help Prof. Reid much to call the provision an extract from a contemplated law, for how did such an extract from an abortive scheme of pre-Caesarian date reach the Heracleian reformer in 45 B.C.?² It hardly looks as if there was much feeling in Italian towns against compulsory legislation, when Heraclea, a more than usually non-Romanised town, is supposed to go out of its way to adopt coercive regulations abandoned by the central government.

As to the provision for a simultaneous Italian census, which Prof. Reid thinks may have been in the air at the time when the Table was engraved, he may take his choice of regarding the law as passed or only contemplated. If it was passed, we have the absurdity of supposing a compulsory administrative law, binding on all Italy, belonging to a programme of voluntary reform at Heraclea. If it was not passed, we have the still greater absurdity of a reformer making elaborate provision for his town to take part in a scheme, which was not only non-existent, but had been abandoned by its promoters³.

"The last paragraph about *municipia fundana* is the hardest to account for on the hypothesis of internal reform." It certainly needs some ingenuity to explain why, in a city which had never

¹ It must have been subsequent to 46, since clauses dealing with the reform of the *frumentationes* appear in the same notice.

² He has definitely rejected the Caesarian date for the provision, and must therefore place it, whether contemplated or passed, before that time.

³ I do not understand how the census scheme could have been in the

air in 45, unless Caesar was about, or was believed to be about, to propose it. But Prof. Reid definitely declines to regard the scheme as Caesar's, so that its contemplation and failure to pass must have been some appreciable time earlier than 45, when, we are told, it was in the air. It seems to me that this part of his hypotheses has been very imperfectly thought out.

had either a commissioner or a *lex data*, this vague and isolated extract from a law dealing with special conditions in Cisalpine Gaul should have been brought before the notice of the public, together with certain proposals of internal reform. Nothing is conveyed as to the matters originally dealt with by the *leges datae* to be revised, nor is there the slightest indication as to the nature of the revision. How hard put to it Prof. Reid finds himself, is shown by the following perplexing suggestion: "What interested the person who ordered the inscription to be engraved seems to have been the mere fact that certain towns were undergoing a fresh revision of their statutes after a very short interval, not the purpose of the fresh revision. This fact, even if, as I think, it concerned only Cisalpine Gaul, might have its use as an argument in a party conflict within the town, if a section of the citizens were urging changes of importance a little while after other changes of importance had been made." I am content to leave this net-work of hypotheses within hypotheses to speak for itself, only remarking that it deprives the clause, which Prof. Reid declares to be the most important, of all weight or meaning as part of the inscription, without throwing light on its meaning for Cisalpine Gaul. At any rate, in pronouncing Prof. Reid's solution of the enigma to be 'unacceptable,' I have felt it incumbent on me to examine it in detail, and I leave it to my readers to prefer his or mine, or to reject both.

E. G. HARDY.

THE CHANGE FROM THE ANCIENT TO THE MODERN GREEK ACCENT.

I. *The nature of the accent and the scope of inquiry.*

Most philologists and scholars are now in agreement with regard to the nature of the accent of ancient Greek, which was predominantly musical, denoting pitch or the rising and falling of tone. This can be seen in the versification, which seems to take no account of the accent, and in the vocalism, which in the literary language of the classical period shews no weakening or loss of vowels through the influence of accent; all this was summarised long ago by F. Blass in his *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen* and has been demonstrated more recently and in greater detail by H. Ehrlich in his useful work *Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung*. On the other hand Modern Greek has a kind of stress accent, though experimental phonetics has shewn that the musical element is not altogether absent, particularly in uneducated speakers (cf. H. Pernot, *Phonétique des Parlers de Chio*, p. 50 ff. in *Études de linguistique néo-hellénique*)¹. I have purposely said a 'kind of stress accent,' because it is not quite like the expiratory accent, with which we are familiar in English, German, and Italian. The accent, which has somewhat less force than that of Italian, is accompanied by a certain voice-duration, i.e. the accented vowels are uniformly 'half-long,' except when final. The problem of voice-duration will be treated below. The Modern Greek accent is accompanied by the phenomena which usually go with stress, among which we note the following:

(a) Loss of unaccented syllable:

¹ It varies also according to district.
A Greek friend tells me that the Greek

spoken in Corfu for instance sounds
sing-song to Athenian ears.

i. After a liquid, when the same sound precedes: as *παρκαλῶ*, *σκόρδο*, *κορφή*, *περπατῶ* &c. Cf. the common pronunciation of English *every*, *several*.

ii. Initial vowels, especially *ι* and *ε*, and more rarely *ο* and *α*: as *γειά* or *γιά* (from *ὑγεία*); *μέρα* (from *ἡμέρα*); *πάγω* (from *ὑπάγω*); *ψηλός* (from *ὑψηλός*); *μάτι* (from *ὀμμάτι*); *βρίσκω* (from *εὕρισκω*); *δόντι* (from *ὀδόντι*) &c. Aphaeresis is not, however, a fixed law of the language, since the unaccented initial vowel is retained in some words, as *Ἑλλάδα*, *ἰδέα* &c.

(b) Confusion of vowels: as *γιομίζω* for *γεμίζω*; *γιοφύρι* for *γεφύρι*; *κρεββάτι* for *κραββάτι(ον)*; *ξουράφι* for *ξυράφι(ον)* &c. We may compare the approximate identity of vowel-sound in the unaccented syllables of English: *harbour*, *doctor*, *bitter*, *altar*, *Arthur*.

(c) Unaccented *i* and *u* sometimes pronounced *ι* and *υ* respectively, as *μοιάζω* (pron. *myázo*); *γίος* (from *υῖός*); *λιοντάρι* from *λεοντάριον*; *παλιός* from *παλαιός* &c.

Of course, the pronunciation of Modern Greek varies according to locality; the vowel reduction is more complete in the north than in the south (see Thumb, *Handbook of Modern Greek*, p. 9). In connexion with the change of vowel-quantity the Latin transliteration of Greek words, like *sofía* for *σοφία*, *ídolum* for *εἶδωλον*, *blásfēmus* for *βλάσφημος*, *sélinum* for *σέλινον* &c. is interesting, since it illustrates the pronunciation by a people, whose natural accent we know to have been expiratory. These words were borrowed probably after the Greek accent had begun to change its value; nevertheless by their likeness to Modern Greek pronunciation, they are useful as demonstrating the stress element in the latter—which some philologists perversely deny or think has yet to be proved! Two other words in Latin *talentum* and *Massilia* are seen by the vowel-weakening in the second syllable to have had the accent originally on the first; they must, therefore, have been borrowed early and while that accent was still natural to Roman ears.

All the Indo-European languages, as we know them, except Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Greek, have a stress accent; but all alike shew evidence of having passed through a period, when the prevailing accent was musical. In Greek this change of

accent has taken place in historic times and it is a fascinating task to try and trace its origin and follow its extension over the whole Greek-speaking area. As all will admit, the change is of a most sweeping character and ought to supplement, or, at least, reflect historical conditions or events; for language is the most fundamental thing in civilisation and culture and its study ought increasingly to throw light on other subjects. We must, however, recognise from the beginning the difficulty of our investigation: we are dealing with a matter of pronunciation unaided by contemporary observations; we are dependent on written records, which are and must remain very incomplete and variable according to locality. Nevertheless, the position is not altogether desperate; for we do find many attempts at phonetic spelling on the Egyptian papyri, especially among the private documents and letters of the uneducated; we also find to a less extent the confusion and interchange of long and short vowels on inscriptions; and lastly we have verse inscriptions shewing 'false' quantities and later still, and of much less importance, a change in the principle of construction in artistic verse. Phonetic spelling might have gone far and yielded rich results in such an investigation as this but for the reactionary Atticists, who, unlike the advocates of a spelling reform at the present day, insisted on an obsolete and meaningless orthography, which still survives in Modern Greek.

As we shall see, when we consider the evidence in detail, the change of accent is found in the vulgar¹ earlier than in the educated speech, and, as the Greeks themselves conjectured, it began in the pronunciation of Greek by foreigners. If Glaucus of Samos is right, when he tells us that there were as many as six different pitch accents in Greek, we can form some idea of the difficulty which it presented to foreigners, especially if, as usually happened, they were accustomed to a different kind of

¹ Some further investigation of the vulgar language in the chief dialects of antiquity (e.g. Attic and Ionic) is desirable; for it ought not only to elucidate some of the linguistic problems of Modern Greek but also to

throw a new light on Ancient Greek itself. Nachmanson's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altgriechischen Volkssprache* (*Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet*, Bd 13, Hfte 4, 1910) is very incomplete and unsatisfactory.

accentuation; the difficulty must have been a good deal greater than that which the tonic accent of French presents to the average Englishman or German. Thumb (*Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 143) had the idea that the change of Greek accentuation should be found to have its origin at a special place and at a particular time; but the examination of evidence and a consideration of the language-conditions on the borders of the Greek-speaking area of antiquity indicate that the peculiarity existed in several linguistically unconnected areas outside the mainland, until some unifying influence gave it a vogue and the impetus to spread, wherever Greek was spoken.

The dividing line in the history of the Greek language is the time of Alexander the Great, when the local dialects began definitely to give way to a common Greek speech or *κοινή*. The papyri and inscriptions, as we shall see, when we consider the evidence afforded by them for the change of accent, illustrate continuous tradition from the *κοινή* to Modern Greek. In reference to this Hatzidakis (*Revue des Études grecques*, 1903, p. 220) with perhaps a little exaggeration says "la langue communément parlée aujourd'hui dans les villes diffère moins de la langue commune de Polybe que cette dernière ne diffère de la langue d'Homère." The *κοινή*, of course, was not homogeneous any more than any other natural language. In addition to local variations there must have been a distinction between the vernacular and the literary speech. This has been summarised, so far as present research on the subject made it possible, by A. T. Robertson in his *Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the light of historical research*. To sum up the scope of our inquiry, we shall be concerned chiefly with the language between the time of Alexander the Great and the ii/A.D., when the new accent first began to appear in the speech of Greece proper; our chief interest will be with vernacular documents and with the unconventional spellings on inscriptions, which earlier editors grouped as 'mistakes' or emended. Having collected evidence for the change, we shall proceed to examine the causes.

II. *Evidence for the change.*

If we can trust the well-known fragment of the comic poet Amphis (No. 30 in Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, II. p. 245), in which he represents the fisher-folk as saying 'ττάρων βολῶν γένοιτ' ἄν and 'κτῶ βολῶν, the pronunciation with a stress accent accompanied by a tendency to drop the unaccented syllables began in vulgar speech in Attica as early as the iv/B.C. Though the poet is, no doubt, exaggerating in comic fashion, there must have been some evidence for such a form of speech. Moreover, it has support from the inscriptions on Attic vases, in some of which short vowels are lost, as ποίησν and ποίεσν for ἐποίησεν, and on the Panathenaic Prize Vase (Br. Mus. 569) τῶν Ἀθηνήθν ἄθλων εἰμί, where the final ν must represent η. The confusion of ει (= ē) and ε, and ευ and υ, as Ηείος for Ἐως, Μείμνων for Μέμνων, Νηρύς for Νηρεύς, Θησύς for Θησεύς, is common on vases before it is found on stone inscriptions. (A convenient collection of vase inscriptions is Kretschmer's *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*.) The confusion of long and short vowels in the Defixiones (*C. I. A. Appendix*) is well known; we find ε for ει in Χαρικλέδου 102 b, ἐκένος &c. 107; ο and ω in Σοκράτης 26. 2; ε and η in Ηρμῆν 91. 3. 5, κατήδησεν 46. 4, γίνεσθαι 90 a. 6, and ε for η in αὐτέν 90 a. 3, δικατερίῳ 94. 16, μέθ' (for μήθ') 94. 17. It is a little difficult to weigh the evidence which the Defixiones afford; some of them are very old, while others may shew a misunderstanding of the Euclidean alphabet or, again, an attempt at an archaistic spelling. We find, however, a definite trace of the vulgar speech in the assimilation of ε to a following accented ι in Ωφιλίων (for Ωφελίων) 71. 1, and Ωφιλίμη 71. 1, so that the vowel-confusion in some cases may also reflect popular pronunciation. Now the state inscriptions of Attica do not shew a frequent confusion of vowel quantity until the ii/A.D., from which we may conclude that a stress pronunciation was not recognised by the educated there until about that date. The language of the lower class people was due to a large foreign element and to the easy intercourse between these and the natives, which, as Pericles tells us, was the pride of Athens. In the v/B.C. the author of the pseudo-Xenophontine *Constitution of*

Athens, I. 12 notices this equality: ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους πρὸς τοὺς ἄστούς; and at II. 8 he notices the variety of Athenian speech: οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένη ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων; and again at II. 8 he says φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς, which, of course, is not literally true, but records the impression of a contemporary superficial observer.

That the change began early in the Greek of Egypt is well known from the common confusion of long and short vowels on the papyri from the iii/B.C. From this date we find the interchange of ε and η¹ (e.g. Δεμήτριος (dated 260 B.C.), αὐθεμερόν (Herodian, I. 491 (papyrus dated 260 B.C.)), ἐκπεπεδηκότος (dated 246 B.C.), διὰ τὸ μὲ (= μή) ἔχειν (iii/B.C.); η for ε in νήον (dated 119 B.C.), δήοντα (162 B.C.), χρήος (116 B.C.), ἐνδηής (255 B.C.), ἡαρινά (225 B.C.)), ο and ω (e.g. πόποτε (= πώποτε) in the iii/B.C., ἐπίδομεν (for ἐπίδωμεν) papyrus dated 153 B.C.); from the ii/B.C. αι and ε (e.g. ἐκτέτατε (for ἐκτέταται), αἰγών (for ἐγών)), οι and υ (e.g. ἀνύγω (for ἀνοίγω), ἀποστρύφυ (for ἀποστρύφοι)), οι and ι (as ἀσπερμοί for ἀσπερμί), and η and ι, thence also η for οι (as ἀφήκετο (for ἀφίκετο) (dated before 161 B.C.), ἔθικεν (for ἔθηκεν) (i/B.C.), ἦνον (for οἶνον)). From these examples it is seen that the interchange occurs quite irregularly in both accented and unaccented syllables. We should have expected *a priori* to find the long vowel in the accented and the short in the unaccented syllable; but the statistics, which Mayser (*Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, pp. 140–141) has drawn up, lead us to the conclusion that the confusion is equally common in accented and unaccented syllables. This indicates a loss not only of quality of sound (we observe that a closer pronunciation of all vowels and diphthongs is at least well on the way to being universalised) but also of quantity, which mechanically corresponded with accent; the symbols lost their meaning and but for the conservatism which is inherent in language the Greeks of Egypt would have abolished the dual representation of the

¹ These two letters must then have been identical in *quality*. In modern Greek the ε-sound is open and η close.

same sounds and adopted a simple spelling. Another proof of a stress accent in Egyptian Greek is seen in the substitution of ϵ for unaccented α from the iii/B.C., ϵ for unaccented ι especially in the neighbourhood of ρ , and of $\omicron\upsilon$ for unaccented ω (\omicron), as $\epsilon\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\pi\iota\rho\acute{\iota}$ for $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ (on papyrus dated 117 B.C.), $\epsilon\nu\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ for $\epsilon\nu\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$ for $\omicron\delta\epsilon$ &c., which all indicate a weakening of the vowel-sound. It is further illustrated by the occasional loss of initial unaccented vowels, as $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\acute{\iota}$ for $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\acute{\iota}$ (papyrus dated 165 B.C.), $\kappa\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$ for $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$, $\kappa\eta\varsigma$ for $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\eta\varsigma$ &c., and by the syncope of unaccented vowels, as $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$, $\beta\alpha\lambda\nu\eta\omega\nu$ for $\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\delta\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\delta\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$, $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ for $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ &c. The origin of $\kappa\alpha$ from $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ and $\mu\epsilon$ from $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$ is probably due to their accentless proclitic use; the form began originally before dentals (cf. $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ &c. on inscriptions); thus $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$ became * $\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$ and then $\kappa\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$. Many of the peculiarities of vocalism in the Greek of Egypt are further illustrated on the inscriptions, though, as we should expect, these are of later date, belonging to the time of the Roman Empire; the interchange of \omicron and ω , ϵ and η is frequent, as $\delta\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ for $\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Boeckh, *Corpus*, vol. III. no. 4708), $\eta\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$ for $\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$ (*ib.* 4729); the loss of syllable we find in $\pi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ for $\pi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ (i.e. $\pi\lambda\omicron\acute{\iota}\nu$) (*ib.* 4712 b), $\nu\omicron\upsilon$ for $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon$ (*ib.* 4716 b); this loss of the unaccented syllable is even commoner in the inscriptions from Nubia and Upper Egypt, as $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\nu\mu\alpha$ (*ib.* 4988), and $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\nu\nu\mu\alpha$ (*ib.* 5016) for $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\mu\alpha$; $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (*ib.* 5015), $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\kappa\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ for $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (*ib.* 5126).

By this brief summary of well-known peculiarities of popular Greek orthography in Egypt we are reminded how closely the pronunciation of the vowels must have resembled Modern Greek. We shall now turn to some of the Greek-speaking areas of Asia Minor and observe some peculiarities of orthography there, which may be traced to a pronunciation with a stress accent. Unfortunately we have no private letters, but must gather such evidence, as exists, from the inscriptions on stone, which, of course, always lag behind the popular language. Nevertheless it is safe generally to conclude that apparent irregular spellings, which persistently recur, represent not the idiosyncrasies of individuals or of a special class, but habits established for the

whole community. We shall briefly summarise the confusions of letters on the Greek inscriptions found in Phrygia, Lycia, Lydia, Caria, and Syria¹. From places in Phrygia and Mysia (e.g. Pergamum) we find the confusion of *ει* and *ε* from the iii/B.C., *η* and *ι* from Alexandrian times but more frequently later, *η* and *ε*, *ο* and *ω* very commonly from the iii/B.C., *ει* and *ι* from the middle of the ii/B.C., *ει* and *ι* from Roman times, *ε* and *ι* in the popular language, which we shall see below was due to foreign influence, and somewhat later *ε* and *αι*, as *αίαντῶ* for *ἐαντῶ* (Boeckh 382 b), *ἔστε* for *ἔσται* (Boeckh 3902 f.). These changes occur in both accented and unaccented syllables and are to be explained in the same way as those in Egypt. The loss of the unaccented syllable seems not to occur until Roman times, as *φθάνμεν* for *φθάνομεν* (Boeckh 3833), *ἡρῶν* for *ἡρῶον* (*ib.* 3896), *φρῶν* for *φρονῶν* (*ib.* 3822 c), and perhaps *μέχω* for *μὲν ἔχω* (*ib.* 3943). Similar confusions are found in the inscriptions from Lydia (including the numerous Greek records from Magnesia); *η* and *ε* from about 200 B.C.; *ο* and *ω* from the beginning of ii/B.C.; *αι* and *ε* from Roman times; *η* for *ι* on an inscription of ii/A.D. (*Κορνιλίου* for *Κορνηλίου* (Boeckh 3118)); *ι* and *υ* in *φιλή* for *φυλή* of the time of Tiberius (Boeckh 3451), and *γυναικός* for *γυναικός* (*ib.* 3018). The loss of unaccented syllables is spasmodic in its appearance; we find *σόριν* for *σόριον* (Boeckh 3270) and in some proper names the interesting loss in connexion with liquids, as *Βερνείκη* as well as *Βερενείκη*, *Μελitίνην* as well as *Μελτίνην*; we shall discuss this phenomenon in relation to accent below. We find also *Δέκμος* as a transliteration of Latin *Decimus*. The confusion of vowels is found also in Lycian and Carian Greek inscriptions from before i/A.D.; the loss of the unaccented syllable also occurs, as *εὐφμία* for *εὐφημία*, *εὐφσύνου* for *εὐφροσύνου* (Boeckh 4209) on a tomb-stone belonging to the

¹ New and revised editions of the Greek inscriptions from these places are a pressing need; for most of them we are dependent on Boeckh's old edition (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*). Fortunately there are two exceptions: the inscriptions from Pergamum, which have been edited by Max Fränkel—

discussed by E. Schweitzer (now Schwyzzer) in his *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, and those from Magnesia edited by Otto Kern (*die Inschriften von Magnesia*). There is, of course, Dittenberger's small selection *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae*.

early Roman age, unless these are merely careless mistakes on the part of the engraver, and *γταύτης* for *ἐκταύτης* (*ib.* 4224). On the Greek inscriptions from Syria the confusion of vowels is frequent from the Syro-Macedonian period. We also find from at least the Roman period such shortenings as *κίτιν* for *κίτιον*, *Εἰκόνιν* for *Εἰκόνιον* (Boeckh 4472). Comparing the inscriptions from Asia Minor with the papyri of Egypt, we notice that the loss and weakening of unaccented vowels is commoner and that the close pronunciation of vowels is earlier in the latter. In general, the orthography of the papyri indicates that the pronunciation of Greek changed earlier in Egypt than elsewhere; this is not due altogether to the nature of the records themselves, but in part is due also to the peculiar character of the Hellenism of Egypt, which flourished by the side of a native civilisation and was constantly subject to its influence. The causes of the pronunciation in Egypt and Asia Minor will be discussed below.

As we have already noticed, the confusion of long and short vowels is not found on the inscriptions from the Greek mainland, until much later than from Egypt and Asia Minor. In Attica it first became frequent in the ii/A.D.; we find there the confusion of *ε* and *η* in *Ἀθένας* (*C. I. A.* III. 281 (117–138 A.D.)), *Φαλερέως* (*C. I. A.* III. 1132 (166 A.D.)), *ἡγημῶν* (*C. I. A.* III. 1112 (175–8 A.D.)); *ο* and *ω* in *Σώλωνος* (*C. I. A.* IV. 11 (174–8 A.D.)), *Θεωδώρου* (*C. I. A.* IV. 2593), *Μαραθόνιος* (*C. I. A.* III. 1120 (150 A.D.)). It is true that a few examples which must be assigned to the iii/B.C. or ii/B.C. occur; but they hardly represent an established or recognised pronunciation, and, as we suggested in connexion with the Defixiones, they may be due to a misunderstanding of the Euclidean alphabet. We also find frequently after 150 A.D. the interchange of *αι* and *ε*, as *διφθέρες* (*C. I. A.* III. 48 (iv/A.D.)), *φέδιμος* (*C. I. A.* III. 173 (iv–v/A.D.)), *εἴται*, *στρατόπαιδον* (*C. I. A.* III. 48 (iv/A.D.)); *ει* is found for *ι* from 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. and *ει* for *ι* after the ii/A.D. The loss of unaccented vowels especially in names begins from the ii/A.D., as *Βερνίκη*, *Βερνικίδης*, *σκόρδον* for *σκόροδον*; but it is not at all frequent.

Another, though less trustworthy, source of evidence for the

change of vocalism is the MSS. of the New Testament (see Robertson, *op. cit.* c. VI.). A few examples are: ϵ and η in many words ending in $-\epsilon\mu\alpha$ for $-\eta\mu\alpha$, ϵ and $\alpha\iota$ in the endings $-\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ and $-\sigma\theta\epsilon$, which are found interchangeably; η and ι in $\delta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ for $\delta\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$; this however may represent only a change in quality and be unaccompanied by a change in quantity, such as we find indicated by Byzantine $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\eta}$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$; o and ω in $\pi\acute{o}\mu\alpha$ (1 Cor. 10. 4 and Heb. 9. 10), $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ (from $\mu\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$) (Luke 19. 4); and ι and $\epsilon\iota$, of which interchange there are many examples in the New Testament and the Septuagint. We find also other confusions of vowels, which, as in the papyri of Egypt, may be due to a weakening or indistinct pronunciation in the unaccented syllable; examples are a and ϵ in $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ for $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ (Mt. 5. 41, Mk 15. 21); a and o in $\mu\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ for $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ (Mk 13. 35); ϵ and ι especially in connexion with λ and ν .

From these facts, which are so well known, that perhaps even this brief summary of them needs an apology, we conclude that the interchange between long and short syllables took place much earlier than the complete loss or the weakening of the vowel; both the latter phenomena are limited and appear rather spasmodically during the earlier centuries of our era. The complete vowel-reduction of northern Greek at the present day, whereby e becomes i , o becomes u , and i and u disappear in the unaccented syllable, producing forms, like $pl\acute{o}$ for $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}$ (i.e. $\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\omega}$), $k\pi\acute{\iota}$ for $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ (i.e. $\kappa\acute{\omega}\pi\acute{\iota}$) $f\acute{t}\acute{o}$ for $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\omega}$, $f\epsilon\tau\iota$ for $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ &c. (see further examples in Kretschmer *Der heutige lesbische Dialekt*), which the classical scholar can hardly recognise, must be due to some later influence, which caused a more energetic accent and affected the north only. With this second change in accent, which seems to be due to some foreign immigration but of which the exact origin and period are still quite uncertain, we are not concerned; for it is not connected with the great accentual change of Greek, which we shall see did not spread directly from the north to the south.

The change in the accentuation of Greek is illustrated also by the verse. As we should expect, artistic poetry continued for several centuries after the change was established to adhere to the old principles of construction. On verse inscriptions, how-

ever, we find the neglect of quantity early. For the most part these are private tomb-stones and vary in accuracy according to the culture of the people who had them erected. Moreover, old formulae are very often used and new names forced into the verse almost without regard to metrical difficulties. It is clear that such material can only be quoted as illustrative. In general, these 'false quantities' would indicate that the people concerned had lost something of their sensitiveness to quantity; otherwise how could they have tolerated *μεμνᾶμένοι* (from Cyprus; Deecke, No. 71), *ἐπόει ὁ τοι* (Cauer, *Delectus*², 277), *Καλλίστρατος* (*Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογικῇ*, 1885, p. 198) &c. ? The influence of the stress pronunciation on the construction of artistic verse was not felt until the iv/A.D., when Nonnus, an Egyptian by birth, first began to reckon with accent. As all know, his system was a compromise between quantitative and accentual verse; in the *Dionysiaca* he arranged that in the first half of the hexameter the accent should be on the penultimate before a masculine and on the antepenultimate before a feminine caesura, and that in the second half it should not fall on the antepenultimate. The end of the verse and the strong break in the middle are the points where the nature of the verse is most perceptible. Nonnus is influenced by popular versification; in the *στίχοι πολιτικοὶ* of the Byzantines the accent fell on the antepenultimate or the last syllable in the first colon and on the penultimate in the second colon of the verse. Nonnus has tried to introduce endings of this kind in verse, which is otherwise written on the principles of the pure quantitative classical hexameter. Like most compromises, the result is not very satisfactory. The choliambics of Babrius shew a similar concession to the principles of popular versification in the regular recurrence of the accent on the penultimate at the end of the verse. From a consideration of these new laws adopted by Nonnus and Babrius we may draw two conclusions: first, that vowel-quantity apart from accent was already felt to be artificial; secondly that the distinction between the acute and circumflex accents had been lost.

III. *Causes of the change and its extension.*

From the evidence of the vocalism, which we have reviewed, it is clear that as early as the iii/B.C. the pronunciation of Greek with a stress accent and voice-duration had begun in Egypt and Asia Minor—that is in regions, which, so far as we know, were in that period united by no close bond of linguistic influence. In each case the reason for the peculiar pronunciation must be sought in the locality itself. For the natives Greek was an acquired language, while even the Greeks themselves, who were unable to visit the country of their forefathers, would in a very few generations lose the purity of their accent through their intercourse with the rest of the population. We must remember, too, that many of them were merchants, to whom language had little more than a utilitarian value. In Egypt we know that not only were there Greek mercenaries in the army of Ptolemy but that through the intercourse between the natives and the Hellenic settlers a new civilisation arose by the side of the old. The influence of Coptic pronunciation on the Greek of Egypt is clearly seen in the confusion of mediae and tenues (g and k, b and p, d and t); for instance we find on the papyri: ἐξενηνεκμέναι (papyrus dated 161 B.C.), ἔκραψε (later), γναφεύς (for κναφεύς) (160 B.C.), πασιλλῆς (for βασιλῆς) (108 B.C.), ἄφθιδος (for ἄφθιτος) (161 B.C.), δέλος (for τέλος) (137 B.C.); it is seen also in the loss of intervocalic γ, as ὀλίο (for ὀλίγω) (160 B.C.), ἐπιονῆς (for ἐπιγονῆς) &c. These are undoubted examples of native influence on Greek pronunciation; yet literal accuracy is fairly easy to acquire in a foreign language. How much greater must have been the influence of the native accentuation! We observe that the Coptic accent from the period, when that language is known to us, was expiratory and so strong that all unaccented vowels are uniformly reduced. For an earlier period we may refer to old Egyptian. The strong accentuation there is not so marked, nor does it yet shew the formation of word-groups with only one accent and the regular weakening of all other syllables; nevertheless there are early traces of stress accentuation, especially in the shortening of the demonstrative and the auxiliary verb (see A. Erman, *Ägyptische*

Grammatik, §§ 133–4). Though, as Thumb pointed out (*Hellenismus*, p. 174), we must distinguish the Egyptian κοινή from the jargon of the non-Hellenised Copts and Nubians, who in their attempt to speak Greek produced such barbarisms, as τὰ ποταμοὶ ὕδατα, πᾶσαν χάρτας &c., yet the boundary is not sharply defined and there can be no doubt, that the pronunciation of Greek with a stress accent in Egypt is due to native influence. The problem of voice-duration we shall leave for the moment.

An attempt to estimate the influence of the native languages of Asia Minor on Greek pronunciation is not so easy a task, first, because the languages are so numerous, and secondly, because so little is yet known about each. Of course, we are concerned only with the most important languages, which were early in contact with Greek, viz. Lycian, Lydian, and Phrygian. Of Lycian we know very little and the material is at present too scanty to make any theories on that language quite sure. Nevertheless there are certain phenomena which would seem to indicate a stress accent; we notice the doubling of consonants and the syllable-forming nasals and liquids, as *hrppi*, 'ἐπί,' *ñte*, 'ἐνδόν,' *epñ*, 'πρός.' These might be remnants of prehistoric changes and have no bearing on the nature of the living accent, if we could not supplement them by the loss of the unaccented syllable in the transliteration of some Greek words, as *trm̃mili* for Ταρμίλαι, *Pulenjda* for Ἀπολλωνίδης. Lycian is an interesting example of a language, which gave way before the influence of other tongues, especially Greek; from the time of Alexander the Great it seems hardly to have existed. Strabo, XIII. 4. 17, says τέτταρσι δὲ γλώτταις ἐχρῶντο οἱ Κιβυράται, τῇ Πισιδικῇ, τῇ Σολύμων, τῇ Ἑλληνίδι, τῇ Λυδῶν, from which we must conclude that they did not speak Lycian. In Lydian also there is unfortunately much that is uncertain in spite of the discovery of bilingual Greek and Aramaic inscriptions. (For the latest work on this language see Enno Littmann, *Sardis*, vol. VI. and *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVII. (1917) pp. 77 ff. and 219 ff.) It is a little dangerous to draw any conclusions from a language, of which so little is known; nevertheless, as Littmann points out (*ib.* p. 65), there are very clear indications that the accent was expiratory; it is seen especially in the loss of the vowel of

the suffix in *akmūt* from *akmūt*, 'if it' (the postpositional *-it* seems to have had a generalising force); in *faktin* for *fakitin*; in *Ib̄sis* for **Ib̄sis* (i.e. Ἐφεσος) if *Ib̄sim̄sis* the Lydian name for Artemis means the 'Ephesian (goddess),' and in *Timlelid* (No. 26) the adjective from a **Timleś*, if the latter is the Lydian form of Τιμόλαος. Littmann thinks that the versification of the metrical inscriptions, which is not on the principle of the regular recurrence of accented syllables, may militate against a stress accent for Lydian; but the whole question of the verse is uncertain, and we may, in any case, compare Avestan, in which the metre is the mere counting of syllables without regard to accent, and Latin with its quantitative verse¹. Of much wider extent and influence in Asia Minor than either Lycian or Lydian was Phrygian, of which we have fragmentary inscriptions in the native alphabet from the vi/B.C. and in the Greek alphabet from Roman times. The change of *u* (i.e. *ü*) to *i* (or *e*), which is found in the Greek of Asia Minor several centuries before it occurs in the Greek of the mainland, is due to Phrygian (cf. the name *Br̄iges* with *Br̄ύξ*, *Br̄ύγοι* &c. and see Thumb, *Hellenismus*, p. 139). Hardly less influential must have been the Phrygian accentuation, which seems to have been expiratory. This is concluded from the tendency in old Phrygian to drop the final *-av*, which is seen in *bonok* for **bonokan* (accusative), cf. Boeotian *Bána* 'γυνή,' and *φανак*, which Sir W. M. Ramsay (*Bezenberger's Beiträge*, 14, p. 308 ff.) with great probability interprets as *ἄνακτα*, and in the ending *-is* for *-ios*. Of course, the latter might be merely a remnant of a prehistoric sound-law, as in other languages; but, since we find it also in Roman times in such names as *Αὐρήλις* for *Αὐρήλιος*, *Γαῖς* for *Γαῖος*, *Φρύγης* for *Φρύγιος* &c., we can only conclude that it was due to a living stress accent. We may compare the Modern Greek *κύρις* for *κύριος* (especially in compounds *καβυροκύρις*, *νοικοκύρις* &c.), *Γιώργης* for *Γεώργιος*, *καβαλλάρης*, *κυνηγάρης* &c. As we have already observed, the Greek culture of Asia Minor was different from that of Egypt, because the former was the result of a fusion

¹ The stress-accent often on the short syllable, however, helped to give variety and a certain swing to the Latin

hexameter of the Classical period. See also *Class. Rev.* xxxi. (1917) p. 125.

of the Hellenic and native elements. The very scantiness of the remains of the native languages is an illustration of this. We know also from the narrative of Herodotus how the Ionian colonists united with the Carians and Lycians. Doubtless the peculiarities of the pronunciation of Greek were more fixed and permanent in Asia Minor than in Egypt; but, as we have seen, in both regions Greek was affected by the native languages, of which the natural accent was expiratory. This influence must date back to the time when these foreigners first entered into close relations with the Greeks and began to speak their language; that is, it must be much earlier than the iii/B.C., when we find the first traces of the new accent in the written records. The pronunciation with a stress accent, however, probably remained isolated provincialisms in the districts where the population was mixed, and had little or no influence on the neighbouring communities, which were of more pure Hellenic descent, and none at all on Greece proper, until some other force all but universalised it.

This force came from Macedonia with the conquests of Alexander the Great. With the much disputed question of the origin of Macedonian we are hardly concerned here. The remains of the language are too fragmentary to enable us to form any clear idea of either its accidence or its syntax; but to the unprejudiced observer the phonology certainly resembles Greek and especially Thessalian. We cannot, however, agree with all that Hatzidakis in his *Περὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῶν ἀρχαίων Μακεδόνων* says in support of the contention that it was Greek. Though Macedonian was at bottom Greek, it was Greek which had absorbed barbarian elements to an extent not found elsewhere in ancient times. Thessalian immigrants into a Thraco-Illyrian area succeeded in subduing but not in exterminating the native population; the civilisation and language of Macedonia were the result of the fusion of the two elements. The influence of the native languages on Macedonian is seen in the interchange of *e* and *i*, the substitution of the mediae *d*, *b* for the aspirates *dh*, *bh*, the *r*-less nominative, the syncope with liquids and in the accentuation, which we shall shew to have been stress. Apart from these important changes and the occurrence of foreign words, Macedonian seems

to have been a Greek dialect and most closely akin to Thessalian. Our knowledge of Macedonian is drawn from single words collected by the grammarians, superscriptions on coins, and words, mostly official terms, which have been preserved from historical works; for the most part these belong to the fourth or third century before our era. From these remains, though they are so scanty, we may from general linguistic considerations form some idea of the sound-laws of the language. Thus it is pretty certain that the natural accent of Macedonian was expiratory. This is shewn first in the loss of syllables, especially the second of a dissyllabic preposition. Apocope is, of course, found in all the Greek dialects; but it is limited in application except in Thessalian, and seems everywhere to be the relic of a prehistoric stress accent. In Macedonian, on the other hand, it appears, so far as we can judge from the material, to be a rule of the language. Examples of this are: ἄγχαρμος from ἄνα χάρμαν the command for a bayonet charge belonging to the age of Philip and Alexander the Great; ἐδέατρος, which Athenaeus explains as “ἐπιστάτης τῆς ὅλης διακονίας,” seems certainly to be a word of Greek origin; see O. Hoffmann (*Die Makedonen*, pp. 78–9), who with great probability derives it from *ἐπιθέατρος through *ἐπδέατρος and *ἐδδέατρος and compares Xenophon’s θεασάμενος τὸ στράτευμα (*Cyroped.* v. 5. 1) for this sense of the root. A second peculiarity of Macedonian, which is to be connected with accent, is the common loss of a short vowel between a liquid or nasal and a consonant. The Macedonian words for head are κεβαλά and γαβαλά, of which the latter seems to be native and the former an imitation or borrowing of the common Greek form; from Hesychius’ gloss κέβλος· κυνοκέφαλος, κῆπος we may conjecture a third word κεβλά with loss of the unaccented syllable¹. This loss of the unaccented syllable is found also in proper names: Βέρδας preserved by the Roman historian Curtius (see VII. 6. 12 and VIII. 1. 7) is the short form of Βερέδαμος, of which name the true Greek form is Φερέδαμος; Βλίτωρ for *Μλίτωρ is from Μελίτωρ (the change of μ to β before λ is the same as we find in Greek βλώσκω); and the name Κύρνος is

¹ κεβλήπυρος (red-head) the name of a bird (Aristoph. *Aves*, 303) is probably of Macedonian origin.

perhaps from Κοριναῖος the Macedonian equivalent of the common Greek σκότιος and Laconian παρθένιος. Of this sound-change, which is found also in old Thracian (cf. Σπάρδοκος for Σπάραδοκος which must have been accented thus, there must be many more examples among the remains of Macedonian; but the derivations are too uncertain to be useful for our inquiry. It is extraordinary that philologists have denied that the loss of a short vowel in connexion with a liquid is due to a stress accent in the preceding or following syllable; for not only does it occur in ancient languages among other phenomena which are certainly due to a stress accent, but it is found in modern languages, especially English, German, and Modern Greek, which certainly have a stress accent. The affected syllable by weakening and assimilation became *r*, *l*, *n* and then was lost. (Cf. the common Northern or Scotch pronunciation of the word *milliner* as *millner* or *millner*). It is interesting to find that this is often accompanied in the same period by the opposite phenomenon, viz. anaptyxis. (Cf. the vulgar pronunciation of English *umbrella*, *rheumatism* &c.) This insertion of a 'glide' before or after the accented syllable is due to the anticipation or the carrying forward of the muscular intensity¹ used in the pronunciation of the accented syllable and seems no less than the loss of a syllable to be a characteristic of stress accent. We find it sometimes also in Attic vase inscriptions (as 'Ερεμῆς for 'Ερμῆς, 'Επίδρομος for 'Επίδρομος &c.), which, as we have already seen, shew a strong foreign influence from early times. Some examples seem also to occur in old Macedonian: *κάραβος* (cf. Hesychius *κάραβος*· ὑπὸ δὲ Μακεδόνων ἡ πύλη) is from a common Greek **σκάρφος*; cf. *Il.* II. 532 Σκάρφη the name of a town meaning originally 'a mountain pass, or gate' (for a discussion of this highly probable derivation of *κάραβος* see Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 28); perhaps *κυνουπεύς* (Hesych. *κυνουπεύς*· ἄρκτος. *Μακεδόνες*) is connected with the root **κνωπ*- (cf. *κνωπόμορφος*

¹ In some languages this muscular effort tends to preserve the syllable following the accent, so that the loss of syllables in this position is less frequent than of those which precede.

R. L. Turner (see his paper on *The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marathi* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1916) finds this in some of the Modern Indian dialects.

Lycophron, 675, and the name Κνωπος). There are perhaps other examples; but they are uncertain. To return from this digression to a consideration of other characteristics of Macedonian which indicate a stress accent, we find *a* for *αι* in ἀδῆ from the root of αἰθήρ, ἀδαλός connected with αἶθαλος and a few others; *o* for *εο* in the name Κλονίος (see Diodorus, 34. 22) for Κλεονίος, and in σκοῖδος, an officer in the army who was in charge of the baggage, if it is really derived from *σκευο-φιδος (see Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 83 ff.). Some deny that this simplification of diphthongs is due to stress and quote the variations in the Greek dialects in Θεοκλῆς and Θεοκλῆς, ὀρτή and ἐορτή &c. But these doubtless go back to old variants and must be distinguished from changes which are due to conditions still living in historic times. Although the simplification of diphthongs is not so universal in ancient Macedonian as it is in Modern Greek, it nevertheless occurs so often in unaccented syllables and so regularly in the case of the *i*-diphthong that it may be claimed to support our contention that the accent was strongly expiratory. Another change, which is found in old Macedonian and which may possibly represent a vowel-weakening, is the substitution of *ε* for *ι* before *ρ* in the unaccented syllable; examples are κερρός for κιρρός 'pale yellow' (cf. Hippocrates οἶνον κιρρόν) and ἄργελλα for ἄργιλλα (quoted for the Cimmerians by Strabo, v. 244. See Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 60). Cf. the same change in Modern Greek.

These examples are sufficient indication of the stress value of the accent of old Macedonian. It is interesting to notice that the first signs of the pronunciation of Greek with a stress accent on the official records in Asia Minor occur a little after the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great. A peculiar pronunciation owing to the accent, as we have seen, must have existed as a provincialism in many localities; but it required the invasion of Alexander's hordes of Macedonians, Thracians, Illyrians, and Greeks and the subsequent founding of colonies throughout Asia Minor and in Egypt to give it a vogue, and, as it were, some official sanction. The Asiatic Greeks and natives found that the Macedonians, when they spoke the common Greek language, had an accent resembling their own, which

thus received a new impetus and in a comparatively short period, perhaps a generation or two, a stress accent in the pronunciation of Greek was universalised in Asia Minor. Now we have noticed that, in accordance with the evidence furnished by the confusion of long and short vowels, the accent as in Modern Greek was not simply stress but was accompanied by a certain voice-duration. At this point I would suggest a reason for this peculiarity. Voice-duration seems to be a compromise between a pure pitch and a pure stress accent. It represents an attempt to reproduce the pitch accent resulting in a *lento*-pronunciation with stress owing to the speaker's being accustomed to use some muscular effort in uttering the accented syllable. We find the same phenomenon in the *sentence* accent of Modern English, when pitch and emphasis are united. Thus surprise seems to be indicated by a *lento*-pronunciation with a rising tone (acute accent) and emphasis, as in *Are you going?* and *Really! This is strange*; a complaint or a sneer is expressed by a *lento*-pronunciation combined with a rising-falling or circumflex accent, as in *Dôn't do it!* and *Brutus is an honourable man*.

Although Macedonian is of such importance in the change in the nature of the Greek accent, it had practically no influence on the forms of the *κοινή*. Attic, with some modifications, had been gradually becoming the *lingua franca* of the Eastern Mediterranean long before the time of Alexander, in fact, ever since the establishment of the Delian Confederacy. To this Alexander, who spoke and wrote his letters not in his native dialect but in Attic, gave a greater impulse by the publication of his decrees in it. Foreigners of all races would begin to learn this official language; but, for the most part, they would not trouble about the finer nuances of pronunciation and more especially the pitch accent, which was most difficult to acquire and for which many would not have a sufficiently sensitive ear. In his encouragement of Greek, the existing *lingua franca*, Alexander shews that he realised, what many conquerors have forgotten, that language is the chief bond of union in an Empire. Likewise it was the bond of union in his colonies, which were usually formed from several nationalities; for instance, in Alexandria four nations were represented in large numbers: the Egyptians, who were perhaps

the poorest, the Jews, the Greeks who held high positions in the army and civil administration and who were also the merchants and 'professors,' and the Macedonians, who formed a military aristocracy.

It was not until several centuries after Alexander the Great that the confusion of vowels due to the new pronunciation found its way into the official records on the Greek mainland. This can hardly be accidental, but indicates that the stress accent was not officially recognised for a long time. We have already observed that the speech of the lower class citizens of Athens through their intercourse with the slaves, who were foreigners from Illyria, Thrace, Asia Minor and other parts of the Mediterranean, shews a stress accent as early as v/B.C.¹ The commercial class also by their relations with foreigners probably adopted the new accent as soon as it became universal in Egypt and Asia Minor; but the more conservative people, the educated, the professional and the farming classes, appear to have retained the traditional pronunciation for a long time. At the present day Tsakonian, which is derived from old Laconian and is the only example of a dialect of Modern Greek derived from an ancient dialect, is a good illustration of the conservatism of the country people. Of course, none of the inscriptions at any time are completely phonetic in spelling any more than Modern Greek is; nevertheless, when the confusion of long and short vowels becomes frequent in different inscriptions of the same period, it must represent a change in pronunciation; and when it occurs repeatedly on official records, it must be at the will of the state and not due to lapses into carelessness on the part of the engraver, who doubtless was given a full copy of the text before he began to carve the stone. It is interesting to notice how the Greeks of the mainland stood outside the Macedonian movement in speech as in everything else. They clearly regarded them-

¹ An interesting but extreme parallel to this is seen in the influence of Turkish servants on the loss of Greek dialects in Asia Minor at the present day; for instance Mr Dawkins (*Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 14 f.) suggests

that the loss of the dialect of Fertiék is in part due to the employment of Turkish charwomen, which necessitates the use of the Turkish language in the house.

selves as the partners not the dependents of the conqueror. When Greece at last adopted their new pronunciation, it was no longer composed of even nominally free states, but was a part of the Roman Empire. While Greece had not even a shadow of her former importance, some places in Asia Minor, especially Rhodes and Pergamum, were still flourishing and vigorous. Whence and how exactly the new pronunciation won official recognition on the mainland, it is impossible to say. It was not a sudden change; but, as in art and all other matters, so in pronunciation the Hellenic in time had to give way to the Hellenistic.

CLARA M. KNIGHT.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,
KING'S COLLEGE.

APOLLONIUS III.

And last, I devoutly trust.

- i 5. τοίην γὰρ Πελίδης φάτιν ἔκλυεν ὥς μιν ὀπίσσω
μοῖρα μένει στυγερὴ τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ὄντιν' ἴδοιτο
δημόθεν οἰοπέδιλον ὑπ' ἐννεσίησι δαμῆναι.

What does *δημόθεν* mean? "From among the people" is very poor sense, especially as Jason was the heir to the throne. Look at ii 1019:

ὅσσα μὲν ἀμφαδίην ῥέζειν θέμις, ἣ ἐνὶ δήμῳ
ἣ ἀγορῇ, τάδε πάντα δόμοις ἐνὶ μηχανώονται.

Here *δήμῳ* means clearly "in the country" as opposed to "in the agora," which is equivalent to "in the city." The use is not Epic but comes from the Attic, the demes being opposed to the city. Aristoph. *Ach.* 33, *στυγῶν μὲν ἄστυ τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν*, Aristot. *Poet.* 1441^a 36, *οὔτοι μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασὶν Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δήμους*. And Ap. is simply reproducing Pindar, who says:

τὸν μονοκρήπιδα πάντως ἐν φυλακᾷ σχεθέμεν μεγάλη,
εὖτ' ἂν αἰπυνῶν ἀπὸ σταθμῶν ἐς εὐδείελον
χθόνα μόλη κλειτᾶς Ἰωλκοῦ.

So *δημόθεν* means the same as *αἰπυνῶν ἀπὸ σταθμῶν*; all the country about Iolcus being mountainous, it comes to the same thing.

- i 75. καὶ ἐπαῖξαι μετόπισθεν
εὖ δεδαῶς δῆοισιν ὅτε κλίνωσι φάλαγγας.

κλίνωσι MSS., a hardly possible reading since the mood is wrong and no decent sense can be got out of it without violence. *κλίνει φάλαγγα* can only mean "he turns to flight the enemy's

line," not "he turns and flies himself." Brunck was right in adopting κλίνειε "ex schol. Par.," and not only the Parisian but also the Laurentian scholia (though indeed it is the same thing) are aware of no reading except κλίνειε. "λείπει δὲ ὁ καὶ, ἔν' ἧ, καὶ ὅτε κλίνειε φάλαγγας, εἰς φυγὴν τρέψειεν." The alleged omission of καὶ is absurd, but plainly the author of the note knew nothing of κλίνωσι.

- i 101. Θησέα δ' ὃς περὶ πάντας Ἐρεχθεΐδας ἐκέκαστο
Ταινारीην αἰδήλος ὑπὸ χθόνα δέσμος ἔρυκεν,
Πειρίθῳ ἐσπόμενον κεινὴν ὁδόν.

So L rightly; other MSS. κείνην, or κοινήν. It is indeed possible to explain κείνην as meaning either *that famous journey* or *that mentioned in the last line*, but κεινὴν is more poetical, more pointed, and the reading of the best MS. It might be argued that Ap. would have written κενεὴν, if it were not that κεινὰς is found in iii 1346 where the metre guarantees it; and κεινὸς is a Homeric form besides. κοινήν is as feeble as κείνην though less prosaic here.

- i 134. Ναύπλιος. ἧ γὰρ ἔην Κλυτονόου Ναυβολίδαο.

To the instances of this nearly forbidden rhythm given in *J. P.* No. 65, p. 3, add Empedocles 184 (Karsten), and Dionysius *Orbis Descriptio* 291, 308, 464, 550. For a molossus before the bucolic diaeresis Dionysius 911, 1086.

- i 605. τοῖσιν δ' αὐτῆμαρ μὲν ἄεν καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας οὖρος.

One expects ἐπὶ κνέφας to mean "throughout the night," but the context forbids it. The Argonauts sail from Athos to Lemnos during the whole of one day, but the wind falls at sunset (607) and they have to row into the harbour at nightfall. So ἐπὶ κνέφας here must mean "till night" or rather "till twilight," the proper sense of κνέφας, and καὶ is "even." So at 650, ἰόντας ἡματος ἀνομένοιο διὰ κνέφας, "as they came through the gloaming," which passage finally settles the time of their arrival.

- i 755. τὸν δὲ μέτα δρομάδην ἐπὶ Μυρτίλος ἤλασεν ἵππους.

Mr Samuelsson is right in so dividing μεταδρομάδην, for ἐπὶ cannot here govern τὸν, the meaning being "after," not "against."

But the context shews ἤλασεν to be an impossible tense; read ἤλαεν, like ἔλαεν in iii 872¹.

i 873. εἰσόκε Λῆμνον | παισὶν ἐσανδρώσῃ.

So edd. with all MSS. but G, which has ἐπανδρώσῃ. As the sense is *re*-plenish, G must be right, for ἐπὶ in compounds frequently has this force whereas ἐς has not.

i 942. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι ναιετάουσιν
Γηγενέες.

That the scansion is wrong is obvious; as for the tense, nobody seems to care about that in Apollonius either here or anywhere else. All these Giants were dead centuries before he wrote; Ziegler alone sees this, but his ἀνέρες εἶχον cannot be right because they were not ἀνέρες at all. Bentley's ἀμφινέ-
μονται² will do very well, if improved into ἀμφενέμοντο. So Ziegler also rightly reads ἡερέθοντο in 944; at 1160 ἡερέθοντο and ἡερέθονται both have authority, but the present is there better in itself and better supported; at 1097 πεπότῃτο must be right, not πεπότῃται. At iv 779 we must read παῦεν for παῦσεν, the aorist there being quite wrong.

i 955. εὐναίης here clearly means the rope to which the stone was fastened; the same sense suits in several other passages.

i 1216. Θειοδάμας ἀνίῃ βεβολημένος.

Theiodamas, father of Hylas, was ploughing when Heracles killed him. That a king should be doing this himself is very extraordinary; Nausicaa may do the washing, but the Homeric king does not do the ploughing, he stands and watches it γηθό-
συνος κῆρ. The only hero who *does* plough, so far as I am aware, is Odysseus, and he only ploughed the sands, affecting to be mad. To say that Theiodamas was ἀνίῃ βεβολημένος does not account for his behaviour, nor is the second syllable of ἀνίῃ short in Epic poetry. To the last objection indeed one might

¹ Such forms survive with difficulty. Twice did Quintus write ἐτόλ-
μαεν, twice did the scribes prefer to violate the metre rather than hand it

down correctly.

² "Sic certissime emendavit Rich. Bentley (*sic*) in egregia nota ad Callim. H. in Jovem 87." —Brunck.

reply by referring to Panyasis 5, but it is certainly never short in Homer, Apollonius or Quintus. Merkel's *ἄτη* is a violent change and after all meaningless; *μανίη* seems to me to be indicated, though as we know nothing of the circumstances it must remain very speculative. That Quintus three times has *βεβολημένος ἦτορ ἀνίη* may be a point in favour of the MSS., but clearly amounts to little enough.

i 1262. *κελαινὸν* here is not an epitheton ornans of *αἶμα*, but is pathological; cf. iv 1516.

i 1297. *ὄστλιγγες*.

Read *ἄστλιγγες*, for Herodian expressly says *παρὰ μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ Φιλητᾷ διὰ τοῦ ᾱ*. Schol. Laur.

ii 17. *εἰ δ' ἂν ἀπηλεγέοντες ἐμὰς πατέοιτε θέμιστας, ἧ κέν τις στυγερῶς κρατερὴ ἐπιέψετ' ἀνάγκη*.

ἀνάγκη ἐφέπεται τιμὴ is not Greek. "*ἔπει κακὸν vetus scriptura Od. M. 209*," says Merkel, but he knows it is not the *vera scriptura*, and he does not know apparently that *ἔπει* and *ἔπεται* are two different things. G is right again with *κρατερῇ—ἀνάγκη*. Cf. the famous verses of the Stoic:

*ὥς ἔψομαί γ' ἄοκνος, ἦν δὲ μὴ θέλω
κακὸς γεγόμενος οὐδὲν ἥττον ἔψομαι.*

Hecuba 346, *ὥς ἔψομαί γε τοῦ τ' ἀναγκαίου χάριν θανεῖν τε χρήζουσα*. *Odyssey* xiv 298, *τῷ ἐπόμεν ἐπὶ νηὸς, οἰόμενός περ, ἀνάγκη*. Had Ap. wanted to use the nominative, he would have said *ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη*; cf. *Iliad* vi 458.

ii 113. *ὑπὸ ζώνην θόρε χαλκὸς*.

One hero thrusts at another with his spear; the verb *θόρε* is a silly one to use, especially as the spear was not thrown; read *τόρε*, coll. *Iliad* xi 236.

ii 139. *τῆμος* here, as at iv 1400, means "that day."

ii 326. *μηδ' αὐτῶς αὐτάγρετον οἶτον ὄλησθε
ἀφραδέως ἢ θύνετ' ἐπισπόμενοι νεόσθητι.
οἶωνῳ δὴ πρόσθε πελειάδι πειρήσασθε
νηὸς ἄπο προμεθέντες ἐφίεμεν*.

Μὴ followed by *ἦ* is of course not impossible, but neither is

it elegant as a matter of grammar nor good from the point of view of sense. "Do not perish recklessly *or* rush on like young men as you are" is a false antithesis, because both prohibitions mean the same thing. Read η : "Do not court death *as* you are now doing."

The next two lines are a familiar puzzle. L gives *πειρήσασθαι* as a variant, and one explanation, adopting this, makes the meaning "trust it to a dove to try the passage." Madvig's *προμεθέντας ἐφίεμαι* is—well, it is Madvig's, and Samuelsson's *προμεθέντας ἐφίεμεν* is no better. Mr Mooney has a most ingenious suggestion, to "take *ἐφίεμεν* as used intransitively of the dove *committing herself* to the breezes, or else as used absolutely in the sense of *ταρσὸν ἐφείς πνοιῇ* (934 *infr.*). We might also compare *τέμνε* used absolutely of the flight of Iris in iv 771, and for a time I was inclined to acquiesce in this. But now I think the true remedy is to put a colon after *πειρήσασθε*, and translate: "make trial first with a dove as an omen; letting her go send her ahead." The rhythm and the intended impressive effect is copied from *Iliad* xvi 87, *ἐκ νηῶν ἐλάσας ἰέναι πάλιν*; there also we have an imperative, *πείθεο*, followed by an infinitive of command, and such a sequence is to be found elsewhere in Apollonius.

But the collocation of the participle and infinitive of *ἴημι* is still displeasing, though not impossible, and the compound *ἐφίεμεν* is not very good. Still I think this is the best thing to be done. Can *ἐφίεμεν* mean "speed after her"?

ii 367. *μετὰ τὸν δ' ἀγχίρροος Ἴρις.*

Read *τόνδ'*; Ap. hardly ever allows *δὲ* to stand third in a clause.

ii 375. *τρηχεῖαν Χάλυβες καὶ ἀτειρέα γαῖαν ἔχουσιν,
ἐργατῖναι· τοὶ δ' ἀμφὶ σιδήρεα ἔργα μέλονται.*

When Ap. uses an article with *δὲ* in this way, he is changing the subject; I doubt whether a fair instance of *τοὶ δὲ* = *οἱ*, or anything of the kind, can be found in him. Read then *ἐργατῖναι, τοί τ'*. We have also thereby corrected another point; when a word like *ἐργατῖναι* is explained by a periphrasis in Epic poetry, the explanation is introduced by a relative, *κηρεσσιφορήτους*

οὐς κῆρες φορέουσι, and so on. Therefore the relative τοί τε is right here, the demonstrative τοὶ δὲ is wrong.

ii 395. ἐπὶ σφίσι = *post se*; read ἐπί σφισι, *post eos*.

ii 399. ἡπείροιο = "plain": this sense here and elsewhere in Ap. comes from misinterpretation of *Odyssey* ix 49 coll. 66.

ii 530. παντῆμαρ is the right reading, for the sense required is "all the forty days during which the Etesian winds were blowing" and this cannot be got out of Dorville's πᾶν ἡμαρ. Brunck calls παντῆμαρ "vox nihili," but cf. ἐννῆμαρ, ποσσῆμαρ.

ii 551. ἀνακλύζεσκεν, "washed back," cf. schol.

ii 557. θελήμονα ποιήσαντο εἰρεσίην.

This means "paddled gently," like ἔχετ' αὐτοῦ νῆα θελήμονες at iv 1657, "hold her up at rest." The sailors are to keep Argo stationary or nearly so till the time come for making a dash to pass the Symplegades, and then, ἔπειτα in 558, to spurt hard. θέλημος· ἥσυχος says Photius, and Suidas ἐθελημὸς· ἥσυχος. The scholiast blunders, but he too knows what θελήμονα ought to mean.

ii 593. ἐνθεν δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα κατηρεφὲς ἔσσυτο κύμα.

For four reasons it is necessary to follow Merkel in reading *καταρρεπὲς* from a glossary in Cramer's *Anecdota*. (1) It is inserted in the glossary with this line appended, and in such a case the authority of the glossary is much greater than that of our MSS. (2) Its corruption into *κατηρεφὲς* is easy, whereas the opposite process is most improbable. (3) It is a word so rare that it is not known from any other source. (4) It makes much better sense; had the wave been *κατηρεφὲς* the Argo would infallibly have been swamped, for she was caught by it broadside on, but as it was not overarching but only "sloping downwards" it could carry her into the midst of the strait unharmed, as it did.

ii 607. οἱ δὲ που ὀκρυόεντος ἀνέπνεον ἄρτι φόβοιο
 ἡέρα παπταίνοντες ὁμοῦ πέλαγός τε θάλασσης
 τῇλ' ἀποπεπτάμενον. δὴ γὰρ φάσαν ἐξ Ἀΐδαο
 σώεσθαι. Τίφους δὲ παροίτατος ἤρχετο μύθων.

This punctuation is absurd. Look at the tense of ἀνέπνεον, ask yourself what ἄρτι means, and punctuate with commas after ἀποπεπτάμενον and σώεσθαι. "They were just recovering when Tiphys spoke."

ii 925. Σθενέλου τάφον ἀμφεπένοντο.

χύτλα τέ οἱ χεύοντο καὶ ἤγνισαν ἔντομα μῆλων.

Punctuate thus, for the χύτλα and ἔντομα together make up the ceremony, and τε—καὶ = both—and. Then χεύοντο is the wrong tense; Brunck was right in proposing χεύαντο. The form χεύοντο can scarce be called in question, for in i 565 χεύον has the overwhelming support of L, of schol. Ven. Π 183, and of the Et. Mag., and the imperfect there follows the preceding aorists quite naturally; why the editors read χεύαν I hardly know, but certainly there is much confusion of these forms in MSS.

In 928 ἔφλεγον is another imperfect naturally following an aorist, the regular thing in epic.

ii 978. ἔνδοθι means "penetrating (the hilly ground through valleys)": cf. iv 1235.

ii 1042.

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦρως

Εὐρυτίδης Κλυτίος πρόπαρ ἀγκύλα τείνατο τόξα,

ἦκε δ' ἐπ' οἰωνὸν ταχινὸν βέλος, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

πλήξεν.

I can have no doubt that Gerhard was right in restoring ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν for ἀλλά μιν and πρόπαρ for πρὸ γὰρ. But αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα has been vainly attacked hitherto; if right it must mean "but at once" (see Mr Mooney's note), but this is very feeble. Epic usage leads us to expect to be told in what part the bird was hit; as it was flying above the ship, it would be hit below the body; and the wound was a deadly one. Qu. then αὐτὰρ ὑπ' ἥτορ? Hardly ἐπ' ἥτορ, I think, for I doubt whether a poet would say πλήξεν ἐπ' ἥτορ, nor does Aesch. Ag. 783, ἐφ' ἥπαρ προσικνεῖται, really defend it, and it would be displeasing after ἐπ' οἰωνὸν. ὑφ' ἥπαρ perhaps may seem preferable to some.

ii 1067. σὺν κελάδῳ σακέεσσι πελώριον ὄρσετε δοῦπον.

This does not mean "make a noise with-the clashing of

shields," because *δουπεῖν σὺν κελάδῳ* is not Greek for "make a noise with clashing"; what it *does* mean is "along with your shouting (see 1063) make a noise with your shields."

ii 1176. ἀλλ' ἵππους δαίτρενον, ἐπηετανὸν κομέουσai.

The question in this "Wardour street Greek," as Mr Bywater was fond of calling it, is not what is the real derivation of *ἐπηετανὸν* but what Ap. thought it meant. The phrase here is modelled on *Od.* vii 128, *ἐπηετανὸν γανώωσαι*, and the meaning there is pretty clearly "all the year," the gardens of Alcinous enjoying eternal spring. Ap. means then that the Amazons kept horses luxuriously for a year and sacrificed them at the end of it; the present participle is the right tense because they had the habit of doing so. Compare now the Aswamedha, or sacrifice of a horse, in the East, as told by Southey in the *Curse of Kehama*, viii 2:

A year and a day the steed must stray
Wherever chance may guide his way
Before he fall at Seeva's shrine.

Some echo of such an Oriental rite may have reached Alexandria or Rhodes. I abstain from the *Golden Bough*.

ii 1180. οἳ τε θεουδέες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι.

Sense required: "who are god-fearing and who are wicked." To read *ἡδὲ* for *οὐδὲ* (Stephanus) does not give this; to read *οἳ τ' ἀλιτηροὶ* (Matthiae) is violent. Merkel rightly says that the phrase is equivalent to *οἳ τε θεουδέες καὶ οὐ δίκαιοι*; he should rather have said *καὶ οὐ οὐ δίκαιοι*. For cf. iii 130, *ἥπαφες, οὐδε δίκη περιέπλεο*, "you have deceived him and unjustly overcome him."

ii 1254. οὐ γὰρ ὃ γ' αἰθερίοιο φυὴν ἔχεν οἰωνοῖο,
ἴσα δ' ἐνξέστοις ὠκύπτερα πάλλεν ἐρετμοῖς.

"Had not the form of a bird of the air"; so say the translators concerning the Promethean vulture. I should like to know what form he had then; perhaps of a bat or a mole or a translator? *φυὴν* here refers to size and nothing else, and that is shewn by the following line, which means "but his wing-feathers were as long as oars."

There is another passage where *φυήν* really is puzzling, iv 683. The Argonauts there are astonished by the strange monsters who attend upon Circe and,

Κίρκης εἷς τε φυήν εἷς τ' ὄμματα παπταίνοντες,

have no doubt she is sister of Aeetes and daughter of Helios. They might guess this from her ὄμματα easily enough, because the children of the Sun had a peculiar brightness of eye, but I cannot see what her *φυή* has to do with it. Neither in form nor in size, that I know of, was that race pre-eminent. Add that the rhythm | — — | — ∪ | ∪ — | is rather avoided at the opening of a line by the Greek hexameter; there are only 25 instances of it in the *Argonautica* apart from this line.

What is the connexion between the monsters and the recognition of Circe as daughter of Helios? The children of Helios are notorious for magic arts, and it is obvious how easily τέχνην, "her handicraft," would become τε φυήν. At the same time τε φυήν might mean a general resemblance to Aeetes; but then the addition of "daughter of Helios" is otiose.

iii 61. τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν, εἰ καὶ περ ἐς Ἄϊδα ναυτίλλεται...
ῥύσομαι.

In a future condition of this sort we expect not a present but an aorist subjunctive. Read ναυτίλλεται. At *Od.* iv 672 ναυτίλεται is only read by one MS., so far as we know at present, and that probably by accident, but ναυτίλλεται is there of course quite impossible. The form ναυτίλλεται is correct for Ap.

An interesting passage is iii 1052 seqq., ἐπὴν ζεύξης... ἀρόσσης... ἀνασταχύωσι. The aorists here mean "when you have yoked and ploughed," the present "when they are coming up."

How Ap. spelt νίσσομαι it is perhaps vain to enquire, but I certainly think that we should write either ἀπονεισ- or ἀπονισόμεθα as a future at iii 899 and ν(ε)ισόμεθα as an aorist subjunctive at iv 257. In the latter passage we want neither a present indicative nor a future, but a hortative subjunctive. The same correction is required in Manetho vi (iii) 5, μέχρῃς ἂν κ' ἐπὶ πείρατα νίσσομαι οἴμης, for even the author of that book does not use μέχρῃς ἂν with a future.

iii 690. *τοῖα κατακνώσσουσα μιννυθαδίῳ νέον ὕπνῳ
λεύσσω ὀνείρατα λυγρὰ.*

νέον λεύσσω could only mean: "I lately saw and still see," but Medea cannot really mean that, and Mr Mooney's suggestion, that "the dream is still vividly present," does not appear to me plausible. Rather Ap. wrote *λεῦσσον ὀνείρατα*, and haplography did the rest.

Brunck actually reads *λεῦσσον*, on quite wrong grounds it is true, but read it he does. Then comes Merkel with his followers and obliterates it.

iii 954. *ἡ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ, ὅπποτε δοῦπον
ἡ ποδὸς ἡ ἀνέμοιο παραθρέξαντα δοάσσαι.*

Medea is waiting for Jason; that her heart should be broken whenever her ear catches a sound is ridiculous. In such a case any sound might "make her jump," but nobody breaks his heart so cheaply. Besides does any Greek talk of *ἄγνυμι κέαρ*¹? We feel a sort of constriction about the heart at any sudden sound when we are listening intently or highly strung, and the verb for this would be *ἐάλη*. Cf. 471, *ἐόλητο νόον*.

I do not quite know what to make of *στηθέων*. Mr Mooney can only produce two parallels for this "local" use, and unluckily neither of them justifies it. *νειοῖο* in iii 1056 may be and probably is ablative, *χθονὸς* in iv 1478 depends upon *τηλοῦ*, "far away in the land," which makes a great difference. Herwerden's *στήθεσφ'* does not look like Apollonius to me.

iii 1208. *νήησε σχίζας, ἐπὶ δ' ἄρνειοῦ τάμε λαιμὸν,
αὐτόν τ' εὖ καθύπερθε τανύσσατο.*

Extraordinary as it may appear, the animal referred to is a ewe, a "female ram," reminding us of the female bull of the astrologers. It is described in 1199 as *θῆλυν ὄιν* and in 1032 as *θῆλυν ἄρνειον*. I have long marvelled at *ὁ θῆλυς* in Aristotle and later writers, but this is far worse.

iii 1287. *κυνέην δ' ἀποκάτθετ' ἐρείσας.*

This does not mean that Jason took off his own helmet; why should he? He was carrying the serpent's teeth in another

¹ Certainly Homer says *κατεκλάσθη ἦτορ*.

helmet, and this it was which he leant against his spear to prevent the teeth falling out when he tackled the bulls. *αὐτῇ σὺν ἀσπίδι* in 1288 of course does not mean "with shield alone," but simply "shield and all." At 1321 he picks up again the helmet "full of sharp teeth."

iii 1295. ἃ τε σπιλὰς εἰν ἀλλ' πέτρη
 μέννει ἀπειρεσίησι δονέμενα κύματ' ἀέλλαις.

Unconstruable, since ἃ τε cannot take a verb; Merkel rightly restores μέννει, and the same construction then recurs at 1391: *αἵματι δ' ὄλκοι | ἥντε κρηναῖαι ἀμάραι πλήθοντο ῥοῇσιν.*

iv 246. The context imperatively demands τῇ γὰρ for ἡ γάρ.

iv 311. ἀμφὶ δὲ δοιαὶ
 σχίζονται προχοαὶ. τὴν μὲν καλέουσι Νάρηκος,
 τὴν δ' ὑπὸ τῇ νεάτῃ Καλὸν στόμα· τῇ δὲ διαπρὸ
 "Αψυρτος Κόλχοι τε θωώτερον ὠρμήθησαν,
 οἱ δ' ὑψοῦ νήσοιο κατ' ἀκροτάτης ἐνέοντο
 τηλόθεν.

τῇ δὲ should mean "but by the other way," read τῇδε, "by this latter way," no connecting particle is here required or even to be endured. The Colchians then went by the southern stream and so got ahead; Argo came after them ὑψοῦ, by the northern channel, going further round and so ascending the river τηλόθεν. But what is νήσοιο κατ' ἀκροτάτης? It can only mean "down from the highest point," i.e. southwards from the north-east angle. So at 329 ποταμοῖο κατήλυθον is not "down the river" but "down from it" into the Adriatic.

iv 408. οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ Κόλχοισιν ὑπείξομαι πτολεμίζειν.

So L, ὑπείξομαι πτολεμίζειν G. Gerhard's ὑπείξω μὴ πτολεμίζειν is now generally adopted, but it will not do, because the rhythm | ∪ -- | - | ∪ ∪ -- | is not allowed by Apollonius at the end of a line; at ii 146 the right reading is indisputably δεῦρο κόμισσε, but ii 1209 certainly sails very near the wind with δν αὐτῇ Γαῖ' ἀνέφυσεν. I think this rhythm is generally avoided by the epic writers; even in Homer, so much less particular than

later poets about such minutiae, it is not common¹. A dreadful instance of it is the line εἰ μὲν δώσετε μισθὸν αἰίσω, ὦ κεραμῆες, which some miscreant has put into Homer's mouth. Secondly, why do the MSS. spell πτολ? Because the word was originally preceded by a short vowel, as Brunck observes, and he is right so far with ὑπείξαιμι πτολεμίζειν. But in the days of Brunck 409 had not yet been put straight by Gerhard, and in consequence he read καὶ δ' with four MSS. for οὐδ'. Read οὐδ'... ὑπείξαιμι πτολεμίζων.

iv 603.

ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦραι

Ἥλιάδες ταναῆσιν ἐελμέναι αἰγείροισιν
μύρονται κινυρὸν μέλαι γόον· ἐκ δὲ φαεινὰς
ἡλέκτρον λιβάδας βλεφάρων προχέουσιν ἔραζε.

Gerhard's ἐελμέναι is the most celebrated emendation in Apollonius, and there cannot be much doubt that it is right. Five MSS. read αἰίμεναι, others εἰμέναι, ἐφήμεναι, ἐλιγμέναι. But an imitation of the passage has been hitherto overlooked. Dionysius, *Orbis Descriptio* 292:

ἔνθα δὲ Κελτῶν παῖδες ὑφήμενοι αἰγείροισι
δάκρυ' ἀμέλγονται χρυσαυγέος ἡλέκτροιο.

Here again is great diversity of reading, other MSS. giving ὑφείμενοι, ἐφήμενοι, ἐψείμενοι. It is clear that Dionysius did not read ἐελμέναι in his Apollonius, but either ὑφήμεναι or ἐφήμεναι, probably the latter, which he perceived to be nonsense; then changing the subject to the "children of the Kelts" he made a new sense for himself by also changing the participle to ὑφήμενοι. The corruption of ἐελμέναι to ἐφήμεναι is thus at least as old as the Augustan age or thereabouts, but we are now familiar with the antiquity of our variants.

Brunck at one time thought of reading ὑφήμεναι in our passage. He also remarks that "*Indutae esset ἐφειμέναι*," and that would be satisfactory in itself, but does not account so well for the discrepancies of reading as ἐελμέναι; nor is the dative

¹ I reckon only eleven real instances in the whole *Odyssey*, including viii 236 and xx 52; in seven of them the monosyllable is an elided trochee, which

seems to make a difference. I do not of course include lines in which the monosyllable is enclitic.

found with ἐφειμέναι elsewhere in epic verse, so far as I know.

iv 657. τεύχεα θέσκελα κείνων.

Something was shewn in the island of Elba called the "arms of the Argonauts"; τεύχεα is the right reading, and I have had the good luck to find the explanation of it in Suetonius *Aug.* 72: "qualia sunt Capreis immanium beluarum ferarumque membra praegrandia, quae dicuntur Gigantum ossa et arma Heroum." These arms of the Argonauts were therefore bones, probably of rhinoceros and hippopotamus, remains of both of which are found in Elba along with those of other smaller animals: see Haug, *Traité de Géologie*, tom. ii, p. 1866.

iv 1409.

νώσατο δ' Ὀρφεὺς

θεῖα τέρα, τὰς δέ σφι παρηγορέεσκε λιτῆσιν.

στὰς δέ σφε Brunck, grammatically, but στὰς, though in four MSS., is meaningless. ταῖς δέ σφε Schneider, ungrammatically. Those who keep the text explain σφι to mean "for the benefit of the Argonauts," but can quote nothing to make this probable. Read τὼς δέ σφε: there are six other instances of τὼς in Ap.; σφε is corrupted to σφι in the best MSS. at ii 1086 and iii 370; and cf. iii 303, τοίοισι παρηγορέων ἐπέεσσιν.

iv 1583. ἀγκῶνος τετάνυσται ἰθὺς ἀπὸ προὔχοντος ἰούσιν.

Merkel's τέτατ' ἰθὺς ἀπὸ looks plausible, but Ap. is very chary about eliding αι: we find ἔσσετ' thrice at the beginning of a line, i 334, iii 480, 1044; σχήσομ' once, iii 514; eleven such elisions at the weak caesura of the fifth foot, including ἔσσετ' four times; one at the weak caesura of the third, ἔσσετ' again, iii 93; one at the end of the third foot, ii 1164; two at the end of the fourth foot, iii 483, 528. There is not one single instance of this elision at the end of the second foot, and so τέτατ' can hardly be accepted. We must apparently fall back on Brunck's remedy of ejecting ἰθὺς.

The following are still more trifling points: i 895, οὐδ' for οὗτ'. 1323, ἀναπλήσαι? ii 776, ἐμείω is right, for Ap. regularly uses this genitive with words like *father* and *sister*. iii 600,

ἀπάτην for ἄτην? 613, μιλίσσοιτο seems to me better than μιλίξαιτο. iv 1230, στεινὰς means "crowded."

Scholia. i 242. Read ποῖ for ποῦ. 824, ποῦ for που, "for the natural question to ask was *where* are the younger males." 1204, κρατύνουσι for κρατοῦσι, and ὄζοι for τόνοι; cf. 1191 of the poem. ii 544, τῷ for τὸ. 653, μηδένα for ἓνα, ἐσελθόντα <δέ> τινα for ἐπελθόντα τινὰ, and θύεσθαι after ἐκουσίως; cf. Hdt. vii 197. iv 156, ἱερὸν for ἴδιον; the words are elsewhere confused. 259, τὸν μὲν Ἰστρον for τὸν μὲν Φᾶσιν; cf. schol. 284. 277, λινῶν for λίνων. Finally in the γένος Ἀπολλωνίου at the end of the scholia read ὑποστρέψει for ὑποστρέφει.

ARTHUR PLATT.

AESCHYLEA.

P. V. 49.

ἅπαντ' ἐπράχθη πλὴν θεοῖσι κοιρανεῖν,
ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὐ τις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός.

Until I come to its conclusion I agree cordially with the note of Sikes and Willson on ἐπράχθη; I cannot see how it can mean, as Dindorf suggested, *permissa sunt*, nor how any other translation can make any sense at all; I agree too that ἐπράχθη is a corruption of ἐπαχθῇ. But the conclusion makes me stare: 'all things are burdensome save to rule the gods.' Is it burdensome then to lie on your back in a punt? Is it the easiest thing to be thought of to rule the gods? And why? Because 'nobody is free except Zeus.' What a reason for what a fiction!

But I do not see how to get any good sense out of ἐπαχθῇ, and hold that it was itself a corruption of ἐπαχθές; anyhow that is the sense we require. 'It is hard for any save the gods to have their own way in everything, for Zeus alone is free.' So says Simonides μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν, so Sophocles μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται θεοῖσι γῆρας, and in general there is nothing the poets are fonder of insisting on than that nobody but the gods can do everything he likes. Nay, Sophocles says that even the gods cannot do so νόσφι Διὸς (frag. 1129 Pearson). The expression of Aeschylus is illogical, but not too much so for a poet.

ἐπαχθές was attracted to the plural ἅπαντα, and then further depraved into ἐπράχθη.

P. V. 464.

κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ὄνειράτων
ἀλίγκιοι μορφαῖσι τὸν μακρὸν βίον
ἔφυρον εἰκῇ πάντα.

There seems no great point in μακρὸν βίον; there is no reason to suppose that the lives of these primitive savages were re-

markable for length, and Prometheus indeed tells us at 496 that they were shorter than now, for *φαρμάκων χρεία κατεσκέλλοντο*. Nor can it mean that they felt their lives to be a weariness to them; *μακρὰ λέγειν* may mean 'to be tedious,' but the adjective in itself never means 'tedious,' so far as I can ascertain. The reading of the later MSS, *τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον*, is perhaps intended to make some such meaning possible. *μαῦρον* is the slightest of changes, and goes beautifully with the context: 'like shapes of dreams in their dim life.' The form *μαῦρος* certainly existed, and the poet is fond of *μαυρόω*. The right way to use *τὸν μακρὸν βίον* may be seen at 553.

Septem 71.

μή μοι πόλιν γε πρυμνόθεν πανώλεθρον
ἐκθαμνίσητε δηάλωτον Ἑλλάδος
φθόγγον χέουσαν καὶ δόμους ἐφεςτίους.

The objections to this are many and strong. *ἐκθαμνίσητε* plainly ought to go with Ἑλλάδος, but then *φθόγγον χέουσαν* is senseless; if we take Ἑλλάδος *φθόγγον* together we get pure moonshine for our pains, since this is not Greek for 'the Greek language'; *φθόγγος* means 'voice' or 'sound,' not 'speech'; e.g. at *Antig.* 1217 *τὸν Αἴμονος φθόγγον* is 'the sound of Haemon's voice,' but Creon is too far off to catch the words (1209); and 'the voice or sound of Greece' is senseless. And suppose it could mean 'the Greek language,' even then it is incredible; the enemy talked Greek just as much as the Cadmeans did, and *ἐτεροφώνῳ στρατῷ* in 155 would not support the contrary view even if it were not indubitably corrupt. Again, what a wretched *cheville* is *καὶ δόμους ἐφεςτίους*, coming where it does; see Tucker's note also on this. Finally the scholiast says *γρ. καὶ ὄλβον ῥέοντα* for *φθόγγον χέουσαν*: this cannot be an attempt at correction, because it will not construe as the passage stands; it is a genuine ancient reading and quite likely to be as near the truth as our MSS.

What then is the conclusion? That one or more lines have perished after Ἑλλάδος. For example:

μηδ' ἐξαϊστώσητε δαιμόνων ἔδη
ὄλβῳ φλέοντα καὶ δόμους ἐφεςτίους.

All we can do is to mark a lacuna and obelize *φθόγγον χέουσαν*. The more I read this play the more convinced I feel of its desperate and all pervading corruption.

φθόγγον χέουσαν seems to me to be a conjecture parallel to *χρησμὸν λέγοντας* in Solon 36, 9 (Bergk), where we now know the original to have been *χρειοὶ φυγόντας*.

Septem 83.

ἔλεδέμας πεδιοπλοκτύπος.

The first four syllables, so written in M, should be expanded into a dochmiac in the opinion of most editors. The scholia talk of *τὰ πεδία τῆς γῆς μου*, and some accordingly insert *γᾶς*, e.g. *ἰδὲ δὲ γᾶς ἐμᾶς* Wecklein. This seems to me a very doubtful step; the scholiast read *ἔλε δ' ἐμᾶς* and supposed *ἐμᾶς* to be for *ἐμῆς γῆς*, but there is no evidence that he had *γᾶς* in his text, and *γᾶς ἐμᾶς πεδία* sounds to me quite unlike Aeschylus. Another scholion speaks of *τὸ δέμας ἡμῶν τῷ φόβῳ λαμβάνουσα*; that confused note is more like the genuine thing to my mind, *ἔλε δέμας <τρόμος>*. The accentuation of M is then right, *τρόμος* easily fell out after *δέμας*, and *δέμας* is a word of which the poet is very fond. I should agree with Dindorf in preferring *εἶλε* to *ἔλε*; both would be written the same in the old alphabet.

For the aorist, cf. *ἔδεια* in 185; for *τρόμος* similar phrases in Homer, especially *Iliad* v, 862, *τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ τρόμος εἶλεν*, xxiv, 170, *τὸν δὲ τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυνῖα*.

Septem 216.

ἀνδρῶν τάδ' ἐστὶ, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια
θεοῖσιν ἔρδειν, πολεμίων πειρωμένοις.

πειρωμένοις M, with *ων* superscribed. If we read *πειρωμένων* it must agree with *ἀνδρῶν* and govern *πολεμίων*, but this is ugly. *πειρωμένοις* looks also more genuine; I apprehend that it is a corruption of *πειρωμένους* by attraction to *θεοῖσιν* or otherwise. The genitive after *πειρᾶσθαι* in the sense of *attack* is common in Herodotus. The sense is: 'It is the business of men to make sacrifices, since they it is who make trial of the enemy.'

Septem 537.

εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονούσι πρὸς θεῶν!
αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίοις κομπάσμασιν
ἦ τὰν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ' ὀλοίατο.

Punctuate as above; a colon after κομπάσμασιν spoils the sense, and ἦ τοι certainly need not stand first in its clause.

Ag. 38.

ὥς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κοῦ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.

There is no attempt whatever at any humorous effect here: the phrase ἐκὼν ἐπιλανθάνομαι is not uncommon for deliberate ignoring or keeping silence upon a point; Liddell and Scott will provide examples from Herodotus and Aeschines, to which may be added Origen *contra Celsum* i, 16. τοῦτο λανθάνει με, 'this slips me,' τούτου ἐπιλανθάνομαι, 'I let this slip,' so 'pass over, ignore,' of which 'forget' is only one variety. So at *Odyssey* xii, 227, λανθανόμην Κίρκης ἐφημοσύνης: certainly Odysseus had not forgotten what Circe told him, but deliberately neglected it. *Iliad* x, 243, πῶς ἂν Ὀδυσῆος λαθοίμην, 'how can I pass over Odysseus?' Cf. Verrall's note.

ἐκὼν does not really go with αὐδῶ at all, for the watchman could not be anxious to talk of the scandal even to those who knew of it. In prose the connexion would be made clearer by saying something like ἐκὼν τοῖς μὲν ξυνετοῖς λέγω τοῖς δὲ μὴ οὐ, where the μὲν clause would merely lead up to the second. 'Of my own will (though some may understand me) I say nothing to enlighten the ignorant.'

Ag. 117.

ὁ κελαινὸς ὁ δ' ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς.

Two eagles of two distinct species would not go out to prey together, and it is possible to identify the Aeschylean bird with considerable certainty. The οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς, even if there were no other proof, could hardly be anything but the Golden Eagle, 'by almost universal consent regarded as the "king of birds"' (*Royal Nat. Hist.*, vol. iv, p. 224), and called the Black Eagle to this day in the Highlands and in Central Asia (*kara-*

kush). But further there is only one species of eagle in which the two colours mentioned by the poet could be observed; the mature Golden Eagle is dark all over, but in young birds 'the whole of the root of the tail is whitish or pure white, becoming gradually mottled with grey and brown towards the middle, and only the terminal third of the feathers is nearly black' (*ibid.* p. 225). 'The young Eagles are tended by the parents for some little time after they quit the nest, then they abandon the place of their birth for ever. Before they leave their parents, they may from time to time be seen hunting in company, the old birds apparently teaching them to take and kill their own prey' (Seeböhm, *British Birds*, 1883, vol. I, p. 104)¹.

Aeschylus had seen this in all probability for himself, and like Calchas had marked the difference in colour. But why does this shew that the Atridae and the eagles are *λήμασι δισσοῦς* (126)? Here I enter upon conjecture: the young bird, it may be supposed with much certainty, would be bullied and kept under subjection by its parent, and hence the 'white feather' denotes inferiority and want of self-assertion. That suits the character of Menelaus perfectly; in the *Iliad* he is always dependent upon and guided by Agamemnon, in the *Odyssey* he is ruled by Helen. This contrast between the brothers is all that Aeschylus means; he carefully guards against any supposition that he may be thinking Menelaus cowardly by adding *μαχίμους* to agree with *both* Atridae. But it was natural that the 'white feather' should come also to mean actual cowardice, as it did in Sophocles (*πύγαργος*). The *πύγαργος* of Aristotle is a different species, and has nothing to do with our passage, for two different species would not be hunting together; there may however have been some confusion between the different kinds in the mind of Greek poets and zoologists.

Headlam must be mistaken in making *δύο* agree with *λήμασι*, since *δύο* is not indeclinable in tragedy.

Ag. 349.

ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.

¹ The last plate in Macpherson's *Home Life of a Golden Eagle* shews the white tail very conspicuous.

This future tense has not been sufficiently noted; it proves that Clytemnestra does not expect Agamemnon's return upon that day, and that the scholiast is therefore wrong in supposing it. For Aeschylus would never have used the future here, had he intended to bring Agamemnon back before night. Aeschylus knew what every Greek dramatist knew, that there is no time in a tragedy, or otherwise that there is a double time, that occupied by the actors and that totally undetermined one which lies in the background. An unexpected author on such a subject puts it better than anybody else I know when he says: 'The mistake arose through our forgetfulness of the fact that in a drama the element of time is often annihilated for dramatic purposes' (W. K. Parker, *Mummalian Descent*, p. 210).

Ag. 400.

κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
 τρίβω τε καὶ προσβολαῖς
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει.

τρίβω and προσβολαῖς cannot refer to a touchstone, because bronze is not so tested. Hence Paley actually suggested χρυσοῦ for χαλκοῦ; but that will not help us, because gold does not go black when so tested; it is the mark on the stone which shews the gold to be bad. The real explanation, as I learn from Professor Collie, is this: good bronze has no lead in it; if lead be present, oxide of lead is formed by contact with the air, and this is black; even if no lead be there but the bronze is insufficiently smelted, it may blacken through the formation of oxide of copper. Bad bronze blackens at once after polishing, and that is what Aeschylus refers to by τρίβω καὶ προσβολαῖς.

Ag. 715.

παμπρόσθη πολύθρηνον
 αἰῶν' ἀμφὶ πολιτᾶν
 μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνατλάσα.

This terribly corrupt passage has been very nearly put straight by a series of scholars, if we only combine the scattered suggestions into one orderly whole. For παμπρόσθη Enger proposed γαμβροῖς δὴ, which has been improved into γαμβρούς

θ' οἱ by Paton (*C. R.* xx, 207). For αἰῶν' H. L. Ahrens proposed παιῶν', improved by Schwerdt into παιᾶν', and the same emendation is accepted by everybody at 258. That ἀμφὶ πολιτᾶν is right is proved by the metre, though the corresponding line is corrupt. All that is now needed is to read ἀνέπλησαν for ἀνατλάσα. 'And the kindred who bore the lamentable burden of the dirge over the blood of their hapless citizens.' For ἀνέπλησαν cf. frag. 54 (Dind.) πίμπλησι μέλος. I take the meaning to be that they 'filled up' the dirge by acting as chorus, οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο—γαμβροὶ. As they had joyfully sung in the hymeneal song (710), so later they changed their tune to a dirge, and the 'aged city of Priam,' now that she is laid low, reviles them for their earlier proceedings. Aeschylus is fond of using παιᾶν in this ironical sense; cf. 650, *Cho.* 159, *Sept.* 855, and the very words πολύθρηνον παιᾶνα are almost reproduced by Hesychius, παιᾶνι στυνγῶ· θρηνητικῶ ὕμνῳ, though of course his gloss is not on this passage but on Eur. *Tro.* 126.

Ag. 1430.

ἀτίετον ἔτι σὲ χρὴ στερομένην φίλων.

The corresponding line is ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες, ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσῃ, which is plainly right as it stands; to insert τ' after ἀπέταμες is simply wicked. The form ἀτίετος is a favourite with Aeschylus, the second foot should be kept a tribrach if possible, σὲ is unnecessary; so the best change seems to be to read ἀτίετον ἔτι χρὴ.

Ag. 1435.

οὔ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἐλπίς ἐμπατεῖ.

Explain this as 'the expectation of terror walks not in my halls,' comparing τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου in Thuc. vii, 61, quoted by Headlam in his note. Clytemnestra goes on to say: 'so long as Aegisthus lights the fire upon my hearth-stone'; as the watcher keeps off a wild beast by fire, so fear cannot break into her palace while Aegisthus keeps watch in it.

Ag. 1573.

κτεάνων τε μέρος

βαιὸν ἐχούση πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι δ'...

Cf. in a fragment of Ehippus (*Athenaeus* VIII, 359 A):
 ἅπαν¹ γὰρ ἱκανόν ἐστι, 'anything will do for me.' Headlam
 justly objects to ἀπόχρη that it is a purely prose word; the
 original was perhaps πᾶν μοι ἀπαρκέσει.

Ag. 1664. A better supplement than any yet proposed
 would be, I think, τὸν κρατοῦντά <τ' ἀγνοεῖν>. The present
 would be the right tense.

Cho. 69.

θιγόντι δ' οὔτι νυμφικῶν ἐδωλίων
 ἄκος, πόροι τε πάντες....

Bothe's οὔτε is an attempt to get the connexion right, τε—
 τε being equal to ὡς—οὕτως as so often in Aeschylus, e.g.
 Agam. 333, ὅξος τε—καὶ τῶν. But his οὔτε is in the wrong
 place; the true correction is rather θιγόντι τ' οὔτι.

Cho. 694.

νῦν δ' ἥπερ ἐν δόμοισι βακχείας καλῆς
 ἱατρὸς ἐλπὶς ἦν παρούσαν ἐγγράφει.

ἐγγραφε schol. πεσοῦσαν Enger. ἀναστρέφειν Dobree. These
 two last are fumbings in the right direction; πεσοῦσ' ἀνε-
 στράφη in the old alphabet is almost indistinguishable from
 πεσοῦσαν ἐγγραφε. Cf. Pers. 166, κονίσσας οὐδας ἀντρέψη ποδὶ,
 for the aorist participle and the idea. I hesitated some time
 between ἀνεστράπη and ἀνεστράφη; the former is the commoner
 verb, I think, in this sense, but the latter is metrically superior
 and nearer the tradition, and cf. Pers. 814, ἐξανέστραπται
 βάθρων.

I also harbour a suspicion that καλῆς should be καλή.

Eum. 594.

XO. εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ' ὅπως κατέκτανες.

OP. λέγω· ξιφουλκῶ χειρὶ πρὸς δέρην τεμὼν.

The scholiast is all at sea over this couplet; the reason why
 the method of killing is so insisted upon is that there is a
 special superstition about the shedding of blood. Primitive
 man commits infanticide by drowning, burying alive, strangling,

¹ ἅπαν Dindorf for ἅπαντα.

exposure, and still more cruel methods, but he always, so far as I know, avoids shedding the blood. One may suppose that the blood somehow was imagined to be essential to setting the ghosts or demons at work to avenge the death of a member of the tribe. Aeschylus is perpetually insisting upon the blood in this connexion, and it is not merely a poetic figure with him, as this passage shews, but a relic of the ancient superstition dimly surviving.

Frag. 99, 1 (Sidg.).

ταύρω τε λειμὼν ξένια πάμβοτος παρῆν.

This line is so restored by Weil, but *ξένια παρῆν* is very unsatisfactory. *ξεινήια πορεῖν* is a Homeric phrase, we do not know the construction here and the papyrus is horribly corrupt throughout; for *παρῆν* we should read *πορεῖν* or *πορὼν*.

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE CATHARSIS-CLAUSE IN GERMAN CRITICISM BEFORE LESSING.

Not the least interesting part in the late Ingram Bywater's masterly edition of the *Poetics* is the appendix, containing a synopsis of versions and paraphrases of the clause: δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν¹.

Numerous as are the passages collected there, ranging from 1527 to 1899, they fail to show the name of any German scholar before Curtius (1753) and Lessing (1768). Yet in Germany, as well as in neighbouring countries, the much-debated catharsis-clause passed, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, through an interesting evolution, which it is the plan of this paper to describe.

Four centuries have struggled with the interpretation of these few words: 'incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions'.

Of course, we are not concerned here with Aristotle's real meaning, but only with the explanations which have gained currency in the course of German dramatic criticism before Lessing. These it will be easier to appraise and situate with the help of a short outline of the problem in its broader European aspect.

The formula quoted above, it may be noticed, contains Aristotle's explanation of both the mediate and the ultimate end of tragedy. The arousing of pity and fear is the means of attaining the final object of tragedy: the catharsis of such emotions. Thus the student is confronted with a double problem, the second part of which, concerned with the ultimate end of tragedy, has been the storm-centre of prolonged controversy. The various solutions, all hingeing upon the interpretation of the word *catharsis*, are in the main reducible to two. The most recent of these, usually associated with the names of Weil

¹ 6. 1449^b 27.

² Bywater's translation.

and Bernays, conceives of tragedy as purging, in an almost pathological sense, or relieving the spectator of certain emotions by providing opportunities for these emotions to spend themselves. The implication is not that these emotions are objectionable: they are simply given an outlet in a natural way. This process may be considered as predominantly emotional: emotion being at once its means and its end. In this sense it is essentially a modern conception, and, it may be said in anticipation, one altogether foreign to the moralizing and didactic spirit of Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Indeed, for the purposes of this study it may safely be left in the background. The older interpretation, prominently championed by many critics from Heinsius to Lessing, and alive to this day, rests on the assumption that certain emotions although not altogether objectionable, stand in need of purification. This purification is most commonly understood as a sort of reduction of their excessive intensity, a process of moderation and normalization which may be brought about by the frequent emotional indulgence which tragedy affords. But opinions differ as to whether this explanation is psychologically sound, Plato e.g. holding¹ that frequent gratification of our emotional faculties does not result in their weakening but in the destruction of the will-power by which they are controlled. It is evident that in the main this process is an ethical one: its mediate end is emotional, to be sure, but the ultimate object implied is the curbing of these very emotions, and what is sought after is not the gratification of the individual but his moral improvement².

There are two further questions connected with the catharsis-problem. The first is concerned with the possibility of separating pity and fear; the second, arising from the syncopated compactness of Aristotle's text, as to whether the emotions to be discharged or purified are exclusively pity and fear, or whether other related emotions are also affected.

¹ *Republic*, Bk x.

² A third explanation, neither emotional nor ethical but intellectual was recently defended by O. S. Haubt, *Wirkt die Tragödie auf das Gemüth oder auf den Verstand oder die*

Moralität der Zuschauer ? oder Der aus den Schriften des Aristotles erbrachte wissenschaftliche Beweis für die intellectualistische Bedeutung der Katharsis. Supplement to nr. 3 of the *Archiv f. Geschichte d. Philosophie*, vol. xxviii.

What seems to be the first mention of the catharsis-formula by a German critic dates from 1534, when Joachim Camerarius conceived of tragedy as an imitation etc. contrived '...in such a manner that the several parts may have suitable action, everything ending in pity and terror¹.' To Camerarius Aristotle's explanation evidently meant nothing more than the *exitus funesti* of Euanthius or the *exitus tristes* of Diomedes. In a somewhat similar spirit Willichius (1545), without actually committing himself on this strange innovation, would seem to consider pity and terror as part of subject-matter².

It is uncertain whether Melanchthon knew the Aristotelian Formula, but his expressed conception of the aim of Tragedy, its subject-matter and its means of appeal would suggest that he did. In his opinion the end of tragedy is to force rude and savage souls into moderation; the subject-matter presented should be so terrible as to strike whole audiences with *horror* and move them with *pity*³. Even in Hans Sachs a suggestion of the catharsis-idea may be pointed out, for does not this worthy, in the preface to the second volume of the folio edition, lure the reader with the promise of 'nit allein...etliche süsz fruchtttragende Bäumlein, zur Speysz der Gesunden, sonder Wurtz und Krausz, so resz und pitter zu Artzney, die Krancken gemüter zu *purgieren*, vnd die bösen Feuchtigkeit der Laster

¹ 'Sed haud definiunt [tragoediam] representationem magnarum rerum & horribilium ac incredibilium. Alii breuiter comprehensionem fortunae heroicæ. Alii prolixius, imitationem rerum grauium & ingentium, quarum exitus grata oratione explicentur, ita ut singulae partes conuenientem habeant actionem, desinentibus uniuersis in misericordiam & terrores.' *Comm. in trag. Sophoclis*, 1534, p. 6 ro.

² 'Nam id serium esse debet sed cum miseria & terrore.' Joocus Willichius, *Comm. in A.P. Hor.*, 1545, p. 13 f. This view has actually been defended on the basis of the restitution of the reading *μαθημάτων* as found in the Parisinus (A^c) for *παθημάτων*, the

apographic reading which is now almost universally accepted. Cf. H. Otte, *Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte tragische Katharsis?* Berlin, 1912.

³ 'Ut rudes ac feros animos...flecterent ad *moderationem* & frenandas cupiditates; ... argumenta .. quorum commemoratione *cohorrescerent* tota theatra. Non enim mouetur populus leuium aut mediocrium miseriarum cogitatione, terribilis species objicienda est oculis, quæ penetret in animos, & diu haereat, & moueat illa ipsa *com-miseratione* ut de causis humanarum calamitatum cogitent, & singuli se ad illas imagines conferant." *Adhortatio ...de legendis Tragoedijs & Comoedijs* 1545. The italics are ours.

auszzutreiben' ? (1560). It is not quite impossible that Sachs should have become acquainted with the term *purgatio*, as it had been used in translations of the catharsis-clause from Valla down to Paccius and Segni¹ and only shortly before, in the version of Petrus Victorius (1560). But there was no suggestion in that term or in those versions, of the modern homoeopathic theory, likening the emotions to the humours of the body, which Sachs here clearly expresses. Moreover the fact remains that the second folio-volume is almost exclusively dramatic in contents and that the explanation of its probable effect may thus have had special reference to the drama. The question might well be asked: 'Had Sachs been acquainted with the catharsis-clause, would he not have interpreted it in that same spirit?' Be that as it may, it is curious at least to note that he was probably the first German writer to adumbrate, however faintly, the pathological interpretation of the catharsis.

Schosser² first raises the question as to whether pity and terror may be separated. In his opinion the catharsis may be effected by either one of the emotions or by both³. There is no adequate basis in the *Poetics*⁴ for this view, the insidious effect of which may be easily underestimated because it could be held, as was the case with Schosser, without necessarily showing in the definition. It favoured a mechanical conception of tragedy, as of a conglomeration of incidents each calculated to arouse a certain emotion and it is closely related with the tendency shown by Willichius to consider the emotions as inherent in the subject-matter.

The next year brings another curious instance of the

¹ 1498; 1527; 1549. See Bywater's list of versions and paraphrases of the catharsis-clause, *l.c.* p. 361 ff.

² 'Per misericordiam & metum conficienshuiuscemodi perturbationum purgationem.' Joh. Schosser, *Disputatio de Tragoedia*, 1569, II.

³ The subject-matter, he states, should provide 'vel terrorem vel miserationem vel utrumque.' Corneille, later on (*Discours de la tragédie*) insisted that one of the emotions would

accomplish the tragic effect. Cf. J. G. Robertson, *Lessing's interpretation of Aristotle*, *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii (1917), p. 327.

⁴ Although the passage where the effectiveness of certain discoveries is described might give rise to doubt. See Ch. 11: 'This (i.e. discovery attended by Peripeties) will arouse either pity or fear.' Bywater's translation.

catharsis-clause in a state of diffusion, as with Melanchthon and Sachs, namely Jonas Bitner's definition of tragedy¹.

Again, an interesting point comes into notice with Pontanus. What Maggi had already tried in Italy² is here once more attempted: namely a clearer wording of the end of the catharsis-clause: *τοιούτων παθημάτων*. 'Of such emotions,' writes Bywater. Which emotions? Not all scholars will accept *τοιούτων* as practically equivalent to *τούτων*. Certain translators, Butcher and Gomperz, write 'these emotions.' Did Aristotle mean pity and fear, the very emotions which tragedy is to arouse, or these and kindred emotions, or neither necessarily pity nor fear, but only kindred emotions? Practically all translators have to face the difficulty, but most of them seem not to care to discuss the point. They may simply translate: 'of emotions' following Segni (1549) or Minturno (1559), or 'of that sort of emotions,' as Paccius (1527) and Victorius (1560) and Schosser (1569) did, or 'of similar emotions' as Rossi (1590) and later on Heinsius (1611) and Vossius (1647) suggested. Jacob Pontanus squarely faces the issue and defines the emotions as those 'from which such tragical crimes arise³.' According to this view it is not pity and terror which are affected by the catharsis; but pity and terror are used to free the soul from the perturbing emotions which are the cause of tragic crimes.

Pontanus is the first German critic to show interest in the psychological aspect of the problem: 'How can such a process be other than painful? How can a tragedy built of misery produce delight, as it should whether delight be wholly or in part the aim of poetry, if it fills the soul with pity and terror⁴?'

¹ 'In den Tragoedien sind gewaltige und herrliche Personen der Königen / Fürsten und Tyrannen / und erheben sich erstlich grosse *schrecken / furcht* und *anfechtungen / demnach stimpflische (sic) / kurtze und vergebne freud /* letstlich jämmerliche und erbärmliche zufäll / und auszgäng grosser und fürtrefflicher leüt.' Jonas Bitner, translation of Plautus' *Menaechmi*, 1570.

² 1550. Cf. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 78.

³ 'vt misericordia & terrore animos ab iis perturbationibus liberet, a quibus huiusmodi facinora tragica proficiuntur.' Jac. Pontanus, *Poeticarum institutionum*, l. III, Ingolst., 1594, p. 110.

⁴ 'Sed cum tragoedia rebus lucuosus plena sit, mirum videatur quomodo voluptatem pariat, quam parere

Pontanus meets these objections first by referring to Aristotle's theory of the pleasure derived from mere imitation, a pleasure enhanced in tragedy by the difficulties involved; secondly, by explaining that the faculty of pity is innate in us: 'Quae autem veniunt a natura, ea jucunda sunt¹'; a pity for others which is intimately connected with the egotistic joy in our own security. Finally we are glad to know how to behave should we be overtaken by similar misfortunes.

The argument appeared convincing enough and Pontanus' version found favour with the Giessen professors².

Opitz³, with whom Rist⁴ and Klaj⁵ agreed, is in a sense a disciple of Heinsius, whose poems he had translated and whose glory he had sung. Heinsius, elaborating the conception of Robortelli, Vettori and Castelvetro⁶ had explained the catharsis as the result of repeated indulgence in certain feelings, to which our nature finally grows so inured that they cease to move us more than is fitting. The green recruit is full of fear and terror, whilst the veteran is collected and steadfast; thus he who sees misery frequently will feel pity, but no more than he should⁷. The ideal is one of measure, of moderation, of de-

debet omnino, siquidem delectatio aut finis est aut coniuncta cum fine poeseos vt alibi docuimus: quem pro pacto per moesta & flebilis consequemur? Si praeterea terrorem & miserationem incutit animis tragoedia, non utique delectationem.'

¹ See Aristotle, *Rhet.* I, ch. XI.

² *Poetica Giessena*, 1617. They dropped the word *tragica*.

³ 'dann in dem wir grosser Leute / gantzer Städte und Länder eussersten Untergang zum öfftern schauen und betrachten tragen wir zwar / wie es sich gebuehret / erbarmen mit ihnen / können auch nachmals ausz Wehmuth die Traenen kaum zurückhalten; wir lernen aber darneben auch durch stetige Besichtigung so vielen Creutztes und Uebels / das andern begegnet ist / das unserige welches uns begegnen moechte / weniger fürchten und besser

erdulden?' Opitz, tr. of Seneca's *Troades*, 1625.

⁴ *Perseus*, 1634.

⁵ *Herodes der Kindermörder*, 1645.

⁶ Cf. Spingarn, l.c., p. 77.

⁷ 'Tyro autem hostem metuit ac horret donec veteranus animo & affectu consistit. Ita qui miserias frequenter spectat, miseratur, & quidem vt oportet. Qui frequenter ea quae horrorem movent, intuetur; minus tandem horret, & vt decet.' It may be remarked that neither Heinsius' translation of the word *catharsis* by *expiatio* ('per misericordiam & horrorem, eorundem expiationem affectuum inducit,' *De tragoediae constitutione*, 1611, p. 28 ff.) presumably after Minturno (*De Poeta*, Ven., 1559, p. 184) nor the kindred *lustratio* have left any trace in Germany.

corum: *ut oportet, ut decet*. With Opitz this theory became even milder and its non-Stoic character is emphasized: he does not wish for a more or less calloused disposition, neither does he crave indifference, but rather gentle equanimity¹.

The Jesuit Alexander Donatus (1631), who was very popular in Germany, takes a much more decided stand². Quoting Robortello and Castelvetro he arraigns Plato for excluding tragedy from the ideal state on the pretext that '*ut aliquis iaculando fit iaculator, sic pauendo fit pavidus*.' It is not unlikely that the preventive theory of Heinsius was being conceived by contemporaries in an extreme Stoic manner, as Donatus sees need to insist that the emotions are not to be torn out, but merely cured, that is, moderated³.

As to the relation between pity and fear, Donatus would strongly disagree with Schosser. The pleasure of tragedy, Pontanus had said, is partly derived from our joy in our own security, in other words, from not having to fear insecurity. Herein lies the germ of Donatus' theory of the inseparable connection between pity and fear. According to Donatus we 'fear only those things, by which we should justly and laudably be moved.' In other words we fear because they might befall us, since they befell others of our kind. This is also the foundation of our pity, for tragic pity is sympathy and implies the possibility of identifying ourselves with the sufferers. As Aristotle had said: 'pity is occasioned by undeserved misfortune, and fear by that of one like ourselves⁴.' Donatus threw light on the

¹ In the preface to his translation of *Antigone* (1635) he repeats in Latin the substance of his earlier views: 'Et huic fini Tragicorum scripta imprimis producuntur, ut ex contemplatione nimirum fortunae, qualiscunque ea est, alienae, nostram sive florentem bonis artibus retinere diligentius, sive adversam ac jacentem moderatius erectoque animo ferre discamus.'

² '...temperans affectus misericordiae ac timoris.' *De arte poetica*, III, Romae 1631, Colon. 1633, etc.

³ 'Non enim debent ista per Tragœdiam penitus avelli, sed curari... Animi vero perturbationes, non alio modo curantur, nisi ut modum quendam, & moderationem accipiunt.'

⁴ *Poet.* ch. 13. Donatus: 'Nam cum tragœdia alios ob alias causas atque errata in miseriam prolapsos imitetur, advertendo ruinae principia timemus, ne etiam ipsi propter scelera opprimamur, tum commiserando fortunae nostrae prospicimus, ne paria terroris et commiserationis exempla praebeamus. Si enim erroribus im-

Poetics by quoting kindred passages from the *Rhetoric*¹. But this was nothing new. Referring to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* Heinsius had already explained fear in this manner, viz. as personal fear for ourselves² and had been himself anticipated by Robortelli³.

Separation of the tragic emotions is implied by Harsdörfer's quaint attempts at dramatic psychology. Like Pontanus he is worried by the apparent contradiction between the painful feelings aroused by tragedy and the pleasure expected from it. In answering, aided by Pontanus and Heinsius, he refers to the delight of artistic imitation, and of surprise, the human quality of pity and the pleasure to be derived by good men from wise 'sentences'⁴. One may notice that the evident expectation

plicati corruerunt reges, quanto magis corruent privati cives. Quo fit, ut ea solum metuamus, quibus iure laudabiliterque commoveri debemus,' *l.c.* The italics are ours.

¹ Thus 'misericordia aegritudo ex miseria alterius iniuria laborantis': cf. *Rhet.* II, 8; also *Poet.* XII: 'metus est appropinquantium et impendentium malorum expectatio, seu futurae aegritudinis sollicita recordatio': cf. *Rhet.* II, 5. In no instance, neither by Jesuits nor by any other German critics, were the important passages from the *Politics* (VIII, 6, and especially VIII, 7) on the cathartic effect of music referred to.

² 'Cujus rei in Rhetoricorum libris reddit rationem Aristoteles. Etenim quae, ne sibi eueniant, metuunt homines, ea alijs cum euenere, miserationem mouent, & hunc gignunt affectum,' *l.c.* p. 97.

³ Explicationes, 1548, pp. 151 ff. As pointed out by Robertson, *l.c.* p. 323, who adds references to Dacier and Louis Racine.

⁴ 'Trauerhändel belustigen vor sich selbst nicht / sondern verursachen Erstaunen und Hermen. *Aristoteles* c. 14. *Poet.* nennet diese eigentliche Gemütseregungen (*Passiones*)

der Trauerspiele 'Ἐλεον καὶ φόβον: wann man nemlich einen Abscheu vor der Grausamkeit / und eine Mitbetrübniß über der unschuldigen Elend empfindet.' 'Es belustiget aber die kunstschickliche Nachahmung: Gleichher gestalt uns die Abbildung eines grimmigen Löwens / Drachens oder Tiegiers mehr beliebt / als das lebendige Thier selbst. *Heins. de Constit. Trag.* c. 8.' 'Zu dem empfinden wir einen Lust in Erwartung unverhoffter Trauerfalle / und ist unserm Hertze von Natur das Erbarmen eingepflanzet / welches durch diese Spiele erwecket wird: Weil allerhand Tugendlehren mit eingeführet werden / und in Euripide fast jeder Vers einen Lehrsatz begreift / wie *Cicero* 1. 16. *Epist. fam.* schreibet / kan solche Anführung zum Guten den Frommen eine Belustigung heissen.' (Letter to Klaj, prefixed to the latter's *Herodes der Kindermörder*, 1645, p. 57): 'der Poet [ist]... bemühet / Erstaunen / oder Hermen und Mitleiden zu erregen / jedoch dieses mehr als jenes. Durch das Erstaunen wird gleichsam ein kalter Angstschweiz verursacht und wird von der Furcht unterschieden / als welche von grosser Gefahr entstehet; dieses aber von einer Unthat und erschrecklichen

of pleasure to be derived from tragedy is yet, with Harsdörfer as formerly with Pontanus, coupled with the assumption of a didactic aim. But in Harsdörfer's muddled explanations as in certain passages of Klaj's¹ the most noticeable feature is the admission of *Erstaunen* or astonishment amongst the emotions aroused by tragedy.

Aristotle had remarked that the incidents arousing pity and fear 'have the greatest effect on the mind when they occur unexpectedly and at the same time in consequence of one another'.² But Aristotle represented unexpectedness as an element not necessarily connected with tragedy and as merely intensifying pity and fear. Neither does he advocate unexpectedness at the expense of probability, but values it only if logically produced in the normal course of events.

Even mere unexpectedness with its result, astonishment, had in Germany long been considered as valuable in a drama, e.g. by Daniel Cramer³. The first mention of *admiratio* in Germany occurs in a preface to an edition of Seneca⁴. The tragic *surprise*, as Alexander Donatus, inspired by Aristotle, explains it, is something more than the result of unexpectedness: fear enters into it, produced by the fact that, although unexpected, the events are well accounted for, the most convincing example being Oedipus, whose every effort to escape his fate brings him

Grausamkeit welche wir hören oder sehen. Solche Gemütsbewegung findet sich wann wir ein Laster scheuen [sehen?] ernstlich und plötzlich straffen / dasz wir in unsrem Gewissen auch befinden; und wir werden zu Mitleiden veranlasst / wann wir einen Unschuldigen viel Uebel leiden sehen.' *Poetischer Trichter*, 1650, vol. II, p. 84.

¹ Klaj thinks he may try 'den gecreuzigten Christus in einem Trauerspiele vorzustellen / darinnen die Zuhörer zu barmhertzigem Mitleiden geführt werden / wie ihnen hier ein grausames Furchterstaunen [sic] ankommen / als welches die vornemsten Bewegungen seyn / die in Trauerspielen zu beobachten.' *Herodes der Kinder-*

mörder, 1645.

² *Poet.*, ch. 9, Bywater's translation.

³ 'Quis enim non afficiatur magnopere, si quidquam insperatum... accidat: si res laeta, corridemus, si adversa, flemus; quanto... lux maior, tanto gravior sensus percussio: quanto maior rerum ὑπεροχή, tanto altior mentis elevatio... Atque quo magis re[s] extra omne consilium evenit bene, tanto maius & excellentius de se solet procreare gaudium.' *Plagium*, 1593.

⁴ In Seneca's tragedies, says G. Fabricius, 'excitantur interdum Furiae ...; quae imago stans in Orchestra et admirationem et horrorem incutit.' *De Tragoediarum usu* etc., 1566.

nearer to its accomplishment¹. Klaj perceiving this clearly, as also the close relationship between surprise and fear, devised an entirely new word: *Furchterstaunen*!

In the main then the *admiratio* is an element of the action or plot, produced by the marvellous element in tragedy, the Aristotelian τὸ θαυμαστόν, or sometimes, judging from the reference to Oedipus, a result of the peculiar sense of marvel which goes with 'tragic irony.' That the *admiratio* found its way into the catharsis-clause and stayed there, as we shall see, as late as Gottsched, may partly be due to the dissociation of pity and fear and the liberal interpretation of τοιούτων. The former process had made a breach between the *active* emotions of tragedy, the latter had thrown open the field of the passive emotions, viz. those that were affected by the *catharsis*. The liberal interpretation of τοιούτων in fact generally prevailed at the time: with Gryphius², who may well have been influenced in his theory by Vossius, as he was in his practice by the latter's disciple, Vondel; and with Heimbach, Birken, Masenius a.o.³

¹ 'Admiratio est quaedam pars timoris ex aliqua re, sensu, animove percepta, quae nostram facultatem excedat...Oriri potest...vel ab inanimis, vel brutis, vel hominibus. Ab inanimis cum casu, & fortuna fit, quod consilio factum videtur. (Here the story of the murderer of Itys, killed by the falling of the latter's statue, is quoted. Cf. *Poet.* 9.) A brutis sumitur admiratio, tanquam multa prudenter agentibus... Ex hominibus tragica nascitur admiratio cum vires omnes & animum intendunt, vt aliquo sive lapsu, sive imminenti lapsus poena se expediant; nec tamen evitare possunt: idque malum quanto horribilius, tanto mirabilius est. Tale est Oedipi exemplum.' *l.c.*, p. 163.

² 'Die alten...haben diese Art zu schreiben nicht so gar geringe gehalten, sondern als ein bequemes Mittel menschliche Gemüther von allerhand unartigen und schädlichen Neigungen

zu säubern, gerühmet.' *Leo Armenius*, 1650.

³ See the quotations from these authors *infra*. Vossius' singularly 'latitudinarian' view is expressed as follows: 'ad affectus ciendos, animamque ab iis purgandam.' *De artis poeticae natura ac constitutione Quest.*, 1647, II, p. 46. Further on (p. 47) giving the formula 'purgare ac levare animum ab hujusmodi perturbationibus,' he explains: 'quale est, quod (ut unam e multiplici purgatione affectuum memorem)... etc. The italics are ours, and the words are significant. They probably are the foundation of Corneille's ideas on this point. Vossius, influenced by Scaliger's definition of tragedy, hardly considers the catharsis-clause as belonging to it and adds it as a sort of afterthought: 'Quibus & finem hunc, si voles adde; ad affectus ciendos...' etc., a cavalierly attitude which must have encouraged Corneille.

Gryphius' opinion is the more remarkable as it provides the earliest positive instance in Germany of the modern, pathological or therapeutic interpretation of the catharsis, and although, of course, this was probably not his own discovery, but rather that of some Italian scholar, Minturno or the Jesuit Galluzzi¹, we may greet in him the first German forerunner of Weil and Bernays. The ethical view, was, however, generally predominant, witness Heimbach² or Birken³ or Masenius⁴. Hadewig⁵ copies Opitz; Kindermann⁶ reproduces Pontanus and Harsdörfer. Caspar Stieler makes the reader realize once more that pity and fear have been dissociated, that the aim of tragedy now is to arouse emotions, generally speaking, although presumably strong emotions are considered most appropriate. But the most striking point is that the arousing of emotions is now considered as the aim, no longer as a means, but as the ultimate end of tragedy⁷.

About Dacier, and the stricter views of Batteux and Lessing, cf. Robertson, *l.c.*, p. 338.

¹ Cf. Spingarn, *l.c.*, p. 79; for Galluzzi, Bywater, *Milton and the Aristotelian definition of Tragedy*, *Journal of Philology* (London), vol. xxvii (1901), p. 267 ff.

² 'Tragoediam jubeat [Aristoteles] esse non solum affectuum concitatricem, verum & moderatricem; ita ut animus, quem horror, dolor etc. effrenem abriperunt, ex rationis praescripto intra debitum suum gyrum revocetur.' *Otium itinerarium*, 1655.

³ Tragedies, writes Birken, can 'die Feinde des geruhlichen Lebens / Nemlich die Verwirrungen des Gemütes / dämpfen und unterdrücken.' *Androfilo, Nürnberg*, 1656.

⁴ 'Per misericordiam & metum inducens similitum perturbationum purgationem.' Jac. Masenius, *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae*, vol. iii (1657), p. 5. Also the following explanation: 'Finis Tragoediae est, ut misericordiam & metum in spectatore ad mediocritatem

expurget. Non enim, ut nonnulli male cum Platonice contra Aristotelem hic urgent, ad misericordiae terrorisque objecta saepius proposita, accrescent hae perturbationes, nisi immoderate circa ea versemur: sed potius vitiorum ac poenarum metu, miserendique afflictorum consuetudine affectiones inordinatae, tanquam virtutum remedio, sanabuntur.' *l.c.* vol. iii (1657), p. 7.

⁵ *Anleitung*, 1650, p. 333.

⁶ *Der deutsche Poet*, 1664, p. 240 ff.

⁷ 'Nach dem ist aller Fund zu suchen und zustrecken, wie man dort Freud' und hier Erbarmung mög' erwecken samt Schrecken, Furcht und Angst, uns was zu solchem Zweck sich lenke sonder Zwang. Der trägt den Preis hinweg, wer des Zuschauers Herz gelernt hat anzufeuern, uns solche Leidenschaft zu mehren, zu erneuern, und zuerhalten weysz.'

Dichtkunst, 1669 (85?), l. 1621 ff. ms. in Copenhagen.

At this point it seems appropriate to look back upon the development of the idea of pleasure. That pleasure might legitimately be, at least in part, the aim of tragedy, was admitted by Pontanus. Yet he did not conceive pity and fear as pleasurable, certainly not the latter, his concern being merely to explain how, in spite of pity and fear, tragedy might afford delight. The source of delight was mainly a general one: the delight in imitation. To this Harsdörfer added the chaste delight in wise 'sentences.' Yet even Pontanus traced some of the pleasure to pity, this emotion being innate in man¹. This seems to have been the entering wedge for the theory of pleasure as the final aim of tragedy. The fact that tragedy must have a delight quite its own, *οἰκεία ἡδονή*, seems to be dimly perceived. Harsdörfer admits a feeling of 'Lust in Erwartung unverhoffter Trauerfälle'; Schottel mentions 'das angenehme Grausen' produced by tragedy². The Jesuits go still further: the editor of Jacob Bidermann's plays speaks of the 'tormentum suavissimum dulcium lacrymarum'³ and A. Brunner, quoting a Latin poet⁴ proclaims 'das Mitleiden im Hertzen / das Nasse von Augen / reumütige Buszähler und Seuffzer herfür zulocken' as 'das Zihl und End' of tragedy. Quite properly then Rotth distinguishes between the mediate and ultimate end of tragedy⁵. Rotth's conception of the catharsis-theory is derived from Rappolt, who drew his inspiration from Heinsius and Vossius⁶.

¹ 'Dulce quoque & a natura nobis ingeneratum est misereri,' l.c.

² *Friedens-Sieg*, 1648, p. 11 f. It may be remembered that Aristotle, *Rhet.* i, xi, pointed out the pleasure arising in our very regrets and lamentations and quoted the *Iliad*, xxiii, 108, 'He spake and in them stirred the love of tears.'

³ Monachi, 1666.

⁴ Whom I have not yet identified: 'est quaedam flere voluptas.' (*Dramata sacra*, Saltzburg, 1684.)

⁵ 'Der End-Zweck (sic!) einer Tragödie ist entweder *intermedius* i.e. ein solcher / der sein Absehen noch auf einen andern Endzweck in der Tragödie hat. Und das ist die Erregung gewisser

affecten. Oder er ist *ultimus*, der kein weiteres Absehen auf einen andern End-Zweck in der Tragödie hat.' *Vollständige Deutsche Poesie*, 1688.

⁶ Vossius' theory of tragedy is closely akin to that of Heinsius, as the following quotation shows: 'Eo autem percillere animum vult, ut eum hisce affectibus, ut medicus, crebro videndo miseros, consequitur, ut non ultra moveatur, quam oportet: ita etiam in tragoedia, spectandis istiusmodi, animus discit affectus suos in ordinem redigere,' l.c. p. 65. Cf. Fellerus ap. Rappolt, *Poetica Aristotelica*, 1678, *Synopsis*, p. 11; Rappolt, *Notae ad Troades*, p. 252. —

Rotth's definitions of pity and fear are Aristotelian in spirit, the former being based upon our sense of kinship with the victim, the latter emphasizing, as Donatus had done before, that fear may also be a sense of *impending* evil¹. Recognizing without hesitation the possibility that other feelings besides pity and fear may be aroused and purged by tragedy, Rotth declares, however, that the best tragedy would aim only at the two former emotions². With his theory of moderation of the passions he curiously combines something of Plato's conception of the effect of repeated emotions by claiming that tragedy, whilst ensuring against undue sensitiveness also induces a state of normal impressibility. Omeis³ brings nothing new, except that in one instance he mentions pity and astonishment instead of pity and fear⁴.

By this time, indeed, the impression that tragedy shall arouse any sort of emotion has become quite general. The dramatist has reached his goal, says Barthold Feind, when the audience

¹ 'Das Mitleiden wird erregt / wenn man einen unschuldigen in ein Unglück gerathen siehet / dasz wir vermeinen dasz es auch uns oder den unsrigen begegnen könne.' 'Das Schröcken wird verursacht / wenn man ein solch Unglück bevorstehend einführet / da ein Schmerz oder der Tod selbst verursacht werden kann. Als wenn man erdichtet wie einer sol erstochen / den Felsen herabgestürzt werden. Denn nicht allein *res formidabiles* sonder auch *illarum signa*, so ferne sie die Sache als gegenwärtig darstellen / erregen ein Schröcken / als wie etwan ein aufziehendes Wetter / schwere Feindschaft der mächtigen / Verspottung der Tugend etc.' *l.c.* vol. III, p. 218 ff.

² 'Der letzte Endzweck (sic) aber (finis ultimus) in einer Tragödie ist nichts anders / nach Erklärung des *Aristotelis*, als *κάθαρσις τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων* die Reinigung solcher *affecten* i.e. sie mässiget dieselben / dasz sie nicht zu sehr erschrecken noch sich

gar zu jammerig bezeugen / wenn dergleichen Unglück einigen warhaftig zu stossen sollte / was sie itzo nur erdichtet sehen / weiter dasz sie auch nicht gar ohn solche *affecten* seyn / sondern auch eine Empfindlichkeit gegen solche *miserable* Personen lernen tragen. Gleichwie aber / ...zuweilen die Tragödien auch andere *affecten* erregen können / so ist auch nicht zuleugnen / dasz auch anderer *affecten* Reinigung der Endzweck einer Tragödie seyn könne. Jedoch bleibt in der besten Tragödie vorbenennter *affecten*. Erregung und Reinigung allemahl der Endzweck,' *l.c.* 1688, vol. III, p. 219. One is here strongly reminded of Lessing's attitude.

³ 'Eine Tragoedie...ist ein solches Schauspiel / in welchem eine...Verrichtung...also vorgestellt wird / dasz sie durch ihren Betrüb- und traurigen Ausgang / Schrecken und Mitleiden bei den Zuschauern erwecke.' *Gründliche Anleitung*, 1704, p. 232.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

‘entweder zum Zorn / Furcht / Hofnung / Mitleid oder Rache geleitet wird¹.’ In certain of his dramas—tragedy and comedy have become so confused now that it is no longer safe to be more specific—the aim which Weise has set himself is merely: ‘Stille Veränderung der Affecte².’ This is the key-word of the situation: the ‘affecte’ dominate the period, they have become an end in themselves, they are the object of the one all-engrossing pursuit of a mincingly sentimental time. In this age of pretentious vapidness, the one quality required was unexpectedness, and ‘*admiratio*’ therefore held its place in the now hopelessly debased catharsis-formula³. It mattered little if the authors, now mostly libretto-writers, were unable to squeeze from the outworn themes of Rome and Greece, the Orient or pseudo-Germanic antiquity any but swiftly-staling ‘episodia’ and threadbare ‘Verwirrungen’; the stage-carpenter was called upon and must soothe the craving for ‘*admiratio*’ with ‘Veränderungen,’ changes of scenery of the most fantastic sort. With Gottsched, therefore, the inclusion of the *admiratio* amongst the cathartic emotions may almost be said to have a tradition behind it⁴. For *admiratio* is no doubt the word translated by *Bewunderung*. But why not

¹ *Gedanken von der Opera*, 1708, p. 108. Another passage of the same author may be quoted: ‘Die Vorstellung...solte uns demnach billig zu einer gefährlichen Warnung und betrübten Beyspiel dienen: welches dann das gerechte Absehen und Ursache dieser Tragödie gewesen / deren Ende auff eine so klägliche und jammernswürdige Art hinaus läuft / dasz man den Zuschauer mit einer billigen *Compassion* nach Hause zu schicken gedenckt.’ *Simson*, 1709.

² *Nachbarskinder*, *Körbelmacher* and *Liebesalliance*, written between 1694 and 1703.

³ The classical philologist Daniel Triller specifies ‘das Erbärmliche, das Erschröckliche und Wunderbare.’ The latter quality, producing *admiratio*, can ‘den Zuschauer oder Leser ausser sich selbst setzen’ as, in a Passion-

play, for example: ‘die schnelle und ungewöhnliche Verfinsterung der Sonnen, das schreckliche Erschüttern der Erde, die brüllende Zerzeissung der Felsen, die fürchterliche Eröffnung der Gräber, und die unerhörte Auferstehung der Todten machen das Gemüther so bestürzt, bisz endlich nach und nach der Leser zu denken anfängt, wie ihm damahls würde zu Muthe geworden seyn, wenn er dabey gewesen, welche Gedanken ihm auch so gar eine neue Furcht einjagen können.’ *Hugonis Grotii Leidender Christus*, Leipzig, 1723.

⁴ ‘[Die Tragödie hatte] zu ihrer Absicht...Traurigkeit, Schrecken, Mitleiden und *Bewunderung* bey den Zuschauern zu erwecken. Aristoteles beschreibt sie derowegen als eine Nachahmung einer Handlung, dadurch sich eine vornehme Person harte und

Erstaunen, the word he used in his remarks on Addison's *Cato*? Indeed there is a certain confusion here, of which subsequently Nicolai and Mendelssohn and others were victims, and which even Lessing did not quite remove. This is not the place, however, to explain its genesis². Suffice it to say that its root lay in the entirely different development of the *admiratio* outside of Germany, and especially in France. In that country, since Corneille, *admiratio* had been conceived not as surprise, but as 'admiration' in the modern sense, and connected, not with the action or the incidents of tragedy, but with its characters. Gottsched, influenced both by the native criticism of Germany and by the theories of France, failed to notice this curious double development: hence his puzzling use of both *Bewunderung* and *Erstaunen*.

All the definitions in the German language use the term *Schrecken*, none the word *Furcht*, i.e. personal fear as Lessing³ had it. As to the Latin terms it may be noticed that the Jesuits, like Lessing, mindful perhaps of Aristotle's remark⁴ on the incompatibility of pity and *terror*, deliberately favoured the milder term⁵. It was clear, however, that pity and fear had now become of secondary importance. Emotion had become the end of tragedy and the paramount passion for a jaded public was astonishment. Pity and fear, once the sacred twain, were actually to be repudiated when Mattheson, a musician and critic of no mean accomplishment, turning against a sentence in Gottsched's *Critische Dichtkunst*, asked with cool arrogance for the letters-patent of 'Its Highness, *Fear*'⁶.

unvermuthete Unglücksfälle zuziehet.' Gottsched, *Critische Dichtkunst*, 1730, p. 507.

¹ 'Wodurch er...das Mitleid seiner Zuhörer erwecket, ja äusserlich Schrecken und Erstaunen zuwege bringt.' *Critische Dichtkunst*, third ed. (1742), p. 712.

² For a full account see the author's *Lessing and the tragic admiratio*.

³ After Stück LXXIV of the *Ham-burgische Dramaturgie*. Cf. Robertson, *l.c.*, pp. 319, 326.

⁴ *Rhet.* II, 8.

⁵ Camerarius and Willichius have *terror*; Schosser, *metus*; Pontanus, *terror*; Heinsius, first *metus*, afterwards *horror* and *terror*; Donatus, *timor*; Masenius, *metus* and *dolor*; Kindermann, *terror*. For the terms used by Boileau, Corneille, Dacier, Brumoy, Bretinger, Curtius and Mendelssohn, cf. Robertson, *l.c.* p. 320.

⁶ 'Den Adelsbrief des hochwohl-geboren Schreckens, welches hier zu den edlen Gemüthe-bewegungen gezo-

With the disappearance of pity and fear from their commanding position, the question of explaining how pleasure might be derived from painful emotions naturally lost all actuality¹. Throughout the period described here the emotions were, of course, considered as primarily connected with the spectator. But there have been curious examples of a different conception. Thus count Moritz of Hessen seemed to differentiate the effect of 'tragical histories' according to the type of man on whom they are brought to bear². More than two centuries later another divergent view was expressed by Dan. Triller, who refers the emotions to the characters in the play³.

After emotion as such had become the aim of tragedy this was a logical conclusion: it became possible to transfer the multiple emotions from the spectator to the characters, and no protest raised, until even Lessing asked whether all the emotions felt by the characters are also awakened in the audience⁴!

Attention might finally be called to the interpretation of *ἀλλά* before *δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου* in the Aldine edition, the effect of which was to contrast *δι' ἀπαγγελίας* with the two following words. Of course, there is no opposition between direct dramatic presentation and the emotions of pity and fear but many

gen wird, mögten wird doch gerne sehen!'. *Neueste Untersuchung*, 1744, 36 ff. Cf. *Critische Beyträge*, vol. I, p. 498.

¹ Only Bodmer showed interest in the relationship of pleasure and pain. Cf. *Discourse der Malern*, 1722, vol. II, p. 151.

² 'Tragicæ historiae pronos ad vitia terrent, alienos a vitiis commovent, vitiis immaculatos confundunt, et virtute deditos quid fugiendum sit monent.' J. Combach, *Oratio* etc. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, vol. II, p. 522.

³ He praises Hugo Grotius' Passion-play, which he translated, because in this drama 'fast die meisten Haupt-Affecten der Menschen...vorkommen. Wir sehen die Rache, Kleinmüthigkeit und Furcht, ingleichen die Reue an

Petro und den andern Jüngern, den Geitz und die Verzweiffelung an Juda dem Verräther; den Neid und die Verläumdung und den Hohen-Priestern und Schriftgelehrten; die Grausamkeit an den Jüdischen Pöbel und Romis. (sic) Soldaten; die Menschen-Furcht, und den Eigennutz an dem Pontio-Pilato; die Beständigkeit an den Galiläischen Weibern; die Geduld und Gelassenheit an der Maria, und was dergleichen mehr ist; also, dasz alle die drey Stücken, welche *Aristoteles* zu einem Trauer-Spiel erfordert, nemlich das Erbärmliche, das Erschröckliche und Wunderbare hier zu befinden.' *l.c.*

⁴ *Schriften*, Lachmann-Muncker, vol. XVII, p. 65.

an honest translator was sorely put to it to make sense of the Aldine text. Schosser translates it literally: 'non per expositionem, sed per misericordiam & metum,' as also did Heinsius; but Masenius, by the deft interposition of the word *dramatic* restores real contrast and conquers the difficulty, even though at the expense of literal truth to his text¹. But otherwise the interpolation which even Lessing still tried to justify had no harmful effects.

In recapitulating the results of this survey the following facts stand out: The interpretation of the catharsis-clause has been, with perhaps one single exception, an ethical one, implying the necessity of curbing and pruning nature; a Christian interpretation, in the narrower sense, in contrast to the pagan conception of pleasure as a legitimate aim. Since Pontanus boldly claimed the purgation of various emotions as the ultimate end of tragedy, the list of those emotions grew apace. On the other hand, the emotions which constituted the mediate end of tragedy, namely pity and fear, having been disjoined already by Pontanus and only temporarily shown to be correlative by Donatus, had to make room for a new element, sponsored by Harsdörfer and Klaj, namely astonishment. Both sets of emotions having thus been broken up and enlarged, their merging was easy enough when, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the mediate and ultimate end of tragedy were finally confused. Emotion, that is pleasurable emotion, was then to be paramount and the sole end of tragedy. Ever since Pontanus tried to account for the delight of tragedy by naive references to imitation, human pity or wise aphorisms, the attitude of dramatists had grown bolder until finally they openly acknowledged pleasure to be their aim. This development is of course closely connected with the conception of the general aim of the drama. There the battle, which was in its turn only a part of a larger struggle waged by the whole of literature, between the *prodesse* and the *delectare*, resulted at the end of the seventeenth century in the victory of the latter. Not that it was a final victory, by any means. Gottsched was going to be reactionary, although there is many a flaw in his critical armour; and even to Lessing the

¹ '...non enarrando, sed Dramatice per misericordiam & metum...'

catharsis carries a predominantly ethical, if rather vague, implication¹. Still, looking back upon a development of more than two centuries, a definite change is easily discernible.

If the question is now asked: 'When the aim of tragedy became emotional, why did not the "emotional" interpretation now associated with the names of Weil and Bernays, prevail?'—the answer is obvious: this might have happened if the late seventeenth century had been able to 'read' its actual tendencies 'into' the formula, to reconcile its wishes with Aristotle's words. But this was clearly beyond its critical and more still beyond its philological powers. Unable to gauge the possibilities of the catharsis-clause, it could only break it up and maim it almost beyond recognition. To restore to the defaced formula its original shape, to weigh the value of each word by delicate comparison, finally to reconcile the wording of the clause with our modern conception of pleasure as a legitimate aim—this was reserved to nineteenth century philology.

¹ Robertson, *l.c.* p. 332.

JOSEPH E. GILLET.

‘ARCUS.’

My brother, Major H. F. Bidder, suggests to me that in *Hor. Carm.* III, 26, 7, ‘arcus’ means ‘bow-drills,’ which would obviously be ‘*oppositis foribus minaces.*’ A Latin scholar to whom this was submitted has objected that there is no use of ‘arcus’ in this sense in Latin literature. My brother writes to me, I think justly, that, if ‘arcus’ had never been used before as the name of a bow-drill, everyone would at once have known what Horace meant, and have approved the use of the word.

I venture to expand the argument. The literature which has come down to us from Roman times has been necessarily that which was cared for by literary men: and the libraries of many scholars of the present day might be searched without finding a word about the pneumatic riveter or the acetylene drill, or even an indication of the existence of the slide-rest, on which civilisation is based.

Again, Latin literature gives no trace of any other means of actuating the ‘*terebra*’; and setting carpentry aside, it cannot be supposed that the enormous amount of marble carved in Augustan times, and the number of hard gems, were all drilled by merely twisting the hand (as with a bradawl or gimlet), or by rubbing a drill between the palms of the hands like an Australian blackfellow. Facciolati, *sub* ‘*terebra*,’ quotes Columella and Pliny on the injurious heat developed by the ‘*terebra*’ in boring the stem of a vine, and Pliny on the great heat attained by drills in carving gems. If ‘*terebra*’ were the ‘gimlet’ or ‘auger’ so frequently given in translation, there would be no risk of burning the wood in boring a vine-stem. But the passage from Celsus also quoted, when taken with that by Columella, shows that the heat is produced by boring with a bit shaped like a common drill (Fig. 1) ‘*simile ei quo fabri*

utuntur,' which will therefore have a wide-angled cutting edge, and will only bore wood by rubbing it away as sawdust—'scobem faciebat'—when rotated with a high velocity—'perurebatque eam partem, quam perforaverat¹.' Both authors, and Cato, recommend the 'Gallica terebra,' which is clearly a centre-bit, 'capituli longioris, quod ab acuto mucrone incipit'—that is the point which pierces the centre of the hole to be bored—'deinde subito latius fit'—that is, with an oblique radial chisel-edge, like our centre-bits (Fig. 2): because Pliny

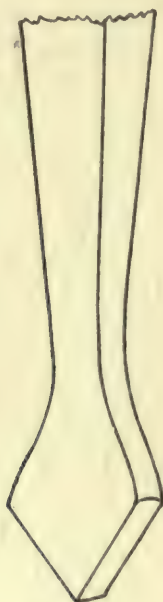


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

says 'excavat, nec urit,' and Columella 'Gallica terebra sic excavat truncum, ne foramen inuret: quippe non scobem, sed ramenta facit'—the chisel-edge cutting shavings, where the drill of the sculptor and the smith only tore off sawdust.

Whether we consider the delicacy of the carved gems, the size of the Golden Palace and the Colossus, or the beautiful contrivance and finished workmanship of the mechanism which we know—and do not know through literature—it is quite clear that both the common Italian drill and the Gallic centre-bit were rotated by mechanical means.

Such rotation is effected now in England mostly by bevel

¹ 'The common drill is only a scraper'—*Enc. Brit.* 'Tool,' p. 17.

wheels actuated by hand or power, by an Archimedean stock, or by a carpenter's brace.

A cog-wheel appears to be the received interpretation of the 'tympanum versatile' of Vitruvius; a toothed wheel is in the Museum at Naples, and a toothed wheel, engaging a rack, in the lock of the strong-box in the British Museum (No. 405). The principle appears in the cogs of the great wooden Egyptian wheels (crown wheels) for lifting water, which are stated to be ancient in form. But the expense of making small toothed-wheels by hand would place any contrivance of this kind beyond the reach of the ordinary workman. The same consideration applies to the screw of the Archimedean drill; of this also Tylor (*Anthropology*, chap. viii, p. 202) says 'the still more perfect Archimedean drill is modern¹.' From the beautiful application of the screw to the complicated surgical instruments found at Pompeii (reinvented about 1840, as Dr W. S. Playfair told me, and therefore probably not recorded in the classics), there would be nothing strange if fresh discoveries gave us an Archimedean trephine; but we have found enough sets of tools (I think I have examined six or seven carpenter's rules) to be sure that neither the Archimedean drill nor a wheel-drill was the common implement.

The carpenter's brace, according to Tylor (*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, chap. ix, *vide* Reclus, *Enc. Brit.*) could be seen in its primitive form used by the Gaucho of the Pampas, who, in order to produce fire, 'takes an elastic stick about 18 in. long, presses one end to his breast and the other in a hole in a piece of wood, and then rapidly turns the curved part like a carpenter's centre bit.' The 'Gallica terebra' was presumably actuated by a brace, since the chisel-edge would only cut one way. But the fact, clearly shown by Celsus and Columella, that the 'antiqua terebra quam solam veteres agricolæ noverunt' had *not* a chisel edge, equally lends strength to the supposition that the mechanical means used for it gave a backward and forward rotation.

¹ *Johnson's Dictionary* (Todd) 1818, under 'Drill, n.s.' says 'An instrument with which holes are bored. It is a point pressed hard against the thing bored, and turned round with a bow and string.'

We have not (as is pointed out by Tylor, *Anthropology*, l.c.) to go further than the *Odyssey* (ix, 384–387) to read what was the means of rotating the ‘antiqua terebra, quam solam veteres noverunt.’ To quote Tylor’s paraphrase, it was ‘by winding round the stick a thong or cord, which by being pulled backward and forward worked the drill.’ Liddell and Scott (1869) *sub* τρύπανον explain the passage as describing ‘a large borer turned round by a thong through the handle (τρυπανία)’; apparently supposing that the two dock-labourers ran round the drill, using the τρυπανία as a very inefficient pair of capstan-bars. Frazer (*Golden Bough*, 1900, vol. III, p. 272) throws a clearer light on the operation, in the account he quotes from Montanus of the kindling of Midsummer Fire in parts of Germany. ‘In some old farm-houses of the Surenthal and Winenthal a couple of holes or a whole row of them may be seen facing each other in the door-posts of the barn or stable...sometimes they are deeply burnt or blackened....About midsummer ...two such holes are bored opposite each other, into which the extremities of a strong pole are fixed. The holes are then stuffed with tow...a rope is looped round the pole, and two young men... pull the ends of the rope backwards and forwards so as to make the pole revolve rapidly, till smoke and sparks issue from the two holes in the door-posts.’

After which account we may note with interest from Liddell and Scott’s third paragraph, that Sophocles speaks of τρύπανα ἀχάλκευτα. ‘Touchwood’ L. and S. translate, or ‘fire.’ I would suggest that ‘drills with no metal in them’ would describe at once to any Greek the ceremonial wooden fire-drill, which his priests, like their German and Brahman relations (cf. Tylor, *Anthrop.*, p. 261), twirled by a cord wrapped round it, as the common ancestors of all of them had done before any metal was known.

For the thing is widespread. The Eskimo and their neighbours twirled their fire-drill with a string; but one man sufficed to make the fire, for the string was the string of a bow. This form of drill was used, according to Tylor, also by other savage nations; it is the drill used now for boring in Egypt, India, and the Orient; it was the drill with which the ancient Egyptian

cut his hieroglyphics and carved his statues. Maspero (*Egyptian Archæology*, transl. A. B. Edwards, 1889, fig. 177) gives a figure of it (Fig. 3). The bowstring is fixed to one end of the bow, but only half-hitched round the other end; near the middle it takes a single turn round a wooden cylinder, the upper end of

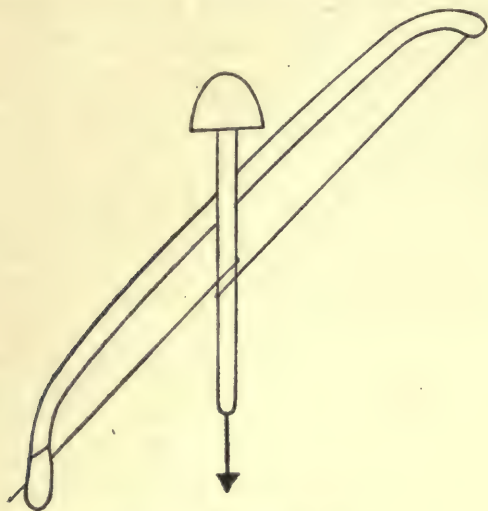


Fig. 3. (After Maspero.)

which has a hemispherical cup or cap lying on it. But this drill is 'χαλκευτος'; in the lower end is fixed a metal wire or 'bit' continuing its axis, and the extremity of this bit is hammered out into a triangular plate, one angle of the triangle being the boring point:—the shape of our English 'common drill,' 'simile ei, quo fabri utuntur,' 'tereбра quam solam veteres agricolæ noverunt.'

The bow-drill is called by Tylor (*Anthrop.*, p. 261) 'the common bow-drill of our tool-shops¹.' Potter (*Archæologia Græca*, 1820, vol. II, p. 91) gives a plate showing a fancy picture of two τρύπανα—'the only constant instruments used by the ancient Grecians in demolishing walls...in Latin *terebræ*, which were long irons with sharp ends.' He quotes no authority, but the plate represents one τρύπανον turned by handspikes, and

¹ 'A bow of steel, with a strong piece of catgut attached to it loosely enough to admit of its being passed once or twice round a pulley, through the centre of which the tool passes'

—Beeton's *Dictionary of Universal Information*, undated, bought 1878, articles brought up to about 1860.—Watchmakers use a similar drill, or did so recently.

one by a bow. Whether he had literary authority for the bow or not, we know that the cord-drill was used in Homeric Greece and among the German tribes from whom are descended the ritual fires, and the Indian tribes from whom the Brahman has derived his religion. We know that the bow modification of it was used by the ancient Egyptians and is used by their descendants, that it was and is used in Europe and Asia and by various uncivilised nations.

Can it be contended that the Augustan Romans, fresh from the conquest of Egypt, imbued with the civilisation of Greece, tasting every luxury from Asia and looking at every new thing from Africa, were ignorant of the cord-drill and its bow? And is there anything they could have called the latter except 'Arcus'?

There is one other name they might have given it, and it is used by Horace four lines later.—In Maspero's figure the string is firmly fixed to one end of the bow—the far end—and temporarily secured round the end held in the hand. This has the obvious advantages of allowing the bow to be slacked when not in use, of enabling its tension to be easily varied, and of allowing the string to be looped round a drill-body of any size, or one of which the upper end is steadied on a dead centre, instead of in a cup held by the left hand. Thus, when not in use, the bow will be an elastic rod, not necessarily curved, with a cord fastened to one end of it. Hence the American name of 'whip drill' (used for this tool by Commander F. M. Barber, U.S. Navy, *Mechanical Triumphs of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1900). Hence also, I venture to suggest, when Horace has hung up his 'arcus' on the wall that guards the left side of Venus, he at once begs the goddess 'sublimi flagello' to whip Chloë!

The chastisement of Cupid by Venus with his own bow unstrung has been treated more than once in painting and in verse. Dr J. D. Anderson tells me that in India the bow of the drill is commonly carried with one end of the string loose. The string is of cat-gut, so that it would make an excellent whip.

I admit that the somewhat cryptic coupling of Memphis

with Cyprus in the invocation suggests that the 'arcus' were of Egyptian association; and therefore not, as has been put forward above, the old Italian drill, but a recent importation. Assuming, however, that such a view of the words would commend itself to a scholar, it is not necessary to suppose more than that, from the country where granite and basalt were daily drilled, drills or bows had been brought superior in design or temper to those of Roman manufacture. So that it would be understood that a wealthy and fashionable lock-picker carried an 'Egyptian' drill, as such an one now would carry an American brace, or as till recently we used German dyes: though America did not invent the brace, nor Germany the dyes.

It seems worth while to add a brief note on the alliance, viewed from a mechanical standpoint, of 'arcus' with 'tornus,' and of the latter with 'torculum' and 'prelum.'

Horner, in the *Enc. Brit.* article on 'Tools,' p. 21, writes: 'Space will not permit us to trace the evolution of the lathe from the ancient bow and cord lathe and the pole lathe, in each of which the rotary movement was alternately forward, for cutting, and backward. The curious thing is that the wheel-driven lathe was a novelty so late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and had not wholly displaced the ancient forms even in the West in the nineteenth century, and the cord lathe still survives in the East.'

I have seen a watchmaker's bow-lathe in Soho, and the common bow-lathe in Egypt. *The Panorama of Science and Art* by James Smith, Liverpool, 1815, gives directions (vol. I, p. 65) for making a pole-lathe, which it states 'is gradually sinking into disrepute and disuse.' To quote his description (Fig. 4), this lathe derives its name from 'a long elastic pole, fixed at one extremity to the ceiling, and at the other attached to a cord which is coiled once or twice round the body to be turned, or round a pulley which carries that body along with it, and then passes on to the treadle, to which the lower end of it is fastened.'

I have seen at Naples a man turning table-legs with one of these lathes, very rapidly and certainly. The pole was the

elastic tip of the trunk of a tree, perhaps four inches across at the butt and six feet long¹.

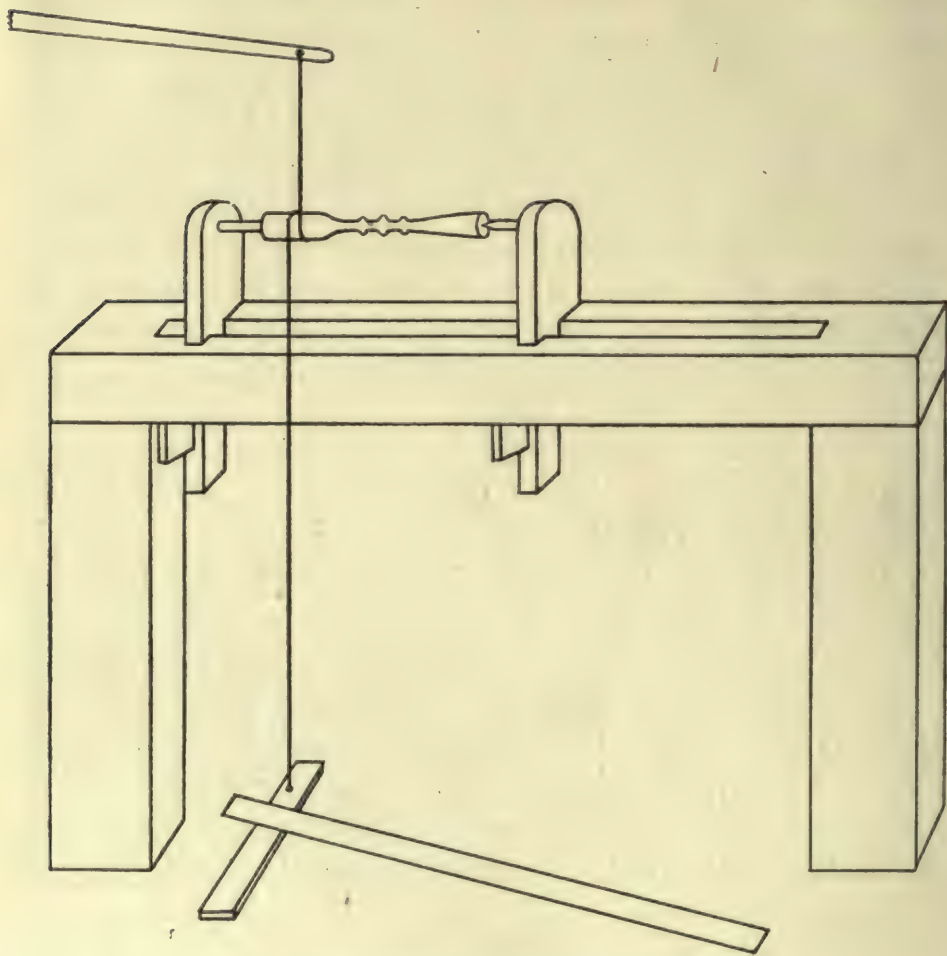


Fig. 4. (Modified from James Smith.)

All presumption is in favour of the Roman lathes having been bow-lathes and pole-lathes. The elastic pole bent by winding a cord on a rotating axle, and in reaction forcing the axle to rotate by unwinding the cord, was familiar to Roman engineers in one of the varieties of their 'torculum,' illustrated in the *Casa dei Vettii* at Pompeii, in the series of frescoes

¹ He was in the Basso Porto—a region now mostly demolished—on the ground-floor of a six-foot-wide street of five-storey houses; a street occupied by joiners and turners, next the street

where silversmiths made votive offerings. He was working by candle-light in front of the window at 3 o'clock on a July afternoon.

showing Cupids at sport and at work. One picture shows them making wine, two Cupids forcing a windlass round with handspikes. The 'prelum' is a thick pole standing out nearly horizontally above the 'lacus' (Fig. 5) like the pole over a lathe.

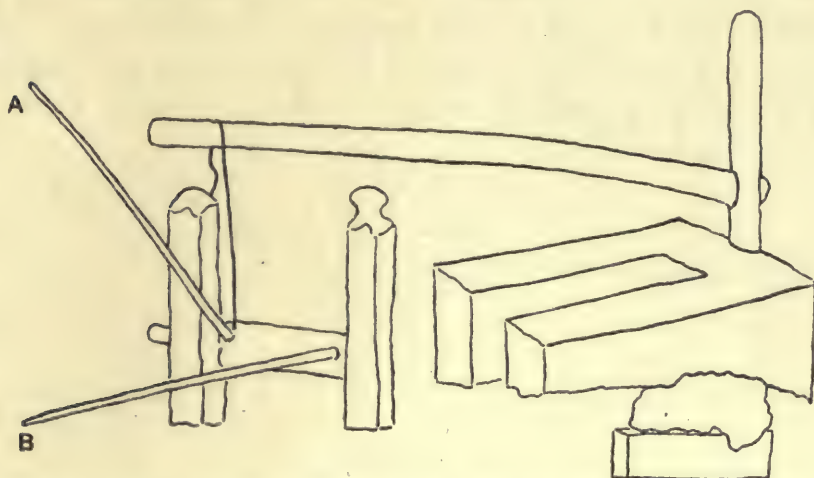


Fig. 5. (After the reproduction of De Luca and Bardellone, Naples.)

The windlass is turned by two handspikes¹ on one of which (*A*) a Cupid is swinging his whole little weight, the other (*B*) a Cupid presses to the ground. The cord comes from the free end of the 'prelum' to the windlass, which is pivoted horizontally between two strong uprights, and the 'prelum' is bent down by the tension of the cord² towards the windlass and wine-vat.

A potter's wheel such as is shown on the vase B.M. 423 (Greek and Roman Life—B.M. Guide 1908. Fig. 183) might be made to serve some of the purposes of a lathe, but the need of a dead-centre beyond the object turned would soon be apparent, and the use of a rope to spin the wheel would become obvious to a nation whose children spun tops. We know that the Romans had lathes, and unless the wheel-lathe be supposed to have been invented by them and disappeared everywhere, it appears necessary that their lathe was driven by the pulling of a cord wound round the axle. If so it is certain that they must have actuated drills by cord wound round the drill-spindle.

¹ 'Vectes ducentes eam versant'
Vitr. 10. 2. *fide* Facc.

² 'Funis se involvendo circa sucu-
lam extenditur' l.c.

The step would be inevitable—though it must really have been from the drill to the lathe, not the lathe to the drill.

The Roman lathe, and the Roman drill, were alike actuated by a forward and backward rotary movement imparted by a cord wrapped round them. It is not conceivable that they omitted to invent, or refused to adopt, the convenient use of the ancient Egyptians by which for small work the two ends of this cord were fastened to the two ends of a bent rod, so that one hand operated them both.

G. P. BIDDER.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 18, 1917.

NOTES.

'*Terebra*.' In the British Museum *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (A. H. Smith, 1912), p. 164, are described:

'Handles for the upper part of a revolving drill.'

Compare with this the drawing (Fig. 3) of the Egyptian bow-drill. Flinders Petrie (*Naukratis*, Part I, Egyptian Exploration Fund, London, 1888, p. 43) similarly identifies 'many rounded pieces of stone with one or more hollows highly polished in them; these are evidently the head-pieces of drill-bows [read 'bow-drills'] in which the end of the drill-stick revolved. They are generally of granite or basalt.' As no date is mentioned, the context indicates that they are found of all dates from sixth century B.C. to A.D.

Petrie also notes at Naukratis (l.c., p. 15) the enormous number of alabaster drill-cores, dating about 450 B.C., being the waste from the use of tubular-drills used in hollowing vases. In *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* (2nd edition, London, 1885, pp. 74 *et seqq.*) he shows that, in working the pyramid stones, jewelled tubular drills were used, of 4 inches and even 18 inches in diameter, working under a force to be measured in tons.

Mr A. H. Smith, of the British Museum¹, drew my attention to the fact that the Mycenæan fragments prove that they were drilled. In the upper surface of the chief red fragment (from the façade above the 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenæ) a hole cut out to receive a tenon shows at the bottom three circles left by a tubular drill about 1·7 cm. in diameter (see sketch, Fig. 6).

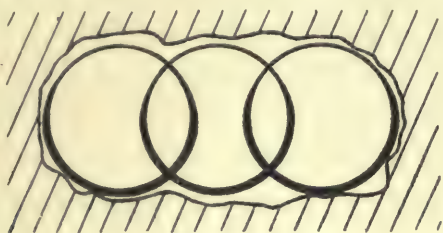


Fig. 6.

The same diameter of drill is shown on the other red fragment, but the green fragment has been worked with a drill of 1·3 cm.

Blümmer (*Gewerbe und Künste*, 1875, ii. p. 344) gives a cut showing a carpenter boring a hole in a slab of wood with a bow-drill; it is taken from a picture with gold ground, on the bottom of a glass vessel probably of the second or third century A.D. Caton (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1914, Vol. 34, p. 116) describes in detail 'a folding drill-bow for driving a trephine' from Colophon, probably of the first or second century A.D., which explained the use of a similar, but broken, instrument in the British Museum. Caton cites Hippocrates, Celsus, and Galen on its use.

τρύπανον. The Nile-Gods on Royal Monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty, each with one foot on the base of the hieroglyphic sign 'sam' (e.g. Plate XXV c, *Bubastis* by Edouard Naville—Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1891), each hold one-half of a rope, which appears to be a *τρυνανία* revolving the stalk part of the 'sam' in the base. I am too ignorant of the literature to know if this, with its suggestive metaphor, paralleled in most languages, is the received explanation.

¹ I am greatly indebted to the kindness of Mr A. H. Smith for this and other valuable information. He showed me the illustration in Blümmer, and referred me to the paper by Caton and the paper by Paton and Myres. He

also demonstrated to me, on the bas-relief of the Satyr's oil-press, the error of my previous view that the missing hand of the kneeling figure pulled a handspike, since the tips of the fingers can be seen beyond the fracture.

'*Torculum*.' In the fresco from the *Casa dei Vettii*, the two Cupids are playing with an empty '*torculum*' in a vineyard, where other Cupids are gathering grapes in '*quali*'—conical baskets say 18 in. high \times 15 in. top diameter and 7 in. diameter of base. The slab shown in the foreground of Fig. 5 is of stone (coloured like the walls of the vat) and bears a heap of grapes or grape-skins. Its proportions suggest that it may serve the double use of closing the entry to the vat (against splashes) while the grapes are being trodden, and lying across the vat as the press-bed when the grape-skins are under the '*prelum*.' The ground falls away to the right-hand end of the vat, so that there may be taps there to draw off the must (see Smith's *Ant. 'Torculum'*). There is no suggestion of any envelope to contain grape-skins under the '*prelum*,' and in Southern Italy when I saw a rustic wine-press (a simple screw-press) the pile of crushed skins lay upon it without envelope.

The use of the '*prelum*' as a lever-press (on the principle of nut-crackers) is illustrated in the Kalymenos oil-press figured by W. R. Paton and J. R. Myres (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. p. 210) and in the bas-relief of a '*Satyr at Oil-Press*' in the British Museum (No. 508, see *Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, Fig. 220). The free end of the lever was bent down by hand in the Satyr's oil-press, by secondary levers according to Vitruvius (6, 9) and Paton and Myres, and by a screw or screws according to Vitruvius and Pliny, whose newer fashion of a screw in the '*prelum*,' lifting a weight to bear on it (xviii. 31, 74), was (Paton and Myres) just going out of employment in 1896. The Cupids' '*torculum*' shows a windlass pulling the '*prelum*' down, as mentioned (*fide* Facc.) by Ulpian and Cato.

Paton and Myres found the olives put in bags of hair-cloth for pressing; the Satyr has them in a net, the resistance to pressure being given by a rope coiled round the net in about 14 horizontal coils one above the other¹. But Paton and Myres describe the olives as always first crushed with a roller or

¹ In the very good illustration to the *Guide* a net is not given, the olives appearing to be retained only by the

rope: but a close inspection of the terra-cotta shows fine chisel-cuts to represent the meshes.

pounded before they are pressed; the Satyr is pressing entire olives.

Is it possible that the rope wound round the olives was a primitive feature, to which was due originally the name 'torculum'? The pressure inside a coiled rope would be discovered almost so soon as any sort of cord was used by man.

'*Prelum*.' In the Pompeian fresco the 'prelum' is represented as standing over the middle line of the wine-vat. Smith's *Antiquities* ('torculum') quotes Wilkinson for an Egyptian painting showing the treaders supporting themselves by taking hold of ropes or poles placed above their heads.

It seems very probable that the 'prelum' was always in this position, and gave this support while the grapes were being trodden. It would be an obvious arrangement to have the press over the vat, so that the juice expressed from the skins could also flow into it, the first trodden juice having been drawn off and the grape-skins lifted out through the opened door of the vat.

This would explain and render natural the use of the word 'prelum' to signify the treaders as well as the press; so that we need not suppose that wine 'prelo domitam Caleno' contained anything but the first cuvée, nor that the product of lever and windlass was ever allowed to enter a cask for Mæcenas!

'*Sucula*' and '*Porculus*.' The translation of *porculus* as 'a hook in a wine or oil press,' given by Lewis and by Facciolati, appears to rest on a statement of Turnèbe (1512—1565) quoted by F. This in turn seems to be a conjectural emendation of a description of 'sucula' by Budé (1467—1510) elsewhere quoted *sub* 'sucula' by F., difficult to construe intelligibly as it stands, but not referring to wine or oil press at all.

Assuming that Lewis is right that 'sucula' never meant originally 'a little pig,' but, as used by Plautus in this sense, is merely a pun on 'sucula' = a windlass—'perhaps root *σεύω*, to drive' (Lewis and Short)—the pun was made before Plautus, since 'porculus' is a serious technical name only a generation later, and the passage in the *Rudens* seems to indicate that it was so already. The squealing of a wooden windlass may well

have been compared to that of a young pig¹; I suggest that the growing coil of rope on the axle of the windlass was nicknamed 'porculus' from its shape, with the understood joke that the lean 'little pig' of the turning (and squealing) axle fattens out into the plump 'porker' of wound rope². Thus the passages from Cato quoted by Facciolati read:—'Make your rope coil on the middle of the barrel' and 'where it shall be convenient to attach your rope for coiling.'

In place of Turnèbe's amendment we may change two commas in F.'s punctuation and suppose that Budé really wrote:—'Nam in media circiter sucula [erat] batillus, aut uncus, qui figebatur ut teneret funem, qui, dum versabatur sucula, circumplicabatur, [et] porculus vocabatur'—'For at about the middle of the 'squeaker' there was a flat clip, or a hook, put there to hold the end of the rope, which, when the 'squeaker' was turned, became wrapped round and round, and was then known as 'the porker.' This clip would be to hold the end of the rope against the barrel until the second coil gripped it in a half-hitch.

ὄνος and ὄλκος. May not the Greek ὄνος, besides recognising the patient labour and general utility of a windlass (as in the 'donkey-engine' which now replaces it), also have had reference to the similarity of voice in the animal and the machine? I have a black-on-red fragment of a vase (Heracles at Troy) of about 6th century B.C. showing a movable windlass used in drawing the ship up on the hard. It is a tongs-shaped cap, apparently of wood and leather, fitting on the ὄλκος as vertical axis, while an untrimmed pole passes through the head as a lever³. This would utter harsh sounds on a wooden post in hauling up a vessel.

¹ Compare 'barker' for a pistol, 'growler' for a four-wheeled cab, 'buzz-saw' for a circular saw, 'puffing billy' for Stephenson's early locomotives. (Qy. if the hissing over the damp seams helped to name the tailor's 'goose'?) Compare also the 'pom-pom' gun, 'clapper' of a mill, 'clack-valve' of a pump, and 'click'

of a ratchet.

² Compare our 'sow and pigs' of iron. But the image called up by the windlass would be of the 'sucula' or 'porculus' trussed on a horizontal spit and turning over the fire.

³ The crushing power of the coiled rope would be very manifest on this hollow windlass.

POSTSCRIPT.

'*Archetus*.' This (diminutive?) appears in mediaeval Latin to have been applied to many curved things, from a violin-bow to a hoisting-crane. Du Cange quotes its use, in a letter of A.D. 1414, for *picklock*, which at first sight fits line 8 of the ode strangely well, and explains the plural 'arcus.' But—apart from 'Memphin' and 'flagello'—a house-door fastened from inside for the night is in all ages commonly secured with a primitive bar or bolt, against which picklocks are useless.

We should be unable to give any reason why Horace should call his picklocks 'arcus,' whereas the mediaeval burglar carried 'archetos.' In the case of the drill-bow good reason can be offered for the change. Assuming that the Amazon from a Greek vase, drawn in Smith's *Antiquities* ('Pharetra'), is 5 ft. 6 in. high, her bow is 1 metre in length—scarcely longer than the bird-bow of the middle ages (cf. Green's *Hist. of Eng.*, 1898, p. 157, fig.) or the drill-bow for large work. But the war-bow of the Bayeux tapestry is one-third as long again, and the war long-bow of Crécy reached nearly double the length; so that it is not surprising to find the drill-bow named by a diminutive of arcus' in modern Latin languages:

Drill-bow = 'Archetto' in Italian ('An Italian Dictionary.'—Hoare, 1915).

'Archèt' in Bolognese ('Vocabulario.'—Berti, 1869).

'Archet' in French (Bellows and others).

SOME HOMERIC AORIST PARTICIPLES.

Thrice does Homer assert that a man ὄρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνήφιν, or εὐνήθεν ἀνίστατο, εἵματα ἐσάμενος (β 2, δ 307, υ 124). I have looked in vain for any comment upon this extraordinary aorist participle, surely the most extraordinary in Greek one may say. No doubt it was a physical possibility for the Homeric hero to put on his clothes before getting out of bed, but it does not seem probable that he habitually did so; consider too the last eight lines of the first book; nor can we pretend that ὄρτο ἐξ εὐνήφιν is a loose phrase for "came out of his bed-room," because in β 5 and δ 310 that action is mentioned as a later event. The translators whom I have looked at take the natural view that the meaning is "got up and put on his clothes," the editors and grammarians observe a mysterious silence.

Monro writes in his *Homeric Grammar* § 77 that "the Participle of the Aor. is sometimes used to express *exact coincidence* with the action of the principal Verb: as βῆ δὲ ἀΐξασα *went with a spring*." He adds that this use is especially common when the participle expresses "the manner with which a thing is said or done," quoting Ζ 54, ὁμοκλήσας ἔπος ηὔδα, Κ 139, ἀνέγειρε φθεγξάμενος, etc. for participles of speech. Mr Carter discussed a number of aorist participles in *C. R.* v. 3, but some of his instances are doubtful; Mr Whitelaw sought to slay him in the same volume, p. 248, but was slain himself by Mr Carter's retort.

Whatever we choose to call them, the important point about these participles is that they are timeless, whether they agree with the verb, as in ὁμοκλήσας ἔπος ηὔδα, or whether they are governed by it, as in μεγάλ' ἔκλυεν αὐδήσαντος. By one of the innumerable freaks of language this aorist was specially used with verbs of speaking or making a noise. So Aesch. *Ag.* 1332, οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἶργει μελάθρων "μηκέτ' ἐσέλθης" τάδε φωνῶν, where we have present and aorist combined. (It does not look

as if Aeschylus cared which tense he used in such a case; that Homer was not very particular either is clear from X 62, where ἐλκηθείσας θύγατρας is sandwiched in between υἱας ὀλλυμένους and θαλάμους κεραϊζομένους; and how much Thucydides troubled himself about the "correct" use of imperfect and aorist may be seen by anyone who will read vii. 57, 58 with attention. We grammarians are always trying to bind the free growth of language in a strait waistcoat of necessity, but language laughs and eludes us.) Pindar has some interesting developments of these aorists of speech: *Ol.* ii. 60, δικάζει λόγον φράσαις, vii. 5, xi. 48, τιμάσαις, "in compliment," ix. 14, αἰνήσαις; *P.* iv. 189, ἐπαινήσαις, "with thanks," xii. 8, θρήνον διαπλέξαισα. (At *P.* iv. 130 by the way we should obviously read δράπων, like τράπων, etc.; Schroeder imagines that he has defended δραπῶν by translating it "ut delibaverit"; no doubt he would defend ἐσσάμενος by turning it into "ut se vestiverit.")

Then again there is a peculiar group of timeless aorist participles in Homer which seems to have escaped notice. Ψ 24, μῆδετο ἔργα, τανύσσας, γ 303, ἐμήσατο λυγρὰ, κτείνας, λ 429, ἐμήσατο ἔργον, τεύξασα φόνον, ω 199, μῆσατο ἔργα, κτείνας, *Hymn to Hermes* 120, ἔργον ὄπαζε ταμῶν. These passages are curiously like one another, and how little they have been appreciated by some people at any rate may be seen from the fact that Bergk and La Roche invert the order of γ 304 and 305, following indeed a scholiast on Sophocles *El.* 267, but really because they cannot there understand κτείνας. Aegisthus did not devise evil deeds *after* killing nor *by* killing; the aorist is not modal nor instrumental; if it is to be called anything it seems to me *explanatory*, and in effect is a compendious way of saying ἔκτεινε γὰρ. As βῆ is the more general word and is particularized by the addition of αἶξασα, so ἐμήσατο λυγρὰ covers wickedness in general and the particular kind of wickedness is specified by κτείνας. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 565, ἐξαπάτησεν κλέψας, 579, ποίησε ἀσκήσας.

A further stage in the development of these constructions is to be seen at δ 689, οἶος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκε—οὔτε τινὰ ῥέξας ἐξαίσιον οὔτε τι εἰπὼν: here the participle may be said to be cut adrift altogether; it is a way of hinting οὔτε γὰρ ἔρεξεν οὔτ'

εἶπεν. Cf. Solon 32, οὐ καθηψάμην, μίανας καὶ καταισχύων κλέος = οὐ καθηψάμην ὥστε μιᾶναι; Pindar *Pyth.* iv. 100, μὴ ψεύδεσιν καταμιάναις εἰπὲ γένναν.

Another timeless participle, used with still greater boldness, is ὀνήμενος in β 33, ἐσθλός μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὀνήμενος. It is agreed that the meaning here is "he seems to me a noble fellow; blessings on him!" Thus the aorist participle here stands for an entirely separate clause, representing ὄναιτο. This is going further in the direction of cutting the participle adrift from the verb than any of the others, and may well prepare us for anything in this line. So also οὐλόμενος.

To go back then to our starting point, as ῥέξας at δ 690 practically stands for ἔρεξε γὰρ, so ὥρνυτο ἐσσάμενος is a deplorably loose way of saying ὥρνυτο καὶ ἔσσατο. The participle has become tacked on so freely that it cannot be labelled as anything particular. It is altogether different from the three instances which have been quoted from Herodotus (vii. 62, 106, 164), e.g. κατέλιπε ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον = ὃς ὕστερον ἐγένετο, the only resemblance being the looseness of attachment. Cf. Pind. *N.* i. 18, ὥπασε λαὸν φύλλοις μιχθέντα = ὃς ὕστερον ἐμίγη.

There is another place in the *Odyssey* where the aorist is perhaps used with the same astonishing looseness, φ 299, διέκ προθύρου δὲ θύραζε ἔλκον ἀναίξαντες, ἀπ' οὐατά τε ῥῖνās τ' ἀμήσαντες, for it would be superfluous nastiness to make an unnecessary mess inside the house, and at χ 474 Melanthius is first brought ἀνὰ πρόθυρόν τε καὶ αὐλήν, and only then ἀπὸ ῥῖνās τε καὶ οὐατα τάμνον. So in English it is possible to say "he got up, putting on his clothes," though it may not be a pretty way of expressing oneself: it was good enough for Shakespeare, e.g. *Hamlet* v. ii. 15, "withdrew to mine own room again, making so bold...to unseal their grand commission," and for Cervantes, *D. Q.* i. xxi. "se la puso luego en la cabeza, rodeándola á una parte y á otra."

The most remarkable aorist participle with a future sense (of a sort) which is to be found in Homer is at Π 852:

ἀλλά τοι ἤδη

ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή
χερσὶ δαμέντ' Ἀχιλλῆος ἀμύμονος Αἰᾶκίδαο.

Indeed I remember being so much puzzled with it that I should have liked to propose *δαμῆναι* if only the last syllable of such forms could be elided. But perhaps* it is best explained as a construction *ad sensum*, the sense being *ἀποθανεῖ δαμείς*.

I suppose that that line of the oracle in *Hdt.* v. 56, *τλήθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν*¹ *τετληότι θυμῷ* can be translated by "endure with patient heart after meeting an unendurable disaster," and so *ἀλγήσετε πῆμα παθόντες* in *μ* 27 is "suffer after coming to grief." But I cannot conceive what is to be done with *Pind. P.* iv. 297, *μήτ' ὦν τινὶ πῆμα πορῶν ἀπαθῆς δ' αὐτὸς πρὸς ἀστῶν*. The whole context seems to me to cry out aloud against taking *πορῶν* to mean "having caused in the past"; I can only regard the aorist as timeless, which is really equal to saying that it is a present in sense, "not committing a single act at any time." More difficult still is *ξ* 244, *μῆνα γὰρ οἶον ἔμεινα τεταρπόμενος τεκέεσσιν*, where anyone would suppose *τεταρπόμενος* to mean *τερπόμενος*, as Butcher and Lang do. A cynic might indeed argue, looking at some Homeric uses of *τέρπω*, that the meaning was "after having enough of my children," but can the poet really have meant that? Are *τλήθι παθὼν* and *ἔμεινα τεταρπόμενος* instances of attraction of tense, like *ἔλαθον ποιήσας*? Cf. the precept *λάθε βιώσας*. Such an attraction I find also in *Aesch. Ag.* 957, *φυλλὰς ἕκετ' ἐς δόμους σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα*, where *ἕκετο* is gnomic: cf. *Hes. Op.* 676, *ὄρινε ὀμαρτήσας*, also gnomic. Hesiod's *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς* (*Op.* 267) may be regarded as gnomic itself.

At *Persae* 166, *μὴ μέγας πλούτος* (leg. *δαίμων* Heimsoeth) *κονίσας οὐδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ ὄλβον*, I should regard *κονίσας οὐδας* as a variation on *πесών*, if *πλούτος* were right; cf. *ἔτε πесόντα* at *Ag.* 1266; but right it cannot be. If we read *δαίμων*, the meaning will be "bring down the fabric with a crash upon the ground."

None of these instances throw any light on that unintelligible phrase in Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* iv. 3, 15, *φεύγειν παρασί-σαντι*, referred to in this connexion by *Monro*, § 77. He does indeed also refer to *N* 597 there, but this must be an oversight,

¹ Cf. *peressus* in *Aen.* ix. 60.

χείρα παρακρεμάσας in that line being an ordinary aorist of past time. More to the point are *Hymn* xxviii. 12, ὄρουσεν σείσασα ἄκοντα, and Hesiod, *Scut.* 343, ἐν γάρ σφιν μένος ἦκε θεὰ, αἰγίδ' ἀνασσειάσασα. But both these are simply modal aorists of a single act. The difficulty about φεύγειν παρασείσαντι is, as Mr MacInnes puts it (*C. R.* xxiv. 229), that the participle here refers to action "enduring contemporaneously" with that of φεύγειν.

ARTHUR PLATT.

EMENDATIONS OF MARCUS AURELIUS' COMMENTARIES.

The following suggestions do not attempt, except in one instance, to rewrite notoriously corrupt passages in this author. These are probably beyond recovery without fresh documentary evidence. I merely touch on small points of the traditional text where the ordinary rules of criticism appear to justify correction. The Emperor's style has been well described and emendation of the text justified by Dr Rendall in this *Journal* (xxiii, 1894). The danger is that in following the sense the reader may overlook small corruptions which have crept into the original.

I give in each case the reading of A, i.e. codex Vaticanus Gr. 1950, and below the points of difference in P, the editio princeps, which in the loss of its original is counted as though it were a codex; and in D, i.e. codex Darmstadtinus 2773, which is a sophisticated MS. derived from A or a common original.

Book I, Ch. 9, § 1. καὶ τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὸ ἀθεώρητον οἰομένων.

τῶν οἰομένων P. τῶν ἰωμένων D.

Suidas quotes this passage omitting the second τὸ.

The author is praising Sextus, Plutarch's nephew, for his family and social virtues. Saumaise and Gataker both observe that the last three words should qualify ἰδιωτῶν; one therefore proposes to read τοῦ ἀθεωρήτου, the other τῶν ἀθεωρήτως. Following this lead I would suggest τῶν ἰδιωτῶν <τῶν> κατὰ τὸ ἀθεώρητον οἰομένων, i.e. tolerance of amateurs whose fancies are not based on scientific knowledge. The next chapter praises Alexander Cotiaensis for similar tolerance of blunders in style. Marcus Aurelius is fond of this construction; see, for example, τὰ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν πλημμελούμενα, II, 10.

I, 16, § 2. καὶ τὸ ζητητικὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐν τοῖς συμβουλίοις καὶ ἐπίμονον ἄλλ' οὐ τὸ προαπέστη τῆς ἐρεῦνης, ἀρκεσθεῖς ταῖς προχείροις φαντασίαις.

Gataker compares the parallel passage: τὸ...φιλότιμον καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἂν τι ὅλως παρήκε μὴ πρότερον εὖ μάλα κατιδόν... VI, 30, § 3, and emends καὶ ὅτι οὐ προαπέστη.... Compare also καὶ ὅτι οὐτε φήθη ἂν... I, 15, § 2. Dr Rendall proposes ὦν ἂν ἄλλος τις προαπέστη. Stich reads ἀλλ' οὗτοι.

Dr Rendall's emendation supplies the missing object to ἐρεύνης but is a little elaborate. Might not τό be a corruption for τινός and the ἀλλά be justified by the abrupt but not impossible change of grammatical construction?

In this same chapter of praise of the emperor Pius there are two passages which should be compared, viz.:—

I, 16, § 7. καὶ τὸ ἔμφρον...ἐν τε θεωριῶν ἐπιτελέσει...καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ δέον πραχθῆναι δεδορκότος....

αὐτὸ δέ P. δεδορκός D. <ὃ ἐστίν> ἀνθρώπου corr. Morus.

I, 16, § 10. τὸ δὲ ἰσχύειν...ἐκατέρω <ἀνδρός ἐστίν ἄρτιον καὶ ἀήττητον ψυχὴν ἔχοντος>.

ἀνδρὸς...ἔχοντος om. A.

If the second passage is correct, it would appear that we should read in the former ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν. In view, however, of the omission of the words in A, I incline to read ὡς ἀνθρώπου in the first and ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἄρτιον (omitting ἐστίν) in the second. The ὡς and ἔχοντος would give a homœoteleuton. Moreover every reader of § 10 must have been surprised by the novel turn of phrase in the traditional text.

II, 2. The words ἄφες τὰ βιβλία...ἀποθνήσκων are marked by Dr Leopold, the Oxford editor, as out of place.

Probably they got into the margin and were marked as to be inserted not after the first but the second ἡγεμονικόν. They then come in quite correctly: ἄφες τὰ βιβλία· μηκέτι σπῶ. οὐ δέδοται· ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ἀποθνήσκων ὧδ' ἐπινοήθητι· γέρων εἰ κ.τ.λ.

The transition of thought is closely paralleled at the end of chapter 3.

II, 6. οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξεις· οὐ γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐκάστω· οὗτος δέ σοι σχεδὸν διήνυσται....

εὖ P. βραχύς D.

The readings of P and D are evident conjectures. Bootius

suggested to Gataker εἰς and this has been accepted by Dr Leopold. Gataker thought of φεύγει γὰρ. The original may perhaps have been not οὐ γὰρ but ὀλίγος; compare ὀλίγος ἄρα χρόνος οὗτος κ.τ.λ. Epict. I, 9, 17.

The following passages are quoted to illustrate the possibility that δεῖ has intruded into the present text (1) to assist the interpretation of an infinitive used imperatively (a very common idiom in this author), or (2) by dittography of or confusion with αἰεί, or (3) by a corruption of ἤδη with an infinitive into δεῖ. If these are intrusions, it will be seen that they go back behind the existing MSS.

II, 9. τούτων αἰεὶ δεῖ μεμνήσθαι.

Omit δεῖ, comparing 'Αεὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλειτείου μεμνήσθαι IV, 46.

II, 14. τούτων οὖν τῶν δύο δεῖ μεμνήσθαι.

Here I should prefer αἰεὶ, though the reading of A and D, ἄν (= δῆ), shows the antiquity of the present text.

III, 11, § 3. διὸ δεῖ ἐφ' ἐκάστου λέγειν.

διόδι A. For δεῖ read αἰεὶ.

IV, 12. Δύο ταύτας ἐτοιμότητας ἔχειν αἰεὶ δεῖ.

ἔχει A. Omit δεῖ.

V, 6. ναί· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρακολουθεῖν. ἴδιον γάρ, φησί τοῦ....

After τοῦτο, δεῖ P.

A and D omit δεῖ, I think correctly. The dialogue carries on the construction of δεῖ εἶναι above. I should also prefer to transpose φησί and to read ναί, φησίν, ἀλλ'....

VI, 26. τούτους δὲ τηροῦντα...περαίνειν.

δεῖ P. περαίνειν A.

δῆ is preferable, I think. Compare Dem. Olynth. II, 13 (p. 21), καὶ δῆ περαίνειν where δεῖ is read by S¹ and vulg.

VII, 56. ὥς ἀποτεθνηκότα δεῖ...τὸ λοιπὸν...ζῆσαι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.

Read ἤδη for δεῖ; compare

ὥς ἤδη ἀποθνήσκων, II, 2.

"Ἡδη τεθνήξῃ, IV, 37.

Dem. Phil. II, 28 (p. 72) ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω, where S.L. read ταῦτα δῆ.

XII, 24. *τρία ταῦτα δεῖ πρόχειρα ἔχειν.* Read *ἀεὶ*.

These confusions are very common in MSS. From this book we may illustrate as follows:—

IV, 24. *ὄθεν δεῖ. ὄθεν δὴ A.*

IV, 33. *περὶ ὃ δεῖ. ὃ δὴ A.*

V, 10. *τοῦναντίον γὰρ δεῖ. δὴ D.*

VII, 48. *καὶ δὴ. δεῖ A.*

„ „ *ἐπισκοπεῖν δεῖ. δὴ A.*

(Here perhaps we should read *ἐπισκοπεῖν ἀεὶ*.)

X, 9. *δεῖ δὲ πᾶν οὕτω βλέπειν. ἤδη δὲ A.*

III, 2, § 3. *καὶ τὸ ἐν παισὶν ἐπαφρόδιτον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ σώφροσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶν δυνήσεται.*

Surely *τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ* and *ἐπαφρόδιτον* should be transposed.

III, 3. *λατρεύων τοσοῦτῳ χείρονι τῷ ἀγγεῖῳ ἢ περίεστι τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν. ἢ περ ἐστὶ D.*

The reading of D is accepted by Dr Leopold but then the *ἐστὶ* is very awkward. Moreover *τοσοῦτῳ* suggests *ὅσῳ* *περ* as Casaubon emended. It would appear better to read *ἢ περ* and *τοσοῦτον* and to suppose that a scribe took *περ* to be an abbreviation for *περίεστι*.

III, 5. *ἐν δὲ τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεὲς ἔξωθεν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τὸ ἀπροσδεὲς ἡσυχίας ἦν ἄλλοι παρέχουσιν.*

ἐν δὲ τὸ φαιδρόν P. τῆς ἔξωθεν P.

ἔτι δὲ τὸ φαιδρόν (Morus) is generally accepted. The reverse error appears in I, 16, § 10 where Gataker has corrected *ἔτι καρτερεῖν* to *ἐγκαρτερεῖν*. But surely the second *ἀπροσδεὲς* is intolerable. Either it has dispossessed another neuter adj. or an attributive to *ἡσυχίας*. The explanation may lie in the intrusive *φαινόμενον*, meanwhile we should read *καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἦν...* or possibly *τῆς φαινομένης ἡσυχίας ἦν....*

III, 10. *οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς οὐτε γε τὸν πρόπαλαι τεθνηκότα.*

οὐδέ γε corr. Reiske.

I think we should omit the *οὐδὲ* before *ἑαυτοὺς* supposing that *οὐδὲ* was originally a correction of the common error *οὐτε*.

III, 16. *καὶ τῶν ποιούντων, ἐπειδὴ κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας....*

<ὅτιοῦν> ποιούντων Gataker.

Perhaps τῶν <ποῖον οὐ> ποιούντων. This kind of phrase is a favourite with our author. Compare, e.g., καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ οἶα ποιεῖ X, 26.

IV, 51. Ἐπὶ τὴν σύντομον ἀεὶ τρέχει.

τρέχε P.

We should read τρέχειν (i.e. *τρέχει*); compare ἐπὶ τῆς γράμμης τρέχειν ὀρθόν IV, 18, and ἔχει IV, 12, περαίνει VI, 26.

V, 1. καὶ οὗτοι (sc. οἱ τεχνίται) ὅταν προσπαθῶσιν οὔτε φαγεῖν οὔτε κοιμηθῆναι θέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτα συναύξειν προσδιαφέρονται.

προσπατῶσιν and πρὸς ἃ φέρονται P.

The accepted reading is πρὸς ἃ διαφέρονται. We should also find an object for προσπαθῶσιν by reading <πρὸς τι> προσπαθῶσιν. Compare καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν προσπαθῆς Epict. III, 24, 82.

V, 4. ἀναπαύσομαι...πεσὼν ἐπὶ τούτῳ...ὃ φέρει με πατοῦντα καὶ εἰς τοσαῦτα ἀποχρώμενον αὐτῷ.

No one appears to have suggested ἀποπατοῦντα, which would make better sense and correct Greek and be in the Stoic or Cynic manner.

V, 6. ἄνθρωπος δ' εὖ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐπισπᾶται ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἕτερον.

ἐπιβοᾶται P.

The reading of P, which has been accepted (though it looks like a conjecture), would mean "is not exclaimed against" or "hooted." Though it is a violent remedy I suggest ἐπιζητεῖ τι. Compare immediately above μηδὲν ἄλλο προσεπιζητούση and τί πλέον ἐπιζητῶ; VIII, 2; τί γὰρ πλέον θέλεις; IX, 42, § 4.

V, 36. οὕτως οὖν καὶ <ὧδε. Ἐπεὶ τοι γίνῃ καλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων. Ἄνθρωπε, ἐπελάθου τί ταῦτα ἦν. Ναί· ἀλλὰ τούτοις περισπούδαστα. Διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ > σὺ μωρὸς γένη;

A omits <ὧδε...καὶ>.

The point of this difficult passage is that the Stoic will treat ordinary persons who lament their losses in the same way as an old man his foster-child, viz. with a certain sympathy but without sharing their extreme of feeling. But what is the sense of "calling out at the rostra"? I would suggest οὕτως οὖν καί

σὺ ὦδε, where the σὺ will complete the homœoteleuton to explain A's lacuna; and Ἐπεὶ τοι <τί> γίνῃ κλάων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβάδων; Schenkl, preface to Epicteti Dissertationes (Teubner) p. XL, says "sexcenties confunduntur κλάω et καλῶ." I am supposing ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβάδων to be a possible equivalent of τραγικῶς. But compare Hesych. i, 723.

VI, 14. τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔτι χαριεστέρων εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ λογικῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ μέντοι καθολικῆς ἀλλὰ καθὸ τεχνικῆς ἢ ἄλλως πως ἐντρεχῆς ἢ κατὰ ψιλὸν τὸ πλήθος ἀνδραπόδων κεκτῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ψυχὴν λογικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν τιμῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστρέφεται....

post λογικὴν add. καθολικὴν P.

In VII, 64 A gives οὔτε γὰρ καθολικὴ ἐστὶν οὔτε καθὸ κοινωνικῆ διαφθείρει αὐτήν. P reads καθὸ ὕλικῆς. Casaubon who had not A before him emended P to καθὸ λογικῆς and this is accepted.

It appears certain then that the reading in VI, 14 should be οὐ μέντοι καθὸ λογικῆς ἀλλὰ καθὸ τεχνικῆς; and καθολικὴν in P lower down is a gloss on λογικὴν.

The author is introducing a further step into the scala of the Stoical system, i.e. dividing ψυχὴ λογικὴ into ψυχὴ λογικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ (cf. III, 6) and a lower form ψυχὴ τεχνικὴ—more refined spirits admire the objects which fall under the cognisance of the artistic self. I need hardly say that ψυχὴ καθολικὴ means absolutely nothing in the Stoic system nor I think in any other Greek philosophy of this date. ἀνδραπόδων is strange; it would come naturally under plain ψυχῆς, viz. in the realm of organic life. Could ἀνδριάντων be the true reading?

Compare ἐπὶ τῶν κοινότερον καλῶν λεγομένων· οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ὕλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων IV, 20.

VI, 18. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ λυπηθῆναι ἂν ὅτι....

This ἂν is very difficult. Perhaps we should read αὐ?

VI, 21. ζητῶ γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

Read ζηλῶ. In VIII, 2 τί πλέον ἐπιζητῶ; becomes ἐπιζηλῶ in P.

VII, 2. δύναμαι περὶ τούτου ὃ δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν.

Read ὁδῶ. Compare Δύνασαι...ὁδῶ ὑπολαμβάνειν v, 34.

VII, 17. Εὐδαιμονία ἐστὶ δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἢ ἀγαθόν.

<ἡγεμονικόν> ἀγαθόν Gataker.

What is required is some philological equivalent to δαίμων. I therefore suggest ἡ ἀγαθὸν <θεῖον>. Compare μόνον τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου καὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ θεῖον τιμήσης XII, 1 and passages like Σωκράτης...ἤρετο εἰ οὐχ οἱ δαίμονες ἦτοι θεῶν παῖδες εἶεν ἢ θεῖόν τι, Arist. Rhet. 1419^a 11.

VIII, 3. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶδον τὰ πράγματα...ἐκεῖ δὲ ὅσων πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων;

The contrast is between Diogenes, Heraclitus and Socrates on the one hand and conquerors like Alexander, Julius and Pompey on the other. The proper antithesis to οἱ μὲν is ἐκείνοις δέ.

Compare Demosth. Phil. I, § 46 (p. 53) ἐκεῖνος S.B., ἐκεῖνος ἐκεῖ vulg., ἐκεῖ schol.

VIII, 6. πάντα συνήθη ἀλλὰ ἴσαι καὶ ἀπονεμήσεις.
καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ἀπ. P.

Read ἀλλὰ ἴσαι καὶ <αἱ> ἀπονεμήσεις.

IX, 3. καὶ μεθ' οἷων ἡθῶν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἡ πεφυρμένη.
ἐμπεφυρμένη P. ἢ <ψυχῇ> Casaubon.

ἡ appears to represent an interlinear correction of ἔσται, viz.

^ηἔσται and the true reading to be ἔση πεφυρμένος.

Compare IV, 19 where A gives ἐχομένην, P ἐχόμενον and Gat. emends to ἐχόμενος, and II, 4 where A's reading suggests οἰχίσ^ησεται in the source.

IX, 9. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔτι κρείττωνων καὶ διεστηκότων τρόπον τινὰ ἔνωσις...οὕτως ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐπανάβασις συμπάθειαν καὶ διεστῶσιν ἐργάσασθαι ἐδύνατο.

ἐκ διεστηκότων and ἐν διεστῶσιν P, both of which the Oxford text prints. I think that the stars are naturally described as κρείττωνων καὶ διεστηκότων; compare "quae quamquam longo cogit summtota recessu sentiri tamen" Manilius Astron. II, 84-5.

For καὶ διεστῶσιν read κὰν διεστῶσιν. The mistake is common in MSS., see for example Arist. Poet. 1447^{a21} where A^c reads καὶ for κὰν.

IX, 32. ...ταχεῖαν μεταβολὴν ἐπινοεῖν, ὡς βραχὺ μὲν τὸ ἀπογενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, ἀχανές δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ὁμοίως ἄπειρον.

Read *γενέσεως καὶ*.... I suppose that the second *ὡς* which is awkward is a dittograph.

X, 8, § 4. *πρὸς μέντοι τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὀνομάτων μεγάλως συλλήψεται σοι τὸ μεμνήσθαι θεῶν*....

The first *μεμνήσθαι* has clearly intruded from the influence of the second. What is wanted is some word to correspond with *κὰν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν μένειν δύνῃ* and *περικρατεῖς*. I would suggest *ἔχεσθαι*.

X, 15. *οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκεῖ ἢ ὧδε*.

XII, 36. *τίσι διαφέρει πέντε*.

P, *τί σοι διαφέρει εἰ πέντε ἔτεσιν*; Reiske adds *<ἢ τρισί>*. The accepted reading is P with Reiske's addition which comes from *οὐκ εἶπον τὰ πέντε μέρη ἀλλὰ τὰ τρία* lower down. There the contrast between the three acts and the five is natural but here it appears ridiculous to ask "what is the difference between five years and three?"

If *εἰ* be read here we ought to presume a similar haplography in X, 15 where the sense requires "whether there or here."

Is it possible that the true reading in XII, 36 is *πέντε ἔτεσιν ἢ πεντήκοντα* viz. *ε ἔτεσιν ἢ Ν*?

X, 18. *καθότι ἕκαστον πέφυκεν ὥσπερ θνήσκειν*.

The context is a statement of the constant change, dissolution, decay and dispersal of the elements of which every substance is composed. There is therefore very little point in saying that each being is destined by nature to a kind of death.

I think the true reading *ἐπινοεῖν αὐτὸ ἤδη διαλυόμενον καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ οἶον σήψει ἢ σκεδάσει γιγνόμενον ἢ καθότι ἕκαστον πέφυκεν ὥσπερ θνήσκον*, i.e. dying in a manner (every moment) as it was in a manner born.

For the change in the MSS. compare II, 3 where A and D read *συμφέρειν* for the true reading *συμφέρον*.

NOTE. When writing the above I regret that I had seen neither Dr H. Schenkel's text (Teubner, 1913) nor Mr C. R. Haines' text and translation (Heinemann, 1916). On the whole Dr Schenkel represents the reaction against excision and the desire to respect MS. authority. See especially II, 4; V, 6. He would not agree with my remarks about the intrusive *δεῖ* (see II, 14; VI, 26).

III, 16. Dr Schenkel suggests <τί οὐ>.

V, 36. Mr Haines emends ἔπειτα τί....

VI, 14. Dr Schenkel suggests καθὸ λογική ἐστίν, which Mr Haines rejects.

IX, 3. Both read ἡ <σὴ ψυχὴ> συμπεφυρμένη, after Plato, Phaedo 66 c.

IX, 9. Both omit ἐκ.

XII, 36. Dr Schenkel states that R. read <τρισὶ ἡ>. Mr Haines reads <ἡ ἑκατὸν>, no doubt relying on IX, 37.

A. S. L. FARQUHARSON.

JUVENAL AND TWO OF HIS EDITORS.

A REJOINDER.

Fair criticism is always welcome. Scholars who follow the laborious and unremunerative path of research can thus promote the discovery of truth, which is the object of their studies. Dissenting criticism, if offered with good-nature, is helpful and encouraging. But the attack which has been made by Mr Housman (J. P. xxxiv. 40 foll.) on certain conclusions of mine is not of this nature. It is unfair, and, especially as it is not the first of such attacks, appears to be designed to damage. It revives the obsolete and discreditable methods of the Dunciad.

In my paper on the Phillipps manuscripts of Juvenal (J. P. xxxiii. 238 foll.) I had occasion to argue in favour of readings found in manuscripts in some disputed passages, and incidentally to take account of views put forward by others and among them by Mr Housman in his clever but paradoxical edition. Mr Housman is dissatisfied that I disagree with him, and is justified in saying so: but his way of doing this will hardly be approved. The gist of his contention is that I do not reach my conclusions by reasoning, or, as he puts it with questionable taste, that I have "access to a higher and purer source of illumination" (p. 40). The collection of facts, of which my article is made up, is my argument and my source of illumination.

I have no desire for controversy, which leads unfortunately too often to irritation and the display of personal vanity. But I feel that it is not right that the misrepresentations contained in Mr Housman's article should pass unchallenged. The method of attack leaves no choice but to reply. I regret this necessity as I recognise Mr Housman's ability and the acuteness with which he has often shed light on obscurities in Latin literature. If he could only be persuaded to discard such bitterness as

I deplore, his work would be appreciated even more highly than it is. I shall content myself with referring to a few points which indicate the unfairness of the criticisms advanced. From them scholars can judge of the rest.

In Juvenal III. 236

raedarum transitus arto
uicorum inflexu

in deference to the complete consensus of the manuscripts, except O and the Phillipps R, I maintained that, as all editors have done except Mr Housman, the word *inflexu* should be retained, because this rare word would seem to be one of many instances of the vocabulary of later Latin appearing betimes in Juvenal. This phaenomenon I supported by several examples of such usage. Therefore, since Seneca was earlier not later than Juvenal, it is irrelevant that, as Mr Housman urges, the text is doubtful in Seneca, *Dial.* x. 12. 4. The disappearance of *inflexus* from Seneca does not affect its later use. The reading *in flexu* in Juvenal (which I noted is found in the Phillipps R) Mr Housman adopted from the 'editiones ueteres,' and, joining my name irreverently with that of the Holy Father, he accuses me of being dogmatic because I follow the practically unanimous tradition of the manuscripts and support my position by argument!

In VII. 184

ueniet qui fercula doctæ
componat, ueniet qui pulmentaria condit

I showed that this reading is best supported, and that parallels can be found for the variation of construction by which the consecutive form *ueniet qui componat* is followed by (is) *qui condit ueniet*, and further that this disregard of uniformity is significant of the colloquial character of Juvenal's language. Mr Housman imputes to me a *petitio principii* because "the very question at issue is whether we have or have not a variation of construction here." But I demonstrated that the reading in question is supported by overwhelming manuscript authority and by linguistic parallels. To describe such a demonstration as a *petitio principii* is palpably false.

In I. 168

inde irae et lacrimae

I argued that the reading *irae*, supported by overwhelming manuscript authority, is to be preferred to *ira* found in a few manuscripts, for two reasons: (1) because *irae* plural is in harmony with Juvenal's frequent use of substantives plural in form but singular in meaning, again an evidence of the later Latin usage; (2) because *irae* is supported by Cyprian's imitation, *Heptat. Genes.* 895, "inde irae et lacrimae et fraus quaesita nocendi." Here is evidence and reasoning. But Mr Housman asserts that "what Cyprian had before him, and what he wrote, has been disclosed to nobody but Mr Owen." No one certainly knows what any ancient writer had before him or wrote in the sense that there is no one alive who saw such a writer writing and can bear witness. All we can do is to be guided by our most trustworthy authority. Here I quoted the line as printed by the best editor Peiper in the Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Peiper prefers *irae* to *ira* because it is found in two of his three good manuscripts, one being the ninth century Laon manuscript, of which Peiper says "ut est omnium plenissimus, ita lectiones eius maiorem in uniuersum fidem merentur quam ceterorum" (p. xv). In Cyprian the reading *ira* rests on one manuscript alone. Mr Housman may prefer to read *ira* in Juvenal, but it is mere impertinence to say that what Cyprian had before him and wrote has been disclosed to nobody but myself.

In XIII. 49

nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundum
imperium aut Sicula toruos cum coniuge Pluton

I naturally inferred from Mr Housman's note "IMI,* om. P, ALIQUIS Ψ" that his surprising conjecture *imi* for *aliquis* was due to the supposed loss of a word for which *aliquis* found in the manuscripts other than P was a stopgap conjecturally supplied. Therefore I showed by examples that the omission of a word such as *aliquis* is a slip common in P, and affords no basis for conjecture. But Mr Housman now says that his objection to the text is that "*triste* is applicable to Pluto's

empire and inapplicable to Neptune's." It is equally applicable to either. It is appropriate to the province of the lord of the sea. The Romans regarded the sea with horror as a tempestuous element causing shipwreck and death (Lucret. II. 552 foll.; Hor. C. I. 3. 9 foll., 14. 1 foll., III. 1. 26). The "*mare naufragum uentosum iratum*" was to them the destroyer of mariners (Hor. C. I. 16. 10, III. 4. 46, *Epod.* 2. 6, C. I. 28. 18). The epithet *tristis* is applied to the stormy sea (Ov. *H.* 18. 143. 212), and to the stormy winter season (Virg. *G.* IV. 135; Ov. *A. A.* I. 409, *T.* III. 10. 9, *Ib.* 199; Virg. *Aen.* XI. 259, "*triste Mineruae sidus*"). Hence in Juvenal's expression *triste profundum imperium* the epithet is appropriately transferred to *imperium*, since the sphere which fell by lot to Neptune was a "*sors tristis atrox*" (Cic. *Mur.* 42), because it was that god's stormy function chiefly to produce tempests and shipwrecks. Prop. III. 7. 15, 62:

'quidnam fracta gaudes, Neptune, carina?'

'in me caeruleo fuscina sumpta deo est.'

Mr Housman rewrites the passage so as to eliminate Neptune and refer the whole to Pluto

nondum <imi> sortitus triste profundum
imperium Sicula toruos cum coniuge Pluton.

But it seems to me necessary that in this catalogue of gods Neptune should be introduced along with Jupiter and Pluto, since these three great gods shared the sovereignty of Saturn between them. It was in this sense that I spoke, perhaps unfortunately, of the "full catalogue of the gods." I did not say "complete." I further maintained that *profundum* 'the deep' must signify the sea, and that to understand it in the sense of 'hell,' or, as Mr Housman expresses it, "the subterranean world," involves assigning to it a forced and unnatural meaning. Mr Housman asserts that "there are half a dozen verses in the *Aetna* alone where *profundum* signifies the subterranean world; for example 578 '*septemque duces raptumque profundo.*'" But an examination of the *Aetna* does not bear out this assertion. In the line quoted the meaning is 'the abyss' or chasm which opened in the ground to engulf

Amphiaraus, as Ellis explains. It does not signify the nether world of Pluto. The author of the scientific poem on volcanoes, the Aetna, conceived the earth as being not solid but containing chasms and full of cavities and passages through which wind passes (94 foll.), and as producing earthquakes through the conflict of wind and air pent up within these arteries (154). In this poem *profundum* signifies sometimes these hollow depths of the earth's interior, as 257 "scrutamur rimas et uertimus omne profundum," so 143, 166, 545, sometimes the crater of a volcano, as 181, 210, 341. Once it is used of the deep sea, 319 "unda profundo terque quaterque exhausta," which I still maintain is its meaning in the passage of Juvenal in question. Never in the Aetna does it signify the subterranean world in the sense of the realm of Pluto.

I will not go further into the matters in dispute. Even if they be "mostly trifles and mostly incapable of decision" I plead that it is improper that one who attempts to decide them should be treated with discourtesy and misrepresentation.

S. G. OWEN.

ON EUDEMIAN ETHICS III v, vi.

Read before the Cambridge Philological Society.

The paper which I am now to read to you has in it nothing at all exciting. I have no paradoxical conjecture with which to startle or to shock you: on the contrary I desire to bring before you several minor difficulties which meet me in *Eud. Eth.* III v, vi, and to invite you to give me, in dealing with them, the benefit of your tact and experience. I shall ask you in each case, not merely, "is my conjectural alteration grammatical?" and "can it be construed?" but also, "does it seem to you natural and idiomatic?" Of course, I always recognize that, even within the limits of our own language we cannot speak at all confidently about the style (say) of the early eighteenth century, and that, *a fortiori*, we must not rashly dogmatize about an ancient language which is not our own. But so long as we continue to make a careful study of Greek literature, it is right that we should cultivate our possibilities, such as they are, and also, if I may use an Americanism, that we should pool the proceeds.

In *Eud. Eth.* III v Eudemus describes Aristotle's *μεγαλόψυχος*. At 1232^a 30 in the words *ὥστε καὶ τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ ὁμοίος εἶναι δοκεῖ* he sums up the results so far reached. After *δοκεῖ* he starts afresh, and proceeds to establish a resemblance to yet other virtues. Hence substitute a full-stop for Sussemihl's comma: and, with Spengel, for *ὅτι* write *ἔτι*. The *καὶ* which follows must be taken, not with *ἔτι*, but with *πάσαις*. At 33 Sussemihl pronounces *τοιαῦτ' εἶναι ἡδέα* corrupt: Fritzsche conjectures *δοκοῦντ' εἶναι ἡδέα*: and Rassow for *εἶναι ἡδέα* would read *κρίνειν*. For myself, I propose to substitute *δοκεῖ* for *διώκει*: "Those things appear to be great which the representation of the best habit in the particular region holds

to be pleasurable, and magnanimity is that best habit. On the other hand a particular virtue judges aright the greater and the smaller as (*ἡπερ*) the judicious man and virtue would prescribe: so that all the virtues go with magnanimity, or magnanimity with all the virtues." Here for *ἄπερ* I substitute *ἡπερ*. I grant that *ἄπερ* might be supposed to have for its antecedent an accusative cognate to *κρίνει*, such as *ταῦτα* or *τοιαῦτα*: but I think that Spengel's instinct is sound when he proposes *καθάπερ*, and that *ἡπερ*, which is palaeographically less expensive, will serve instead of it. Yet another question arises in this sentence. Spengel brackets *καὶ ἡ ἀρετή*; Rieckher pronounces these words corrupt; and Susemihl thinks the text unsound. For myself I am well satisfied with it. According to Eudemus' teaching in what we know as the sixth book of the Nicomacheans, moral conduct depends upon *φρόνησις* and *ἀρετή* taken in conjunction, whereof *ἀρετή* determines the end and *φρόνησις* the means: but neither of them can exist in its perfection if the other is absent. Hence in the present passage the *φρόνιμος* is also *ἀγαθός*, and *ἀρετή* has *φρόνησις* associated with it. This being so, *ὁ φρόνιμος* and *ἡ ἀρετή* are alternative presentations of the moral standard.

That all the virtues go with magnanimity, or magnanimity with all the virtues, appears further in the facts that, on the one hand, the magnanimous man is apt to be contemptuous, and, on the other, each particular virtue makes a man contemptuous of "great things which reason does not account so." The phrase *τὰ παρὰ τὸν λόγον. μεγάλα* is an odd one: but we can conceive a dichotomy of *μεγάλα* in which *τὰ παρὰ τὸν λόγον* are opposed to *τὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον*. Then come examples, namely, the virtue of courage, the temperate man, and the liberal man. Spengel has seen that the collocation of one virtue and two virtuous men is intolerable, and has therefore substituted *ἀνδρείος* for *ἀνδρεία*. This seems to me certainly right. For the palaeographical equivalence of *-a* and *-os*, see Bast p. 773, etc. And now I come to the parenthetical sentence about the *ἀνδρείος*: *μέγα γὰρ οὔεται εἶναι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ πλῆθος οὐ πᾶν φοβερόν*. Plainly, something is wanting here. Accordingly Mr Solomon supplies *ἡγεῖσθαι* after *γάρ*, and, if my memory serves, Mr H.

Richards, *τι ποιῆσθαι*. I myself propose *μέγα γὰρ <οἷεσθαί τι> οἷεται εἶναι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν*: "he thinks it disgraceful to account anything great, and that not every multitude is formidable." Compare *Nic. Eth. Δ viii 1225^a 15* where the *μεγαλόψυχος* is *ὁ μὴδὲν μέγα οἰόμενος*. The next sentence—*μεγαλοψύχου δὲ δοκεῖ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ περὶ ὀλίγα σπουδάζειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλα, καὶ οὐχ ὅτι δοκεῖ ἑτέρῳ τινί*—is translated by Mr Solomon—"But this characteristic [namely, to be disdainful] seems to belong to the magnanimous man because he cares about few things only, and those great, and not because some one else thinks them so." Now at first sight this translation passes muster: but, first, though *μεγαλοψύχου δὲ τοῦτο* is a satisfactory equivalent for *μεγαλοψύχου δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο*, I doubt whether *μεγαλοψύχου δὲ δοκεῖ τοῦτο* can stand for *μεγαλοψύχου δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦτο*; in other words, I question the subaudition of *εἶναι*: and, secondly, the clause *καὶ οὐχ ὅτι δοκεῖ ἑτέρῳ τινί* does not seem to me to fall exactly into its place. Let me try to mend the sentence. First, for *μεγαλοψύχου δὲ δοκεῖ τοῦτο* write *μεγαλοψύχου δὲ δοκεῖν τοῦτο*: secondly, for *ὅτι* before *δοκεῖ* in line 5 write *ὅ τι* from *ὅστις*. We shall then translate: "and [not 'But'] it is characteristic of the magnanimous man to take this view [i.e. to be contemptuous] because he cares for few things, and those, things which are great, and it is not his way to think as some one else does." And now I turn to line 14: *οὕτω μὲν οὖν δόξειεν ἂν ἐναντίως ἔχειν· τῷ γὰρ εἶναι τε μάλιστα περὶ τιμὴν καὶ καταφρονητικὸν εἶναι τῶν πολλῶν [καὶ] δόξης οὐχ ὁμολογεῖσθαι*. So Susemihl. But Π¹ reads *τὸ* and not *τῷ*. Preferring as I do myself *τὸ* to *τῷ*, Mr Solomon translates—"In this way he would seem to contradict himself; for to be concerned above all with honour, and yet to disdain the multitude and reputation are inconsistent." Clearly Mr Solomon's "and yet" gives us the right meaning. On the other hand, the *τε*, which in the text closely links *τὸ εἶναι μάλιστα περὶ τιμὴν* with *καταφρονητικὸν εἶναι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ δόξης* and makes them into a unity, is wholly out of place. Hence for *εἶναι τε μάλιστα*, read *εἶναι τὰ μάλιστα*. Some fifteen lines further on, I am again in difficulties. Here the author distinguishes four characters: (1) the man who is worthy of goods which are

honourable, τῶν ἐντίμων ἀγαθῶν 1232^b 31, on a large scale and thinks himself worthy of them; (2) the man who is worthy of such goods on a small scale only, and thinks himself worthy accordingly; (3) the man who is worthy of honourable goods on a small scale and thinks himself worthy of them on a large scale; (4) the man who is worthy of them on a large scale and thinks himself worthy of them on a small scale only. (My paraphrase is necessarily clumsy, because I must not lose sight of the fact that we are here thinking, not of all goods, but only of those which are ἐντιμα.) My trouble is with the words ἔστι δὲ μικρὰ καὶ ἄξιόν τινα τηλικούτων καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἑαυτὸν τούτων, 32, 33. Mr Solomon renders: "and again there may be small goods and a man worthy of them and thinking himself worthy." Mr Solomon's version gives us the requisite meaning, inasmuch as he makes τηλικούτων represent μικρῶν: but I have my doubts whether τηλικούτων can have this sense, and the statement that "there may be small goods" is a clumsy superfluity, which adds nothing to τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα κατ' ἀλήθειαν τὰ δὲ μικρά at line 28. For myself, I desiderate ἔστι δὲ μικρῶν εἶναι ἄξιόν τινα τηλικούτων καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἑαυτὸν τούτων: "it is possible that a man should be worthy of these great goods on a small scale and that he should think himself worthy of them." And the change is palaeographically justifiable. For the genitive termination -ῶν, if superposed, might easily be lost: and $\alpha = \epsilon$, $\kappa = \nu$, are recognized equations. See Bast. For the collocation μικρῶν εἶναι ἄξιον τηλικούτων, compare line 35 μεγάλων ἀξιοῦν ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἐντίμων ἀγαθῶν.

And now I leave chap. v and turn for a few moments to chap. vi. I extend my scheme in this way that I may have the pleasure of calling attention to an acute and learned comment of Ingram Bywater's in an article which he published perhaps two years ago in the Journal of Philology. At p. 1233^b 11 we read οἶον τὴν θεωρίαν οὐκ ᾔετο Θεμιστοκλεῖ πρέπειν ἣν ἐποιήσατο Ὀλυμιάζε διὰ τὴν προὑπάρξασαν ταπεινότητα ἀλλὰ Κίμωνι. Mr Solomon translates "e.g. one thought that the mission conducted by Themistocles to the Olympian games was not fitting to him because of his previous low station, but would have been to Cimon." This rendering seems to me substantially

correct: but, to get it, Mr Solomon proposes (with Spengel) to alter $\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ into $\phi\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$. Or perhaps, thinks Spengel, the name of a comic poet has dropped out. Or perhaps, thinks Fritzsche, $\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ was used passively, and $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \phi\epsilon\tau\omicron = negabatur$. I venture to suggest that $\tau\iota\varsigma$ has dropped out after $\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron$. At first sight, this conjecture seems highly improbable; and, had it not been for Bywater's note, I should hardly have dared to propose it. But, in the *Journal of Philology* xxxii, 222, 223, Bywater shows that the letter τ —tau with an apostrophe after it—sometimes did duty for $\tau\iota\varsigma$, and that the compendium was occasionally misread as $\tau\epsilon$. Having established this, he proceeds to deal with a passage in Hippocrates I, p. 109, 6 Kuehlewein where some MSS have $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\omicron \tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, and others, the best, $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$. Bywater conjectures that this $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$ is compressed from an earlier $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\omicron \tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$, i.e. $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\omicron \tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$. I should have liked to point out to our friend, that, if, as I think, $\tau\iota\varsigma$ has been dropped after $\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron$, the parallelism between this passage and his passage from Hippocrates is exact.

If you should ask what the moral of my little paper is, it is, I think, that when we pass beyond the great classical authors who have been studied ever since the renaissance, it is necessary to put the texts under the microscope, not that the inquirer may achieve a palmary emendation, but that he may make the Greek original grammatical, intelligible and idiomatic. My experience is that the writings of Aristotle and his pupils, though they are devoid of literary form, are conspicuously idiomatic.

HENRY JACKSON.

4 Nov. 1915.

CONTAMINATION IN MORPHOLOGY.

By contamination is understood a union of two forms or expressions whereby a third is produced. From various causes, which we shall observe below, it has been of considerable importance in the growth of language. Its influence in the spheres of phonology and syntax has already won some recognition. Contamination, like analogy, is not a sound-law; but in matters of phonology it works in spite of or in opposition to the sound-laws, e.g. Latin *pristrinum* from *pistrinum* by contamination with *pristinum*, *quadriangulus* with *triangulus*, *meridionalis* with *septentrionalis*, in Greek *λύκαινα* with *λέαινα* &c.; in vulgar Latin **greuis*, which is seen in the Fr. *grief*, is perhaps from *gravis* by contamination with the opposite *levis*. Very clear examples of contamination are seen also in the rustic German word *Erdtoffeln* from *Erdäpfel* contaminated with *Kartoffeln*, and in the German *Gemäldnis* from *Gemälde* with *Bildnis*, and in *doppelt* from *doppel* (cf. Fr. *double*) with *gedoppelt*. (For further examples see Paul *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*⁴ p. 160.) Contamination is frequently found in the 'irregular' comparatives and superlatives through confusion with the common living forms, as in *πρώτιστος*, *ἀρειότερος*, *pes-sissimus*, nearer, lesser &c. Though much still remains to be done, most philologists and scholars recognise the influence of contamination in syntax, whereby two constructions, which would give practically the same resultant meaning, are mingled together so as to produce a third, which is tautologous and often illogical. Well-known types are: the English colloquial expression *he will not be friends with you* from *he will not be friendly with you* and *you (two) will not be friends*; in the Classical languages *φησὶ τοὶ ἄνδρα παρεῖναι οἰζυρώτατον ἄλλων* (Homer) by contamination with the comparative; *ante alios immanior omnis* (Virgil) by contamination with the positive *immanis*; *αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ*

βίου (Xen.). On the subject of contamination in morphology, however, the philologists have written hardly a word, and it is my purpose in this article very briefly to suggest the necessity of considering this principle in morphological researches.

Before we pass on to consider the details of contamination in morphology, we must notice the causes which have operated in its production. These may be divided into two classes: external or physical and internal or psychological. The former is seen most clearly in the speech of a district, where two language-areas overlap, especially if the languages are of widely different character. The most interesting example in modern times is, of course, Modern Greek in Asia Minor. At Semendré the Turkish endings are found added to the Greek in the 1st and 2nd persons plural of the imperfect middle, as *κέτουν-μιστικ* (*k* being the Turkish ending of the 1st person plural of the past tense), *κέτουνστινιζ* (*-iniz* being the Turkish ending of the general 2nd person plural); at Silli we find *κοιμούμιστινιζ* (1st person plural of imperf. middle), *κοιμάστινιζ* (2nd person plural of the same tense), where *-iz* is added from the Turkish endings *-iz*, *-siniz*. For a full discussion on these forms see R. M. Dawkins' invaluable work on *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* pp. 59 and 144. Like the adoption of the Turkish system of vowel-harmony, these contaminated endings are a compromise and a testimony of the perennial vitality of the Greek language even amid the most adverse conditions. Confused or contaminated forms may in the same way be the result of conquest; a good example of this is the use of *-s* for the plural in English, which, like the use of *me* (the dative) instead of *min* for the accusative, owes its extension largely to Norman-French influence. A good deal naturally depends on the relative culture of the peoples affected. A comparatively rustic dialect can hardly influence a highly cultivated language in morphological matters, though in special circumstances it may have some weight in matters of pronunciation. I have shown elsewhere (see my article on "The Change from the Ancient to the Modern Greek Accent" in this number of the *Journal of Philology* 1919) that the influence of Macedonian on Greek at the time of Alexander the Great is to be seen only

in the impetus which it gave to certain tendencies in pronunciation and accent. We have, however, some clear examples of morphological contamination in the Greek of this period and a little earlier, caused by the confusion of the dialect and the κοινή forms; for instance, the common form πόλεος is surely due to a confusion of πόλιος and πόλεως, Bœotian ἄως to ᾶς and ἔως, Heracl. Φείκατι to Φίκατι and εἴκοσι; we find also 'Doric' futures with the Attic ου in ποιησοῦντι &c., and Bœotian ζῶωνθι for the pure dialect form δῶωνθι by confusion with the Attic word, and Bœotian ἐκγόνως for ἐσγόνως in the same way. Perhaps the Arcadian σφεις (dat. plur.) is due to a contamination of σφῖν and Attic σφίσι. An interesting and undoubted example of contamination is seen in the Rhodian infinitive ending -μειν, which, as all Hellenists know, was one of the most persistent features of the dialect of that island. This ending is due to the confusion of -μεν and the common -ειν either within the Rhodian dialect itself or, more probably, through intercourse, especially commercial, with other peoples (e.g. the Athenians, Ionians, and people from N. Asia Minor) speaking dialects with the infinitive ending in -ειν only. Further researches in the morphology of the various I. E. languages from this point of view may lead to interesting results. For instance, as Latin spread through Italy, it was probably influenced in its morphology by the other dialects spoken in the peninsula, but of course to a less degree than in its vocabulary; the latter has been to some extent worked out by Ernout (*Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin*) and others; but the morphology still awaits discussion in this light, though on Latin inscriptions we find such pure dialect forms, as *Minucieis* (nom. pl.) C. I. L. I. 199, *ium* (cf. Osc. *ionc*) C. I. L. IX. 782, and *fundatid* (cf. Oscan perfects) C. I. L. IX. 782. The morphological differences between the various I. E. languages may be due in some instances to contamination with the languages of the pre-Indo-European peoples; but in this sphere there is not sufficient material for useful research. Curiously enough some writers on the principles of language-growth have denied the possibility of contamination arising between the grammatical forms of two different languages. For example, Sayce (*Introduction*

to the *Science of Language* vol. I p. 172) says "The borrowing of grammatical forms is of much rarer occurrence [i.e. than that of words and sounds], inasmuch as grammar is the essence and life-blood of language, and to borrow the forms of grammar, therefore, is to intermingle the psychological histories of two separate tongues. It is a metamorphosis of the whole inherited mode of thinking and of viewing the relations of things to ourselves and one another, and to mix two grammars together is like mixing two different and incompatible modes of thought." This somewhat sweeping statement is the *a priori* view of the philosopher, the exceptions to which even the author himself finds it difficult to explain away. The examples, which we have already quoted, are a sufficient refutation of it. This kind of contamination, of course, is not so common as that caused by confusion of thought; the borrowing of suffixes is not so free as that of vocabulary and can take place only between languages in the closest contact, as Dauzat (*La Philosophie du Langage* p. 102) says "Les emprunts de sons ou de formes grammaticales ne se produisent que dans des circonstances spéciales. Ils supposent, soit la coexistence de deux langues sur un territoire donné," and then quotes interesting examples of the influence of German on forms in old French and of literary French on the patois. Nevertheless it is a possibility that cannot be neglected.

Contamination due to internal and psychological reasons is an important element in the growth of language. In general it may be defined as a process, by which two synonymous forms of expression force themselves simultaneously into the consciousness with the result that neither of them makes its influence felt simply and purely but a new form arises in which elements of both are combined. Like most of the changes in language, what was originally an 'error' or idiosyncrasy on the part of an individual, has sometimes become at last permanent and general in the language. It remains to illustrate this in reference to morphology. The likeness in the meaning of two forms causes an uncertainty and confusion in the mind of the speaker and consequently his utterance is a mixture of the two. Many simple examples, some permanent and others appearing only

sporadically, occur to us, as, for instance, late Latin forms like *doleunt* (C. I. L. III. 336², 10347), *neunt* (Corp. Gloss. 4. 261. 7), with which we may compare the general uncertainty about the ending of the 3rd person plural of the various stems in the vulgar language of the Empire, especially in the provinces; and in the Greek dialects such forms as Heracl. πόλιςτος for πλείστος through contamination with πολὺς, Elean and Laconian (also in Aeschylus) ἄσσιστα for ἄγχιστα through contamination with ἄσσον. Unlike analogy, contamination in morphology does not often take part in the 'levelling' or reduction of the number of various forms in a paradigm. In fact, it may lead to an increase in the number of forms; cf. the variety of forms found often in the same dialect of Modern Greek and due to contamination (e.g. -ένός, ἐνοῦ, ἐνοῦς (gen. of ἕνας), and the pronominal forms ἐμένα, ἐμοῦ, ἐμενοῦ, ἐμουνοῦ (gen. of ἐγώ), ἐμένα, ἐμόν, ἐμόνα (acc.), ἐσένα, ἐσόν, ἐσόνα (acc. of ἐσύ).)

Let us consider now some of the forms which seem to be caused by contamination in the nominal, pronominal, and verbal paradigms:

(1) *Nominal*. Contamination between the different stems is not an uncommon phenomenon in some dialect forms in Greek, as Cyprian ἱατῆραν, Rhodian ἀνδρῶναν, Elean ἀγαλματοφῶραν and later in many dialects θυγατέραν, γυναικίαν, νύκταν, where the accusative of the consonant stems has added -ν through contamination with the *ā*-declension. The gen. in -*āo* of the *ā*-stem substantives, which owing to their meaning have become masculine, is due to the addition of the *o*-ending of the gen. of the *o*-stems (-*οιο*) to -*ās* the proper genitive ending of *ā*-stems; πολίτ*āo* is from *πολίτ*āσο*; in the Arcadian dialect this is extended often to other *ā*-stems, e.g. ζαμίαν, οἰκίαν (final *o* is represented by *υ* in this dialect). In Latin we have very clear examples of the contamination of two different stems in *iter*, *itineris* (cf. the common interchange of *r* and *n*-stems, which is seen for instance in Greek ὕδωρ, ὕδατος (from -*ητος*)), and *iecus*, *iecinoris*. The Greek πόληι is from *πόλη (cf. the Vedic Skr. loc. *agnā*) extended by -*ι* from the *o* and *ā*-stems. Perhaps πόλη-*ι* then became the starting-point for the Homeric πόληος (Attic πόλεως). In Sanskrit especially the different

stems seem to influence each other in this way; e.g. *kāntāyai* (dat.) appears to be due to a confusion with the form in *ī*-stems (like *nadyai* from *nadī*), *kāntānām*, *kāntāni* &c. with the forms in the *n*-stems. Contamination between forms in the same paradigm is also not rare. We at once recall *σκιόειν*, *δακρυόειν*, due to the mas. nom. in *-εις*, in Apollonius Rhodius; in Euphorion *βότρνα* presumably from *βότρυν* and **βότρεφα*, and in Herodian *νήδνα*, *ῥφρνα*. On the other hand Attic *ναῦν* appears to be due to *ναῦς*, while the Homeric *νήα* represents the form from **nāyṇ*. The forms of the locative pl. ending in *-ασι*, *-ησι* and found even in Attic inscriptions (see Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³ p. 121), as *Ἀθήνησι*, *δραχμῇσι*, *ἐπόπτῃσι*, *τῇσι μυρίασι*, *χιλίασι* are clearly due to a contamination of **Ἀθήνη* &c. derived from *Ἀθήνησι* in accordance with regular phonetic laws and a new form *Ἀθήνησι* on the analogy of forms in which *-σ-* is preceded by a consonant. The Greek loc. pl. in *-σι*, as has been suggested, may be a contamination of the original ending *-su* (seen in Sanskrit and the Balto-Slavonic group) with the loc. sing. in *-i*. Perhaps we see a similar confusion between the singular and plural in the Cyprian gen. sing. in *-ων*, as *ἀργύρων* instead of *ἀργύρῳ*. The dative pl. *ἄρνασι* must be explained as a confusion of the true form **ἄρασι* and a form **ἄρνεσι* due to 'levelling' in the declension. It is hardly necessary to mention such examples of contamination in English, as the 'double' plurals in *children* (O.E. *cildru*, *cild*), *brethren* (O.E. *brōþor*, *brōþru*, cf. German *Brüder*), and *kine* (O.E. *cȳ*). I have shown elsewhere that an interesting instance of contamination of endings is probably preserved in the Greek adverbial ending *-ως*. (See the next volume of *The Transactions of the Cambridge Phil. Soc.* 1919.)

(2) *Pronominal*. Contamination of the forms and endings is found in the personal pronoun; for example, the accented Greek forms *ἐμέ* &c. are from *με* &c. (cf. Sanskrit *mām*, *mā* and Gothic *mik*) by contamination with the emphatic *ἐγώ*. Some explain *enos* which occurs in the Early Latin fragment of the Song of the Arval Brothers in the same way (see Sommer *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*³ p. 412). Modern Greek has even *ἐσέ* from *σέ* confused with *ἐμέ*, and

then also ἐσύ. The plural sign -s, which we find in Greek Lesbian ἄμμες, Attic-Ionic ἡμεῖς, Gothic *weis* &c., is due to contamination with nominal forms; contrast Sanskrit *vayam*, Avesta *vaēm*, Old Bulgarian *my*. Greek τίνα (originally *τιν; cf. Sanskrit *kim*, Avesta *čim*) is due to contamination with the consonant stems of the nominal declension. The gen. plur. Homeric ἡμεῖων (Attic ἡμῶν) is doubtless for *ἡμειο like ἐμειο by confusion with the nominal ending -ων.

(3) *Isolated forms.* μετά is probably from *μετ (cf. German *mit*) by contamination with μεδά, which is now generally agreed to be an accusative of πούς (see Brugmann *Grundriss*² II. ii, p. 863). The Homeric πρίν is a contamination of πρίν and πρεῖν (see the next volume of *The Transactions of the Cambridge Phil. Soc.* 1919); in the same way αὐτονυχί and ἀναιμωτί are to be explained. Forms like ἐκείθι, ἔντοσθι may be due to contamination with the ending of αὐθι, or may simply be -θι added to crystallised forms.

(4) *Verbal.* First, we shall consider simple instances of contamination between the personal endings in the same tense. The dialect ending -ην for the 3rd person plur. aor. pass., as Hom. μιάνθην, Cret. Epir. διελέγην, Corcyrean ἐστεφανώθην, Delphian ἀπελύθην, is clearly due to the regular ending -εν influenced by the -η of the other persons. γεγόναμεν is due to a fusion of γέγαμεν and γέγονα. The contamination of endings of different tenses or classes of verbs seems to have been commoner. The Attic Ionic ἦσαν instead of ἦν (cf. Homeric ἦεν from *ἦσεν; cf. Skr. *āsan*) is due to contamination with the 1st aor. ending -σαν and was perhaps influenced by the purely aoristic use of the tense. We find further, though apparently spasmodic, examples of contamination of the same kind; e.g. μισθωσάντωσαν for μισθωσάντων (imper.) &c. are found on Attic inscriptions from 300 B.C. Similarly in Boeotian we find εἴνιξαν from ἦνικαν contaminated with the ending -σαν. The Homeric 3rd sing. subjunctive ending φέρησι &c. is a good instance of contamination of φέρησι and φέρη (φέρηι). In Old High German there must have been such forms as *beramēs, which shows a confusion of berames and beramē (for the latter cf. Gothic *baíráima*). It was suggested long ago that the

3rd plur. perf. ending in *πεφύκῃσι* &c. (cf. Homeric *πεφύκῃσι*) is due to a fusion of *-ᾶτι* and *-εντι*. When we find in Latin the 3rd pers. pl. perf. in *-ērunt*, it represents *-ŕunt* affected by *-ēre*. In the Arcadian dialect we find *ἀπυδόας* for *ἀποδοῦς* by contamination with *παύσας* &c. The Latin imperative *fertōte* &c. is a good example of morphological contamination, since it is formed from the imper. singular *fertō* from **fertōd* (in which **-tōd* is a pronoun) by a fusion with the ordinary imperative *ferte*. Whether the curious ending *-τοι*, which occurs in primary tense in Arcadian and Cyprian, as Arcadian *βόλετοι*, *δέατοι*, Cyprian *κείνι*, is due, as some suggest, to a confusion of the primary ending *-ται* and the historic *-το*, it is very difficult to say. It is generally recognised that the Latin passive infinitive ending in *-ier* is some kind of contamination, though to say that it is the form *-ere* put on to the ordinary passive infinitive without any kind of reason is not very helpful. We notice that, so far as we have evidence, the forms *agī* and *agier* are equally old. Two forms were isolated from original declensions of verbal nouns: **agesi* a locative, which became *agere*, and **agai* a dative, which became *agī*; a contamination of these two produced *agier(e)*. Originally then there were three forms of the infinitive, *agere*, *agī*, and *agier*, all quite unconnected with voice. When *agī* was specialised for the passive, *agier* went with it, since it is nearer in form to it than to *agere*. The ending *-μεθα* in Homer and the poetry of some of the other dialects is generally explained as a contamination of *-μεθα* with the *-σθε* of the 2nd person. This, however, is not very convincing. It seems rather to be a contamination of *-μεθα* and *-μες*, the active ending retained in the West Greek dialects and in Delphian. It may thus be an interesting formal record of the tendency to weakening in the force of the middle voice. We are reminded of the not infrequent occurrence of middle forms in Homer, of which it is not easy for us to discern the exact force in distinction to the active (e.g. the common use of *εἰδόμην* in the Epic). Contamination also occurs in the confusion of forms with different 'ablaut' vowels; for example we find in Arcadian a perfect participle *ἐφθορκώς*, which is clearly due to a confusion of *ἐφθορώς* and *ἐφθαρκώς*. Similarly

we find in Syracusan a perfect *πέπροσχα* for *πέπονθα* through contamination with *πάσχω*. Sometimes we find in the literary language a new form produced by a contamination between the current form and the corresponding one in an earlier stratum of the language; e.g. in Menander *ῆσθας*, which is evidently a fusion of *ῆσθα* and the *κοινῇ*-form *ῆς*, and *οῖσθας*.

The foregoing examination of the importance of contamination in morphology is not intended to be exhaustive even for the classical languages, while the space which can be devoted to an article has made it impossible even to touch upon other languages. My object has been merely to call attention to a principle, which has hitherto been somewhat neglected in morphological research.

CLARA M. KNIGHT.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,
KING'S COLLEGE.

In the Supplement which Porson added in 1802 to his Preface to the *Hecuba* he pointed out that *Persae* 321, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι | πένθος παρασχών, not only violates his canon about the cretic ending of the tragic line, but also conflicts with *Persae* 38, where Ariomardos is governor of Thebes: and to dispose of these difficulties he conjectures that a line has been lost, or perhaps more lines than one only, in which the governor of Sardis, perhaps Mitragathes or Arceus¹, was named. At this point Porson stops short, leaving it to the "sagacious reader" to fill the gap as best he may: but "he must see to it that the word which follows Ἀριόμαρδος begins with a vowel." The editor of the edition of 1808, which appeared after Porson's death, explained that after Ἀριόμαρδος Porson himself had added in red ink ἀρδέων Βολαῖσι πιστός, Μιτραγάθης τε. Within the last few months the sublibrarian of Trinity College, C. B. Hurry, M.A., has discovered in one of the locked cases of the library confirmation of the editor's statement. In 1867 Richard Bentley Porson Kidd, son of Porson's friend Thomas Kidd, gave to the College certain books; and one of them was a copy of the *Hecuba* of 1802, copiously annotated by the elder Kidd. With it was a letter from the younger Kidd, dated 9 September 1867, in which he writes:

"There is but one book in which Porson's handwriting occurs, namely his first (*sic*) edition of Eur. Hec. My father went into the Professor's room about 5 o'clock in the morning, and asked how he would manage a passage in the *Persae*, which Hermann had quoted as overthrowing his canon. Porson was unable to hold his pen steadily. My father accordingly held his hand while he wrote what he considered the true text."

The copy of the *Hecuba* of 1802 bears out the younger Kidd's story. After Ἀριόμαρδος and before Σάρδεσι the words ἀρδέων Βολαῖσι πιστός, Μιτραγάθ'. (*sic*) τε have been added in a hand which looks like Thomas Kidd's.

¹ "Arceus" in Porson's text is presumably a misprint for "Arcteus."

H. J.

C. B. H.

NOTES ON PLATO'S *PHAEDRUS*.

238 B. ἡ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου δόξης ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρθὸν ὀρμώσης κρατήσασα ἐπιθυμία, πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀχθεῖσα κάλλους καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑαυτῆς συγγενῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐπὶ σωμάτων κάλλος ἐρρωμένως ῥωσθεῖσα....

What is ἡδονὴν κάλλους? "Pleasure *in* beauty"? Surely a very strange expression. Then again this κάλλους clashes with the following κάλλος, nor can we say that the "irrational desire" yearns after *all* beauty and is drawn down by kindred desires to *bodily* beauty, because the only beauty which is not bodily is precisely that which the irrational desire knows nothing about. Moreover we have just heard it described as ἀλόγως ἐλκούσης ἐπὶ ἡδονᾶς, and the ἡδοναὶ given as examples are gluttony and drunkenness (238 A). For κάλλους then read καὶ ἄλλως or κάλλως, "in any case."

249 B. δεῖ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ξυνιέναι κατ' εἶδος λεγόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν ἰὸν αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἓν λογισμῷ ξυναιρούμενον.

Heindorf, Badham, Vollgraf have all tried to mend this sentence, but nobody has laid a finger upon one corrupt spot, λεγόμενον. I see no reasonable explanation of this word; "the form so-called" says Thompson, as if εἶδος were something to apologize for. δεχόμενον seems to me very simple and obvious; man receives the impression arising from the multiplicity of sense-perceptions as a "form" or general notion, combining them into a unity by ratiocination. I should be inclined to accept < τὸ > ἐκ πολλῶν from Heindorf. Cf. Aristotle *de Anima* 429^a 15, where the reason is spoken of as δεκτικὸν τοῦ εἶδους.

250 A. ὥστε ὑπὸ τινων ὀμιλιῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄδικον τραπόμεναι λήθην ὧν τότε εἶδον ἱερῶν ἔχειν.

τινων is unspeakably wretched: either it is a corruption of καινῶν or more likely we should read κακῶν. τινῶν ὀμιλιῶν, as κακὴ ὀμιλία is found in *Rep.* 550 B as well as *Æsch. Sept.* 556 and the famous line φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρῆσθ' ὀμιλῖαι κακαί.

261 A. *τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων, ὃ Σώκρατες.*

It is usual to read *δεῖ* for *δὴ*, but Richards truly remarks that it "gives quite a wrong sense." Socrates has just professed to hear a number of *λόγοι* approaching and protesting; we should expect Phaedrus to say *τίνων δὴ τούτων τῶν λόγων, ὃ Σώκρατες*; on the analogy of 242 B, *τίνι τούτῳ*; 276 A, *τίνα τοῦτον*; and any number of similar passages. If *τίνων* was lost by any accident, *δὴ τούτων* would then be naturally changed to *τούτων δὴ*.

263 C. *ἢ οἶε ἄν σοι συγχωρῆσαι εἰπεῖν ἃ νῦν δὴ εἶπες περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὥς βλάβη τέ ἐστι τῷ ἐρωμένῳ καὶ ἐρῶντι, καὶ αὐθις ὥς μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τυγχάνει;*

Editors are slow to expel Platonic glosses; we had to wait for Vollgraf to expunge that most inept *τέχνη* at end of 260 D. Here *καὶ ἐρῶντι* should go, for Socrates has not said a word about Eros being baneful to the lover. It is true that Lysias has said at 234 B that the lover's friends rebuke him *ὥς ὄντος κακοῦ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος*, but even Lysias does not endorse this himself.

A more gross and palpable interpolation is to be found in 279 A, where Isocrates is spoken of as *ἀμείνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν λόγους*; the reading is as old as Cicero, but his translation, "cum orationibus Lysiae" defies the Greek. *οἱ περὶ Λυσίαν λόγοι* cannot mean this; Plato said *τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν* for "Lysias and others of his kidney," and some goose added *λόγους*.

269 A. *τὸν μελίγηρυν Ἀδραστον.*

Ast was certainly right, I think, in taking this to mean Antipho, but Thompson disputes this. There is a piece of evidence not adduced by Ast: Antipho was *Ῥαμνούσιος τῶν δήμων*, and Adrastea is "Rhamnusia virgo." Such a play on proper names is very characteristic of Plato, and both Adrastus of Argos and Adrastus the Asiatic are said to have raised temples to Nemesis.

I add a correction of *Republic* 494 D, E: *ἐὰν δ' οὖν, ἣν δ' ἐγὼ, διὰ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς τῶν λόγων εἰς αἰσθά-*

νηταί τέ πη καὶ κάμπηται καὶ ἔλκηται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν.... Here αἰσθάνηται cannot be fairly construed: αἰσθάνομαι without an object means in the language of the nursery "to take notice" (Theocr. xv 14), and that curious phrase αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ in Thuc. v 26 seems to mean "of an age to understand,"¹ οὐκ αἰσθήσεται in *Frogs* 634 may mean "won't feel," but there it is easy to supply τῶν πληγῶν. I know no other instance of αἰσθάνομαι used absolutely. In the Platonic passage, nothing can be supplied from the context, nor is there any justification for translating "take heed" or anything of that kind. Is it not easier to suppose the word to be the very simple corruption of αἰσχύνηται than to suppose it used by Plato here in a sense which cannot be paralleled from any other passage? It is recognized that Alcibiades is the person referred to: read the account Alcibiades gives of his feelings when listening to Socrates in *Symposium* 216, where he uses the verb αἰσχύνομαι three times to express his state of mind, and see how it supports my proposal.

¹ Cf. i 71, Xen. *Mem.* iv i 1, Aeschines iii 237, in all of which the participle means "men of sense," but this use seems confined to the participle, like "savants."

ARTHUR PLATT.

165

THE JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

THE EARLY ROMAN TREATIES WITH TARENTUM AND RHODES.

(A) *Tarentum*. It is a familiar story that the immediate cause of the war waged by Rome against King Pyrrhus was the sinking of a Roman fleet by the Tarentines, on the ground that the Romans were trespassing on waters closed to them by a treaty which forbade them to sail further East than the Lacinian promontory. The date and occasion of this treaty, however, are matters of dispute, for the only ancient authority which mentions the compact merely says that it was 'of long standing¹.'

The problem of settling this dispute may be avoided if we adopt the suggestion thrown out by a recent writer², that a compact which figures so scantily in the pages of history perhaps has no historic reality. Unfortunately in this case an *argumentum ex silentio* is worth next to nothing. The reticence of our chief authorities for the Pyrrhic War, Dionysius and Plutarch, is adequately explained by the marked anti-Tarentine bias which runs through their story. In their anxiety to show up the guiltiness of the Tarentines it is little wonder that they should have overlooked a treaty which went some considerable way to exonerate the culprits. A priori it is far more probable that the Tarentines did not attack the Roman fleet without some excuse for doing so. Had the assault been utterly unprovoked, it would have constituted an extraordinary piece of blackguardism and would have called for instant retaliation on the part of the injured people. As a matter of

¹ Appian, *Samnitica* ch. 7.

² Frank, *Roman Imperialism* pp. 81—2.

fact, the Roman Senate hesitated long before it gave up all hope of an accommodation with Tarentum, and this reluctance to declare war strongly suggests that Tarentum was not without a case against Rome.

It is preferable therefore to accept the treaty as a historical fact, and to face the task of settling its date.

According to Mommsen, the treaty belongs to the same period as one of the Roman compacts with Carthage, viz. 348 B.C., and like this latter act, it is a reflexion of Rome's naval weakness at that period¹.

In favour of this view it may be said that about 348 B.C. the Romans were evidently prepared to submit to restrictions in the use of the sea such as we find in the Tarentine treaty. The contemporary compact with Carthage imposed limitations even more drastic², and it is evident that at this time Rome showed no interest in the freedom of the seas.

On the other hand it is a mere assumption that Rome at this time entered into any sort of agreement with Tarentum, and there is nothing in the political situation of mid fourth century to suggest why these powers should then have been holding diplomatic intercourse. Mommsen's theory therefore remains up in the air, and it is but natural that it has found few adherents.

The date most commonly assigned by modern historians is 303-1 B.C., i.e. shortly after the Second Samnite War³. This date is apparently founded on solid fact, for Livy invites us to infer, while Diodorus actually asserts, that Rome and Tarentum were at war towards the close of the fourth century. According to Livy the Tarentines interfered in the middle of the Second Samnite War with an arbitration proposal and threatened to enter the lists against the party which should refuse their

¹ *Roman History* (4th ed.) II. pp. 41-2.

² This holds true whether we identify the treaty of 348 B.C. with the first or the second of those quoted by Polybius (III. 22, 24).

³ Niebuhr, *Roman History* III. p. 418; Arnold, *History of Rome* II.

p. 315; Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* II. p. 28; *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte* p. 66; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* III. pt. -1, p. 563 n.; de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* II. p. 347; Costanzi, *Rivista di Filologia* 1919 pp. 165-6.

offer. The Samnites fell in with this proposal, but the Romans by way of answer incontinently attacked the Samnites¹. Though Livy does not record how the Tarentines took this rejoinder, his silence might be taken to suggest that events took their natural course, i.e. that the Tarentines carried their threat into effect and declared war upon Rome. According to Diodorus the Tarentines had a war against Rome on their hands in 303 B.C. and invoked the Spartan king Cleonymus to fight their battles against this enemy². As no further mention of hostilities between Rome and Tarentum is made until the outbreak of the Pyrrhic War, there appears to be good reason for assuming that the previous state of war was concluded by an early peace, and that this peace should be dated about 303-1 B.C.

But on further consideration it appears extremely doubtful whether the war on which the alleged peace of 303-1 B.C. depends ever took place. The way in which Livy allows the Tarentines to drop out of his story may just as well be taken to mean that they backed out of their threats as that they enforced them, and his complete reticence about a subsequent state of war between Rome and Tarentum goes a long way to prove that he did not know of any such war³. Moreover, in relating the events of 302 B.C.⁴ Livy records a couple of descents by king Cleonymus upon the east coast of Italy and mentions certain Roman preparations for defence, but he says never a word about Cleonymus' engagements on behalf of Tarentum against Rome. Yet if these two powers had been at war at the time Livy could hardly have avoided a reference to this fact. Thus we find that Livy's evidence tells on the whole against a settlement in 303-1 B.C.

As for Diodorus, this author may be brought forward as evidence against himself. After stating that the Tarentines

¹ 9. 14.

² 20. 104.

³ De Sanctis (*op. cit.* II. p. 315) has thrown doubts upon Livy's story of a Tarentine offer of arbitration, because the battle which Livy describes as its sequel is not mentioned in the *Fasti Triumphales*, and the whole

incident may therefore be regarded as a fiction of one of the later 'patriotic' annalists. In any case, whatever may be the truth about the arbitration offer, Livy's narrative fails to prove that it led to war between Tarentum and Rome.

⁴ 10. 2.

invoked Cleonymus against Rome he proceeds to narrate in some detail the operations which Cleonymus undertook on his arrival in Italy. These operations were directed against the Lucanians, the Metapontines, the Syracusans, the Tarentines themselves and other former allies. The Romans, on the other hand, were left severely alone by Cleonymus and returned the compliment by completely ignoring him! But all this is as good as saying that the war between Rome and Tarentum never took place, and that Diodorus' mention of it is a Diodorism¹.

Thus the war, and with it the peace of 303-1 B.C., dissolves into mist. *A priori*, moreover, the date 303-1 B.C. is improbable. In the first place, a treaty concluded at that time could hardly have been termed 'ancient' in 282 B.C. In the second, the content of the treaty accords ill with the conditions which obtained in Italy after the Second Samnite War. The bargaining power of Tarentum had by then been sadly diminished. The city was barely able to hold her own against her semi-barbarous neighbours in Lucania. The protector Cleonymus, who was suspected of treachery, needed watching carefully. And still greater vigilance was required to avert an attack from the ruthless Syracusan despot Agathocles, whose projects of expansion in the Adriatic might at any time bring him into conflict with Tarentum. On the other hand the Romans had just emerged victorious from a critical war which extended their suzerainty over the greater part of southern Italy; and by the acquisition of territory in Apulia they had gained a new and practical interest in the freedom of the seas, for communications with this new-won land required to be maintained by sea as well as by road². Under these circumstances it is almost inconceivable that the victorious Romans should have

¹ The source of Diodorus' blunder may be found in the measures which the Romans took to protect their allies against Cleonymus' semi-piratical descents upon Italy in 302 B.C. At this time, as Diodorus himself states, Cleonymus had broken with Tarentum.

² For the strategic importance of access by sea to Apulia, witness the

important part played by the Brundisine squadron of the Roman fleet in the Second Punic War. It is noteworthy that 'duoviri navales' were first appointed by the Romans in 311 B.C., i.e. 3 years after the foundation of Luceria, their first colony in Apulia.

tied their hands by a 'foedus iniquum' with the sorely embarrassed Tarentines¹. Of all the dates put forward for the treaty, 303-1 B.C. is open to the most objections.

One recent writer has suggested that the treaty was framed in 315 B.C., as a result of Tarentum's intervention in the Second Samnite War². This date is favoured by the general political conditions then prevailing. The Romans were fully engaged in an uphill fight against an adversary who stood some chance of winning outright and destroying Rome's supremacy in Central Italy. Meanwhile the Tarentines had a free hand, and it was open to them to drive a hard bargain with either belligerent. At this stage of the Samnite Wars it is quite conceivable that Tarentum should have dictated a kind of 'King's Peace' to the Romans. But, as we have seen above, the diplomatic intervention which this theory presupposes is probably nothing more than a patriotic Roman fiction³. Moreover, if we have sufficient faith in the Roman annalists to accept their account of a Tarentine *démarche*, we ought likewise to accept the sequel of their story, that the Romans, far from accepting the terms imposed, turned them down contemptuously. The basis of fact on which the '315' theory rests is insufficient to support it.

The field now remains to the date 332-0 B.C., which has been put forward tentatively by one or two historians⁴, but has hitherto not received much consideration. In spite of the small favour accorded to it, this date has decidedly the strongest claims. The conclusion of a treaty between Rome and Tarentum at this time is expressly attested by Livy and Justin⁵, and no reason exists for doubting the accuracy of their statements. The terms of the treaty are not recorded by these authors, but the conditions of the compact which the Romans broke in 282 B.C. are such as would stand in accord with the political situation of 332 B.C. The Tarentines at this moment were in the

¹ See Burger, *Der Kampf zwischen Rom und Samnium* (Amsterdam, 1898) p. 54.

² Burger, *loc. cit.*

³ P. 167 n. 3.

⁴ Ihne, *Roman History* p. 490 and n. 5; Täubler, *Imperium Romanum*

i. p. 77 n. 2. Neither Ihne nor Täubler makes a definite choice between 332-0 and 303-1 B.C.

⁵ Livy 8. 17. 10; Justin 12. 2. 12: cum Metapontinis et Poediculis et Romanis foedus amicitiamque fecit (Alexander).

first flush of some sweeping victories gained for them by their condottiere Alexander of Epirus over the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians, and they had a favourable opportunity of consolidating their power along the shores of the Adriatic and the Gulf of Otranto. But to achieve this end they required to exercise a monopoly of naval power in these waters and to keep out all rival fleets. Now a few years earlier, in 338 B.C., the Romans had come into possession of the warships of Antium¹, and there was a risk of their using them for more ambitious purposes than the merely piratical expeditions of the Antiates. Under these circumstances the Tarentines had a clear object in restricting Roman rights of navigation to the point where the Tarentine sphere of influence commenced. Conversely the Romans, who as yet had no interests beyond Campania and as a matter of fact made no use of their new-won fleet except to decorate their 'Rostra' with its prows, could cheerfully renounce all access to Tarentine waters, just as in 348 B.C. they had abandoned the 'Spanish main' to Carthage. No other political situation fits the conditions of our treaty so well as that of 332-0 B.C.

This date, too, permits of the treaty being described as an 'ancient' one in 282 B.C. Some fifty years had elapsed since its conclusion, and Rome's expansion into Lucania and Apulia had so altered the balance of power that the treaty besides being old in years was obsolete. 332-0 B.C., therefore, is the date to which the treaty should be assigned.

(B) *Rhodes*. Another problem in Rome's diplomatic history arises out of the alleged conclusion of a treaty with Rhodes in 306 B.C. That Rome was bound from this date by some sort of convention, political or economic, with the Rhodian republic, has been a generally accepted opinion among modern historians². Nevertheless a few critics have raised their voices in

¹ The capture of Antium at this time is confirmed by the Carthaginian treaty of 348 B.C., in which it is mentioned as a prospective enemy of Rome. See Rosenberg, *Hermes* 1919 pp. 164-5.

² The traditional view will be found

in most of the standard general histories of Greece and Rome. It also recurs in special treatises such as Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times* p. 14; Van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* p. 106 sqq.; and Colin, *Rome et la Grèce* p. 31.

dissent¹, and the case which they have set up against the treaty is simply overwhelming.

To summarise the main arguments of these sceptics.

(1) It is difficult to understand how Rome and Rhodes were brought into contact in 306 B.C. There is nothing to prove any connexion, military or commercial, between the two republics at this stage of their history. Indeed Rhodes, as is shown by her policy during the wars of the Diadochi, was bent on maintaining a splendid isolation and avoided entangling alliances even with her nearest neighbours, much more so with such distant powers as Rome. Conversely Rome, as is shown by her fourth century treaties with Carthage, professed no transmarine interests even in the western seas. Under these conditions a treaty between the two powers would have been a sheer superfluity.

(2) On none of the many occasions in the second century when either of the contracting powers might have invoked the supposed alliance do we find any mention made of it. Nay more, in the critical days of the Second Punic War, when it was the plain duty of every ally and every 'amicus' of Rome to assist her by active co-operation or at least by friendly neutrality, we find the Rhodians denouncing the Aetolian League because of its alliance with 'barbarians' (211 B.C.) and telling off the Romans for the brutalities of their warfare in Greece².

(3) The text of Polybius from which the existence of the treaty has been inferred says nothing of a compact or even of an informal understanding between Rome and Rhodes. It merely mentions that 'for nearly 140 years (down to 167 B.C.) Rome and Rhodes had been partners in noble and glorious enterprises,' and denies in terms the existence of an early alliance between the two states³.

In face of these objections it seems quite hopeless to main-

¹ Holleaux (in *Mélanges Perrot* pp. 183—190); Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* III. pt. 1, p. 299 n.; Täubler, *Imperium Romanum* I. pp. 204—5.

² These points are brought out with great force by Holleaux and

Täubler.

³ Polybius 30. 5. 6: σχεδόν ἔτη μ' πρὸς τοῖς ρ' κεκοινηκῶς ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων οὐκ ἐπεπολήτο πρὸς αὐτοῖς συμμαχίαν.

tain the traditional view about the early relations between Rome and Rhodes. But what, then, are we to make of the text on which that view used to be based? The scholars who have demolished the received opinion agree in solving this new problem *emendando*. Instead of $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\nu \epsilon\tau\eta \mu' \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \rho'$ (140) they propose to read simply $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\nu \epsilon\tau\eta \mu'$ (40), and they refer the words of Polybius to the outbreak of Rome's Second Macedonian War in 201–200 B.C.

Judged from a merely historical standpoint, this theory is highly attractive, for it is precisely from the Second Macedonian War that the close connexion between Rome and Rhodes took its start. But palaeographically it is quite unsound. The obelised words are not such as a pedantic copyist could have inserted out of his own superior knowledge, or a careless one could have dittographed from some adjacent passage. Neither does it commend itself on linguistic grounds. From 201/0 B.C. to 167 B.C. is a period of 33 or 34 years, or, in round numbers, about 30. To describe it as 'nearly 40' would be a loose and inaccurate expression.

Thus it is preferable not to tamper with Polybius' text, but to accept 306 B.C. or any adjacent year which can fairly be described as 'nearly 140 years' before 167 B.C. Now the years 305–4 B.C. were among the most memorable in Rhodian history, for it was then that the island republic sustained its famous siege at the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and by its successful resistance restored the balance of power in Greece against the aggressive imperialism of the Antigonid dynasty. Henceforth Rhodes was marked out as the natural protector of the smaller and more peaceable Greek states against the rapacity of adjacent military monarchies¹; and this part she maintained with a singular fixity of purpose until she made way for the all-embracing protectorate of the *pax Romana*. These are the 'noble and glorious deeds' which Rhodes began to perform in 305/4 B.C.

In Roman History the close of the fourth century is not quite so clear a landmark. But the year 304 B.C., in which Rome concluded the Second Samnite War, may be taken as the starting-point of her protectorate over southern Italy, and

¹ Polybius 5. 90. 5: $\tau\eta\varsigma \text{'}\rho\omicron\delta\iota\omega\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\iota \tau\grave{\alpha} \kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha} \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$.

it is about this time that Rome came to be known to the Greeks as the greatest peace-enforcing power in the West. From this date onward the expansion of Rome may be regarded as the extension of her *κοινὴ προστασία* until she became the peacemaker of the East no less than of the West. Nay more, it is precisely in this light that Polybius viewed and laboured to explain the growth of the Roman Empire, which to him was a record (though not an unbroken one) of *ἐπιφανέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα ἔργα*¹. The sane imperialism which he detected in the general policy of Rome and Rhodes thus appeared to him as a link between the two republics, and it is on this ground that he described their concurrent policy in the third and second centuries as 'a partnership in noble and glorious deeds.' We need but to remember the standpoint from which Polybius viewed Roman and Rhodian history to obtain for his expression, *κεκοινηκὼς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων*, a meaning which is linguistically quite obvious and historically quite true.

M. CARY.

¹ See especially Polybius' proems to his first and third books. But Polybius strikes the same note of critical admiration in many individual observations which he has scattered throughout his history, e.g. 6. 58.

1 sqq.; 18. 35; 24. 10. 11—12; 36. 2; 36. 9. 9. His appreciation of Rhodian policy is best revealed in his account of the great earthquake of 227 B. (5. 88 sqq.)

THE LAND LEGISLATION OF JULIUS CAESAR'S FIRST CONSULSHIP.

The agrarian legislation of Julius Caesar in 59 B.C. is a topic on which much uncertainty still exists. The following questions in particular require further discussion:

- A. Did Caesar embody his land legislation in one statute or in two?
- B. What territories came within the scope of his legislation?
- C. For what classes of people did he provide allotments?
- D. By what agency were the assignments carried out?
- E. In what relation does Caesar's legislation stand to the mysterious Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia?

A. On the question of the number of Caesar's land acts modern authorities have been almost equally divided¹. But neither the 'unitarians' nor the 'dualists' have stated their case in full.

The 'unitarian' theory may be summed up thus:

(1) *A priori* it is unlikely that Caesar, who was a radical reformer and did not as a rule carry out his work in piecemeal fashion, should have taken two bites at his cherry.

(2) Cicero, whose authority as an interested spectator and critic of Caesar's land campaign is unquestionably supreme, does not expressly distinguish two separate statutes.

¹ 'Unitarians': Drumann, *Geschichte Roms* III. pp. 182—191; Merivale, *History of the Roman Empire* I. pp. 173—5; Mommsen, *History of Rome* IV. pp. 508—9; C. Peter, *Geschichte Roms* II. pp. 227—8; Ihne, *Geschichte Roms* VI. p. 317; Watson, *Select Letters of Cicero* pp. 16—17; Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of Cicero* (1st ed.) I. p. 412; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Leges Agrariae*.

'Dualists': Lange, *Römische Altertümer* III. pp. 272—280; Ferrero, *The*

Greatness and Decline of Rome I. p. 287 n., p. 291; Niese, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte* p. 204; Heitland, *History of the Roman Republic* III. pp. 127—9, 136—9; Warde Fowler, *Julius Caesar* pp. 109—113; Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies* p. 439; Sihler, *Annals of Caesar* p. 84; Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.* (3rd ed.) I. p. 427; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Campanus Ager*; Ed. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, pp. 61—2.

The 'dualist' theory has hitherto rested on the following considerations:

(1) The great majority of our ancient sources refer to Caesar's legislation as 'leges' or 'νόμοι,' thus indicating a plurality of laws¹. Moreover two writers, Plutarch and Cassius Dio, explicitly mention an earlier and a later law².

(2) In its final form Caesar's scheme was mainly if not entirely concerned with the public domains in Campania³. In his original bill these estates were expressly exempted from assignation⁴. Now this discrepancy between Caesar's earlier and later programme defies explanation if both formed part of one and the same statute, for it is incredible that he should have so transmogrified a bill as to render its earliest and its latest contents mutually exclusive. The fundamental contradiction between the earlier and the later portions of his programme indicates that these cannot be squeezed in under the umbrella of one Protean act: they belong to two distinct integral measures.

These arguments, moreover, may be reinforced by some fresh ones.

(3) In the letters written by Cicero in April 59 repeated mention is made of a land commission whose membership had already been determined⁵. As there is no reason for supposing that Caesar departed from the usual course of procedure in such matters, we must conclude that he did not nominate his commissioners until the measure from which they derived their power had been ratified. In other words, by April 59 one land law of Caesar's already stood on the statute book.

Now in a letter of May 59 Cicero refers to one part of Caesar's programme, viz. the distribution of the Campanian domains, as if it had only just been promulgated⁶. The

¹ Cicero, *Ad Att.* II. 18. 2; Livy, *Epit.* 103; Plutarch, *Caesar* ch. 14, *Pompey* ch. 47; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II. 10. 35, II. 11. 37, 41—2. The passage in Cicero quotes an official act in which Caesar's legislation is designated as 'leges Iuliae.'

² Plutarch, *Cato of Utica* chs. 31,

33; Cassius Dio 38. 7. 3.

³ Cicero, *Ad Att.* III. 16. 1, II. 18. 2; Plutarch, *Cato* ch. 33; Cassius Dio 38. 7. 3.

⁴ Cassius Dio 38. 1. 4.

⁵ *Ad Att.* II. 6. 2; II. 7. 3.

⁶ *Ad Att.* II. 16. 1.

Campanian scheme therefore must have belonged to a later and quite separate bill.

(4) In a letter commenting on the Campanian project Cicero says: 'habet *etiam* Campana lex exsecrationem¹.' The word 'etiam' cannot be taken as a connecting link between two sentences, for the preceding sentence deals with matter altogether disparate. It can only be taken in conjunction with the words 'Campana lex.' The meaning of the sentence therefore is: 'the Campanian law, *no less than the previous one*, is to be confirmed by oath.' This clearly implies that the Campanian law had a predecessor and was the second in a series.

(5) In the next sentence Cicero goes on to say: '*non dubitant iurare ceteri*; Laterensis existimatur laute fecisse quod tribunatum plebis petere destitit ne iuraret.' This passage shows that the oath required by the 'Campana lex' was taken cheerfully by all whom it concerned.

Now it is a well-known fact that the oath imposed by Caesar's original law was stubbornly declined by Cato, and that it required a great deal of persuasion before he 'wi' deeficulty' swore obedience to it. Moreover, Cicero would have been the last man in the world to forget Cato's scruples, for it was he who finally overcame them².

In addition, we are told by Plutarch that when Cato gave way, his 'Sancho Panza' Favonius remained an obdurate non-juror³.

Here, then, we have clear proof that there were two separate 'exsecrationes,' and therefore two separate statutes.

Against the first of the 'dualist' arguments it has been contended that the term 'leges Iuliae' does not refer to Caesar's legislation in the Comitia, but to the variety of 'leges datae' or bye-laws drawn up by Caesar's executive commission in the course of their assignments⁴. But if any supplementary ordinances to the main law were indeed issued by the commissioners, they must, in accordance with the universal custom on this point, have derived their names from the several commissioners

¹ *Ad Att.* II. 18. 2.

² Plutarch, *Cato* ch. 32.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Tyrrell and Purser (1st edition), *loc. cit.* This objection has been withdrawn in the third edition.

who drew them up, not from the author of the principal law. E.g. supposing that a new colonial charter for Capua had been framed by Pompey, this statute would have been styled 'lex Pompeia,' not 'lex Iulia.' The term 'leges Iuliae' therefore must refer to Caesar's own legislation.

On the other hand the principal support of the 'unitarian' case can readily be demolished. The argumentum ex silentio based on the reticence of Cicero breaks down if it is borne in mind that there is a gap in Cicero's correspondence extending over the first three months of 59 B.C., and that the letters which contain the first references to Caesar's land campaign belong to May¹, by which time that campaign was drawing to its close. The reason why Cicero's extant letters only concern themselves with a 'lex Campana' and make no reference to an earlier law is that by April 59 the time for discussing an earlier law was long past.

Summing up, therefore, we do not hesitate to conclude that *there were two leges Iuliae agrariae, not one.*

B. The lands which came within the scope of Caesar's first law are defined in quite general terms by Cassius Dio, who says that it provided for the assignation of all the residual public domains in Italy, except the ager Campanus, and of any private estates which the owners might be willing to sell to Caesar's commissioners². It is tempting to refer to this law the establishment of colonies at Herdonia, Asculum, Arpi, Collatia, Sipontum, Salapia, Veii and Bovianum, all of which are ascribed in the Liber Coloniarum to a Lex Iulia³. But the Liber Coloniarum is so inaccurate and full of interpolations that its lists of settlements require to be checked by collateral evidence, such as the inscriptions of the places in question, before they can be accepted⁴. In the absence of such evidence it is unsafe to assume that the above-mentioned towns ever received colonies. And even if we believe that they were constituted as colonies by a Lex Iulia, we cannot be sure whether this law does not

¹ *Ad Att.* II. 16. 1.

² 38. 1. 3.

³ Pp. 210, 220, 259.

⁴ Mommsen C.I.L. IX. p. 257.

rather belong to Augustus¹. No particulars concerning the territories of the first law can therefore be given.

The second law, so Cicero tells us, was confined to the 'ager Campanus².' If we follow Cicero further in believing that the territory to be parcelled out only comprised 50,000 iugera (c. 30,000 acres), we must define the 'ager Campanus' in its narrower sense as the former municipal domain of Capua. But as Cicero made his calculation on second-hand data and without the text of the law before him, his evidence on this point is not conclusive.

On the other hand Plutarch states that 'almost the whole of Campania' came under Caesar's scheme³, and Suetonius, whose enumeration of the official acts of the Caesars is based on government records, includes the ager Stellatis on the north bank of the Volturnus in the allotment area⁴. Again, it is mentioned both by Suetonius and other authorities that one class of settlers alone numbered some 20,000⁵. As the territory of Capua, according to Cicero's doubtless correct reckoning, could only provide for 5000 colonists, it is obvious that the distributions in Campania included something more than the ager Campanus in the narrower sense of that term.

A further point to be considered is the number of colonies established under the 'lex Campana.' It is certain that Capua was constituted a colony in 58 or 57 B.C.⁶ The case of two neighbouring towns, Casilinum and Calatia, is not quite so clear. Undoubtedly colonists were settled there at some time or

¹ The colony founded by 'G. Caesar' at Minturnae (*Lib. Col.* p. 235) has been assigned by Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 595) to Augustus. The colony at Volturnum, '*iussu imperatoris Caesaris deducta*' may be referred to the period of the Second Triumvirate, unless we follow Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 357) in rejecting it altogether.

² *Ad Att.* ii. 16. 1.

³ *Cato* ch. 33.

⁴ *Divus Iulius* 20. 3.

⁵ Suetonius, *loc. cit.*; Velleius Paterculus ii. 44. 4; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 10. Although the number of actual

recipients in this category may not have totalled 20,000, provision must at any rate have been made for that number.

The number of Pompeian veterans requiring allotments has been estimated at 32,000 (Drumann-Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* iv. 486 n. 5) or 40,000 (Kromayer, *Neue Jahrbücher* 1914 p. 160). But it cannot be determined how many of these received land under the second of Caesar's laws.

⁶ Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* i. 14. 4; Cicero, *Pro Sestio* § 19, *Post Reditu* § 29. Beloch, *Campanien* p. 322.

other by Caesar¹, but many if not all of these were old soldiers who cannot have taken possession till after the Civil War². The question therefore arises whether these colonies were not planned in the years of the Civil War and founded under a later statute than the Lex Campana of 59 B.C. But 'leges non sunt multiplicandae praeter necessitatem,' and in this case the necessity does not arise. We are free to suppose that Caesar's veterans were a later draft of ἑποικοὶ who reinforced the original settlers of the fifties³. And even if we assume that the settlers went out *en bloc* after the Civil War, this does not preclude us from holding that the colonies were constituted under the law of 59 B.C. This law was certainly still in force in 51 B.C., and there still was at that time some unallotted land in Campania⁴. We may conclude, therefore, that the land of Casilinum and Calatia also came under the scope of the law of 59 B.C.

On the other hand we cannot accept the suggestion that the Leges Iuliae empowered Caesar to make settlements in the provinces⁵. So distinctive a clause as this could hardly have escaped the notice of our ancient authorities, least of all those who, like Cicero and Plutarch, were hostile to Caesar's land policy. Moreover, if Caesar's own laws entitled him to found colonies in the provinces, we fail to understand why he should have received special permission by the Lex Vatinia to colonise Cisalpine Gaul⁶. Such special permission would have been a sheer superfluity. Indeed, this provision in the Lex Vatinia is in itself sufficient to show that the Leges Iuliae did not deal with provincial land.

C. There is a general agreement among ancient writers that two classes of persons were provided for by Caesar's land laws, the veteran soldiers of Pompey and the urban proletariat

¹ Casilinum.—Cicero, *Philippic* II. § 102; Velleius II. 61. 1; Appian III. 40.

Calatia.—Nicolas of Damascus 39. 1 (ed. Didot); Velleius and Appian, *loc. cit.*

² See the passages quoted in n. 1, and Cicero, *Ad Att.* xvi. 8. 1.

³ Capua appears to have received a supplementary draft about 45 B.C.—

See Suetonius 81. 1, which mentions settlers erecting their homesteads shortly before Caesar's death.

⁴ Cicero, *Ad Familiares* VIII. 10. 4.

⁵ Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters*, p. 8.

⁶ The colony of Novum Comum was founded under this law (Suetonius ch. 28 § 3).

of Rome. *A priori* it would be tempting to infer that the earlier law was intended for the benefit of Pompey's men, who had a manifestly prior claim, and the later one for the deserving poor in general. But there is ample evidence to prove that both classes came under the scope of both laws¹.

This brings us back to the question, why did Caesar enact his land programme piecemeal?

One possible explanation is that the execution of the first law broke down in the face of unreasonable demands on the part of the landowners whose estates the commissioners tried to secure by purchase. Profiteering in land built up the fortune of one of the commissioners, M. Crassus², and it need not surprise us if some of the owners whom he and his board approached in 59 B.C. played his own game against him. True enough, Caesar's law stipulated that the properties should be purchased at the prices recorded on the censors' register³. But the assurance which both he and Pompey had given, that the scheme could be handsomely financed out of the windfall which the latter had brought to the Treasury from the East⁴, may have tempted the landowners to stand out for better terms. Now, to say nothing of the principle involved, it would have been bad business for Caesar to conclude so one-sided a bargain with the landowners, for a large number of these would probably be Optimates and his political opponents. Having recently used their wealth to provide Caesar with so inconvenient a colleague as Bibulus, the Optimates could not be allowed to replenish their party funds by holding the Treasury to ransom. It is a strange irony that Caesar's laudable resolve to obtain

¹ *Pompey's veterans in the first law*:—Cass. Dio 38. 5. 1. Note also the obviously interested support which Pompey gave to this law (Plutarch, *Pompey* ch. 47, *Caesar* ch. 14; Appian II. 10).

Proletarians in the first law:—Plutarch *loc. cit.* and *Cato* ch. 31.

Pompey's veterans in the second law:—Cicero, *Philippic* II. § 101. (Cic. *Ad Att.* XVI. 8. 1, which Heitland

p. 137 n. 7 quotes in this connexion, refers to old soldiers of Caesar, not of Pompey.)

Proletarians in the second law:—Suetonius 20. 3; Velleius II. 44. 4; Plutarch, *Cato* ch. 33; Cass. Dio 38. 1. 4.

² Plutarch, *Crassus* ch. 2.

³ Cass. Dio 38. 1. 5; 38. 5. 1.

⁴ Cass. Dio 38. 1. 5.

his land by honest purchase and to avoid confiscation should have given his opponents their chance of nullifying his law.

But Caesar still had the means of circumventing the landlords by cancelling the exemption which he had granted to the state lands in Campania under his first act. Once this exemption was withdrawn, Caesar's commissioners would merely have to call in the leases of the sitting tenants in order to have full disposal of the estate. This arrangement, it is true, might bear hard on the dispossessed tenants and would probably not be in the interests of good farming. Indeed we may suppose that Caesar had foreseen this result, and that the reason why he exempted the Campanian domain in the first act was not so much solicitude for the Treasury, which could afford to forego the rents, as for the 'plebs optima et modestissima'¹ which could not afford to be evicted. But Caesar was pledged irrevocably to find land for Pompey's old soldiers, and necessity overrode any scruples which he may have felt about the resumption of the *ager Campanus*. The practical failure of his first law therefore compelled him to introduce a supplementary one, the *Lex Campana*².

If we accept this explanation of Caesar's second law, we incidentally help to clear up a mystery hitherto inscrutable, the hostility of the Equites to Caesar's second law³. This attitude of the Equites cannot be explained away as the outcome of some momentary impulse, for why should the Equites, who knew best of all Roman political sections how to keep a cool head and to subordinate their passions to their interests, have given way to a sudden and unreasoned fancy? But supposing that the '*lex Campana*' was designed to relieve Caesar of a one-sided bargain with the landowners, we can understand why the Equites showed their teeth. In the later years of the Republic the land of Italy had fallen largely into the hands of

¹ Cicero, *In Legem Agrariam* II. § 84. The case which Cicero pleaded for the Campanian tenantry, when their possession was threatened by the *Lex Agraria* of 63 B.C., no doubt made some impression on Caesar, who is generally supposed to have had a hand

in that measure.

² The suggestion that there was a hitch in the execution of the first law was first made by Lange (*op. cit.* p. 280). Ferrero (*op. cit.* p. 288) first brought the landlord into the case.

³ Cicero, *Ad Att.* II. 19. 3.

the equestrian class¹, and, as might be expected, it was regarded by them mainly as an object of commercial speculation². Therefore when Caesar decided not to buy out the landlords at fancy prices, a large section of the Equites were hit in their most sensitive part, their pockets. *Hinc illae lacrimae*.

A further reason for the introduction of a second land law by Caesar is to be found in the enactment of a far more important measure, the Lex Vatinia. By this law Caesar lost the province 'silvae callesque' which a thoughtful Senate had bestowed upon him, and gained the province of Cisalpine Gaul. Now the effect of this was to invest Caesar with an important military command and to place under his charge a force hardly if at all inferior to Pompey's Grand Army. This Caesarian force would in due time have to be pensioned off with land grants, and if Caesar had no land available, he would find himself in the position out of which he was just at that moment extricating Pompey. And the necessity of leaving nothing to chance must have been apparent to Caesar, for the Senate which had left Pompey begging in vain for land might be depended on to have its tit-for-tat with Caesar in the same fashion. Nay more, in 51 B.C. Pompey, who had since become estranged from Caesar, actually endeavoured to put Caesar into difficulties by alienating the then undivided residue of the ager Campanus³. Thus the Lex Vatinia had the effect of compelling Caesar to secure some more land which might eventually be used for allotments to his old soldiers.

Now the date at which the Lex Vatinia was passed is not known for certain, but there are good reasons for placing it near the 1st of March 59 B.C.⁴ In this case it was subsequent to

¹ See the interesting computations of Frank, *Roman Imperialism* pp. 286—293; also *Klio* 1913 pp. 192—3.

² Landowners of this class have been pilloried for us by Cicero in his speeches *Pro Tullio* and *Pro Roscio Amerino*.

³ Cicero, *Ad Fam.* viii. 10. 4: illud addo ad actiones C. Curionis, de agro Campano; de quo negant Caesarem laborare, sed Pompeium valde velle,

ne vacuus advenienti Caesari pateat. We have seen (p. 178) that part of this land was eventually used for allotment to Caesar's veterans.

⁴ Caesar's proconsulship, as is generally admitted, dated from March 1st 59. The Lex Vatinia obviously cannot have been passed much later. But it probably was not passed much earlier, for it seems to have been an emergency measure arising out of the sudden

Caesar's first agrarian law but previous to his second¹. The second law, therefore, may have been intended for the benefit not only of the plebs urbana and Pompey's army, but for a clientèle in which Caesar was bound to take an even greater interest, his own soldiery.

We need not break our heads over a difficulty which some modern writers have detected in the statement made by several ancient authors that Caesar's legislation made special provision for men who had three children or over². How, it is asked, could Pompey's old campaigners have been the fathers of such considerable families? The answer, of course, is that they couldn't. But then, as we have seen, Caesar's laws were not intended for the exclusive benefit of the discharged soldiers. They also had in view the generality of the plebs urbana. And there is no difficulty in supposing that within this class the fathers of large families received special consideration.

D. Two small problems arise in connexion with the execution of Caesar's laws.

Firstly, were the assignments under the first and the second law made by the same commission? Seeing that the first law was executed by a board of 20³, and the second law likewise by a board of 20⁴, we can hardly doubt that we are here dealing with one and the same body.

Secondly, what was the relation between the board of 20, and a board of 5⁵ which is sometimes mentioned in connexion

death of Metellus Celer, the existing governor of Cisalpine Gaul.

¹ The general probabilities of the case and the ancient texts agree in dating Caesar's first law to the outset of 59 B.C. The second law was introduced in May (Cic. *Ad Att.* II. 16. 1).

² Suetonius 20. 3; Velleius II. 44. 4; Appian II. 10. According to Suetonius, the fathers of large families received their land 'extra sortem.' Presumably Caesar reserved a parcel of land for these, and another parcel for Pompey's men, and, possibly, a further piece for future allotments to his own soldiers.

The residue would then be shared out by ballot, in case the number of applicants exceeded the number of available holdings.

According to Appian, Caesar prepared a special register of men with large families. This also suggests that plots were reserved for this class, else Caesar would hardly have gone to the trouble of ascertaining their numbers.

³ Cicero, *Ad Att.* II. 6. 2; II. 7. 3.

⁴ Varro, *Res Rustica* I. 2. 10.

⁵ Cicero, *Ad Att.* II. 7. 4; *De Prov. Cons.* § 41: me ille (Caesar) ut Vviratum acciperem, rogavit.

with the assignations? It might be conjectured that the Vviri were a managing sub-committee who stood to the rest of the XXviri as the managing directors of a modern commercial company stand to the figure-head directors¹. But this theory is belied by the fact that Caesar offered a place in the Vvirate to Cicero². Seeing that Cicero was notoriously hostile to the land laws, Caesar can hardly have intended to give him an effective share in their execution. His object in asking Cicero to join the board must have been to disarm his opposition, and to increase the prestige of the commission by enrolling on it a man with a great name. Our conclusion is that the Vviri were an ornamental body and that the practical work of the land commission was in the hands of the residual members of the XXvirate³.

E. Among the Roman laws on land tenure there is preserved a fragment of a statute entitled 'Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia⁴.' One of the extant paragraphs of this measure recurs almost word for word in the Lex Coloniae Genetivae which constituted the charter of Caesar's colony at Ursona, and another paragraph shows a close resemblance to a passage quoted in the Digest from a 'lex agraria, quam C. Caesar tulit⁵.' On these grounds the Lex Mamilia has been identified with one or other of the acts of Caesar's consulship⁶.

Now the similarity of the texts in question is certainly all but complete. But there is one material point of difference between the Lex Mamilia and the statute in the Digest. The former uses sesterces as a means of reckoning fines, the latter uses aurei⁷.

This discrepancy, to be sure, might be explained away if we could assume that the aurei were a later interpolation into

¹ Ed. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie* pp. 64—66.

² *De Prov. Cons.* § 14 (quoted above).

³ The active members of the commission were probably younger partisans of Caesar who had not yet made their name.

⁴ Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*⁶

pp. 95—6.

⁵ *Lex Col. Genet.* § 104; *Digest* 47. 21. 3 vs. 1—5.

⁶ Bruns, *ad. loc.*

⁷ *Dig.* 47. 21. 3. v. 4: quinquaginta aureos in publico dari iubet. *Lex Mamilia* par 2. v. 7: HS IIII. dare damnas esto.

Caesar's act¹. But this would still leave us face to face with another difficulty. How could a law of Caesar carry the *praescriptio* 'Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia'? Evidently Mamilius and his colleagues were the formal authors of the statute which stands in their name. But it is equally certain that Caesar did not carry his land acts by proxy, but in his own person. Our ancient authorities agree in saying that Caesar overtly took charge of his own laws, and the official title which they assign to them is invariably 'leges Iuliae.' The only possible conclusion is that the Lex Mamilia is a distinct and separate act.

At the same time it may be regarded as certain that the Lex Mamilia stands in close relation to Caesar's land legislation. The resemblance between it and the law quoted in the Digest can hardly be accidental. Moreover, no less than four of the five authors of the Lex Mamilia bear the same names as certain public men of Caesar's age who are known to have acted as partisans of Caesar. Among the praetors of 49 B.C. who stayed in Italy and entered Caesar's service we find a L. Roscius and A. Allienus. The retinue of Caesar in Gaul included a L. Roscius and a C. Fabius. A Q. Fabius commanded an army in Spain on Caesar's behalf in 46-5 B.C., and a Sex. Peducaeus was governor of Sardinia in 48 B.C.² As a fourfold coincidence in name would be almost miraculous, we are bound to assume that Mamilius' four colleagues are the same persons as Caesar's subordinates, and that the law which they carried in conjunction with Mamilius was brought forward by them in Caesar's interests.

A further point which may be taken for granted is that the Lex Mamilia was subsequent to Caesar's land legislation. As no ancient author mentions any land acts passed in Caesar's own name except those of 59 B.C., and at least one of these measures, the 'lex Campana,' was still in force in 51 B.C.³ and

¹ Aurei were only brought into circulation in 49 B.C., and it is not likely that they immediately displaced the sesterce as the current unit of reckoning. In the Lex Coloniae Genetivae, which was issued about the time of Caesar's death, fines are still com-

puted in sesterces (§ 104 v. 18: HS ∞).

² For the biographies of Roscius, Allienus and the Fabii (nos. 17 and 108) see Pauly-Wissowa. Peducaeus' governorship: Appian II. 48.

³ Cicero, *Ad. Fam.* VIII. 10. 4.

probably remained in operation till Caesar's death¹, we may safely infer that Caesar's own legislation was completed in 59 B.C. On the other hand, of Mamilius' colleagues probably not one held any high magistracy before 49 B.C.², and it is most unlikely that they should have held a position qualifying them to make laws more than ten years previously. Consequently the Lex Mamilia was supplementary to the Leges Iuliae, not vice versa.

The exact relation between the two requires some further discussion. According to one theory of Mommsen's, Mamilius and his colleagues were on the land commission which gave effect to the Leges Iuliae, and their act therefore is a 'lex data' in pursuance of Caesar's main law³. But it is a pure conjecture that Mamilius and his colleagues formed part of Caesar's XXvirate: there is no ancient authority for including them on this board⁴. Moreover, the extant fragments of the Lex Mamilia show that this measure was of too comprehensive a type to be a mere local bye-law. The opening words of its extant portion, 'quae colonia hac lege deducta quodve municipium praefectura forum conciliabulum constitutum sit,' make it plain that we are here dealing with an act of wide scope, and not with the ordinances of an allotment board.

Another suggestion, which also originates from Mommsen and has found some favour among modern authors⁵, is that Mamilius and his colleagues were tribunes in some year after Caesar's consulship, say 55 B.C., and that in this capacity they carried a supplementary act through the Concilium Plebis.

¹ As we have seen (p. 179), the settlements of veterans which Caesar made in Campania after the Civil War were carried out under the 'lex Campana' of 59 B.C.

² C. Fabius was *propraetor* in Asia in 57-6 B.C. and therefore held the praetorship not later than 58 B.C. But his seniority over Roscius, Allienus and Peducaeus makes it probable that not he but Q. Fabius was their colleague.

³ *Die römischen Feldmesser* II. pp.

223-7.

⁴ Meyer (*op. cit.* p. 65 n.) argues that they cannot have constituted Caesar's Vvirate, because one of the places on the Vvirate belonged to another person altogether, M. Valerius Messalla (C.I.L. VI. 3826). This is inconclusive, for the membership of the board might change from time to time.

⁵ Mommsen, *loc. cit.* Willems, *Le Sénat* I. 498 n. 5. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies* p. 441.

This theory, too, rests on a very insecure foundation, for there is no more evidence that Mamilius and his colleagues ever held a tribuneship, and held it all in one year, than that they were on Caesar's allotment commission. Again, it is difficult to understand why Caesar's land acts should have needed to be supplemented only three or four years¹ after their enactment. It is not likely that Caesar, who was not in the habit of scamping his legislative work and was not pressed for time in the year of his first consulship, should have left his own land acts so incomplete as to require a new substantive law, and not merely a string of bye-laws, to carry them into effect. Neither is it likely that a new law was required in the middle fifties in order to procure fresh lands for applicants whose claims had not yet been satisfied. The old soldiers of Pompey must have had full provision made for them long before this, for they evidently had a first claim on the allotments, and Pompey, who had a seat on the land commission, can hardly have neglected their interests². The soldiers of Caesar were still on active service in 55 B.C. and as yet had little prospect of being pensioned off. The proletariat of Rome had become legally entitled to gifts of free corn by the act of Clodius in 58 B.C., and, better still, these gifts had materialised in the next years, thanks to the special corn-supply commission of Pompey. Thus in 55 B.C. there cannot have been any urgent demand for new assignments. On the other hand, as late as 51 B.C. some of the land acquired by Caesar's 'lex Campana' was still waiting for distribution³. It is therefore inexplicable why Caesar's acts of 59 B.C. should have required so sweeping a measure as the Lex Mamilia to supplement them at the time under discussion.

We must therefore find some other date for the Lex Mamilia. In what year subsequent to 55 B.C. can the authors of the law have held a magistracy qualifying them to introduce a bill into the Comitia? Fortunately we have sufficient data for an answer. In 49 B.C. Roscius and Allienus are known to have been praetors.

¹ 55 B.C. is the *terminus post quem*, for in 54 B.C. Roscius was with Caesar in Gaul.

² Pompey went to Campania to

supervise the distribution of land to his own men.—Cassius Dio 38. 1. 7.

³ Cicero, *Ad Fam.* viii. 10. 4.

Peducaeus, who was governor of Sardinia in 48 B.C., presumably held a praetorship shortly before. That the year of his praetorship was precisely 49 B.C. may be inferred from the fact that Cicero in the early months of that year made Peducaeus one of his principal advisers as to the course of action he should pursue at the outbreak of the Civil War, whether he should throw in his lot whole-heartedly with Pompey or maintain a passive attitude¹. The anxiety which Cicero displayed to put himself right with Peducaeus can hardly be explained by saying that Cicero was fond of Peducaeus or considered him a man of parts. But if Peducaeus was praetor at the outbreak of the Civil War he could hardly help coming into touch with Pompey and would thus be in a position to inform Cicero of Pompey's prospects and intentions, a point on which Cicero displayed a truly morbid curiosity. 49 B.C., therefore, is the most suitable date for Peducaeus' praetorship. Lastly Q. Fabius, who was consul in 45 B.C., must have been praetor not later than 48 B.C. Of the authors of the *Lex Mamilia* two therefore were certainly, and two others probably, praetors in 49 B.C. It hardly seems rash to assume that Mamilius likewise held a praetorship in that year, and that *the Lex Mamilia was the work of five of the praetors of 49 B.C.*

Against this theory some objections may be brought forward. It may be said that it was unusual to devolve legislative work on praetors rather than tribunes or consuls. But 49 B.C. was in any case an unusual year. Whatever may have happened to the tribunes², the consuls had certainly flown with Pompey, and the praetors perforce encroached on the functions of their absent colleagues. Thus Roscius introduced a law regulating the administration of Transpadane Gaul³, and another praetor, M. Lepidus, usurped the consuls' powers by naming Caesar dictator. In such an *annus mirabilis* it is quite conceivable that a new land law should have been put in charge of five praetors.

¹ Cicero, *Ad Att.* ix. 7. 2; ix. 10. 10.

² Since only two tribunes, Antony and Q. Cassius, opposed the measures taken by the Senate against Caesar, it may be assumed that the other eight were Pompeians and fled with Pompey

from Italy.

³ See the 'Fragmentum Atestinum' (Bruns p. 101—2) l. 14. This is probably the law by which the Transpadane Gauls received the franchise (see Hardy, *English Historical Review* 1916 p. 375).

Another objection to the date 49 B.C. may be founded on Mommsen's argument that the *Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* is identical with a '*Lex Mamilia*' mentioned by Cicero in the *De Legibus*, and that the *De Legibus* was completed by 51 B.C.¹ In this case 51 B.C. is obviously the latest possible date for our law. Now the first part of Mommsen's thesis has been tacitly admitted in this article, which has all along called the *Lex Mamilia*, etc., etc. '*Lex Mamilia*' for short. And nobody will find it strange that Cicero should have saved his ink and time in the same way. But was the *De Legibus* indeed completed in 51 B.C.? A letter written by Cicero in 46 B.C. shows that he was still at work on the *De Legibus* in that year². His reference to the *Lex Mamilia* may perfectly well have been made in or after 49 B.C.

We may therefore fix the date of the *Lex Mamilia* at 49 B.C. It remains to inquire for what purpose the law was then brought forward.

In all probability its object was to find land for Caesar's veterans and to regulate the tenure thereof. Not that in 49 B.C. the soldiers were in sight of their 'ticket.' But a mutiny of the 9th legion which Caesar was called upon to quell on his return from Spain shows that the army was dissatisfied with the rewards which it had received hitherto³. It seems but natural, therefore, that one of the tasks which Caesar set himself during his December stay in Rome was to get ready a pension scheme for his men so as to avert delays and discontents after their demobilisation.

Now, as we have seen, some lands in Campania still stood at Caesar's disposal by virtue of his *Lex Campana* of 59 B.C., and it was no doubt under this statute that his veterans eventually received their allotments at Capua, Casilinum and Calatia. But this residue of *ager Campanus* fell far short of what was required for the multitude of settlers, both military

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *Ad Fam.* ix. 2. 5. See Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (3rd ed.) i. pt. 2 pp. 346—7.

³ Suetonius ch. 69; Cassius Dio 41.

chs. 26—35; Appian ii. 47. According to Appian the men mutinied because a donative promised to them at Brundisium still remained unpaid.

and proletarian, whom Caesar provided with land after the Civil War, and the greater part of Caesar's later colonies were as a matter of fact established on provincial soil which fell outside the scope of his laws of 59 B.C. Fresh legislation was therefore needed to authorise these settlements. Now the Lex Mamilia, as we have seen, is shown by the wording of its extant paragraphs to have been a regulating act of a comprehensive nature¹. Furthermore, one of its paragraphs recurs almost word for word in the Lex Coloniae Genetivae, which is the charter of one of Caesar's foundations in Spain. The *raison d'être* of the Lex Mamilia is now apparent. *It served as the constitutive act under which Caesar's later colonies were founded*, and it stands to the Lex Coloniae Genetivae as a 'lex rogata' to a 'lex data.'

M. CARY.

¹ The first paragraph provides for the foundation, not only of 'coloniae,' 'municipia' and 'fora,' but also of 'praefecturae' and 'conciliabula.' These last two categories are purely Italian. Unless the 'praefecturae' and

'conciliabula' were included as part of a 'common form' expression, the Lex Mamilia was designed to provide for fresh Italian settlements as well as provincial ones.

ARISTOTLE'S LECTURE-ROOM AND LECTURES.

Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, 4 Nov. 1910.

It is an old story that the philosophical schools of Athens, which were established in the fourth century B.C. and flourished till the sixth century A.D., bore a notable resemblance to our own Colleges. In the eye of the law they were religious foundations (*θίασοι*) for the worship of the Muses: and accordingly they had chapels dedicated to those divinities, *ἱερά*, or, more exactly, *μουσεῖα*, whence our word museum. In the chapel there were statues, not only of divine personages, such as the Graces, but also of the great men of the school. They had lecture-rooms, a hall, a library, chambers for the members of the school, gardens, walks, cloisters. The society consisted of a Scholarch or head, professors, and students. Upon occasion the members of the house dined together at a commemoration feast in honour of their patron saints the Muses. There were endowments, given or bequeathed by pious benefactors, and, after a time, subventions from the State. Tradition adds that Aristotle took his select class in the morning, and that in the afternoon his lectures were open to all. Though he sometimes walked as he talked in the gardens of the Lyceum, whence he was called Peripatetic, we are not to suppose that this was his invariable procedure.

Now it is reasonable to presume that, though in the fourth century B.C. the professor of physics had few instruments, if any, and the professor of biology no lantern, the methods and artifices of the lecturer were not very different from those which are in use among ourselves. So I have been asking myself whether I find in those of Aristotle's writings which I suppose to be records of lectures, evidence that he resorted to any of the devices which I adopt in my own informal discourses. For example I am conscious that, when in the extempore exposition of the lecture-room I want a visible illustration, I am apt to take for the purpose something which is present before my eyes. Thus, some years ago, when a coal-scuttle was a prominent object in my ill-

furnished room, it played a very considerable part in my lectures. When I was explaining that Plato in the period of the *republic* and the *Phaedo* recognized an external immutable idea for every common term, but that he soon saw the necessity of dropping out of his list artificial products, the coal-scuttle served me as a typical example of the *τεχνητά* or *arte facta*. My room is not now warmed by an open fire: so the shabby coal-scuttle has disappeared both from the room and from my artless talk. Again one day I was expounding the doctrine of the categories and I found myself saying something of this sort: "if I say that this is a desk, I predicate under the category of substance," and as I spoke I thumped the desk before me. A blinding cloud of dust arose from it, and I instinctively proceeded: "if I say that the desk is dusty, I predicate under the category of quality." It is of no set, deliberate, purpose that the lecturer does these things. Rather it is psychologically obvious that in informal discourse he will resort for illustrations to things which are familiar to himself and to his hearers, and in particular to things which are at the moment under his eyes and theirs.

Accordingly Aristotle also in his philosophical writings makes full use of familiar illustrations: and I fancy that the study of them may afford information, not indeed important, but for all that not without interest, about the furniture and the fittings of his lecture room. And here I must explain that I have made no attempt to gather up *all* Aristotle's illustrations: I have been content to note those which came in my way, and to examine the references given in the Berlin Index under certain obvious titles. I am not now thinking of the biological writings which are of a different character and may well have been composed before Aristotle began to teach in the Lyceum. Indeed the hypothesis of Professor D'Arcy Thompson (*Hist. Anim.*), that they represent observations made during Aristotle's two years at Mytilene, seems to me both plausible and attractive. I am thinking principally of the *organon*, the *de anima*, the *metaphysics*, the *ethics*, and the *politics*.

Assuming then that Aristotle's illustrations were frequently suggested by objects which he saw before him, I find that inter alia there were in the lecture room:

a three-legged table, 641^a32:

a sofa (κλίνη) or sofas made of wood, 640^b23:

a bronze statue, 1013^b6, 724^a23, 984^a24:

a plaster statue, 1035^a32:

and a bronze globe, 403^a13.

On the walls there were tabular summaries (διαγραφαί), first, of the virtues and vices, 1107^a33, 1220^b37, secondly, of certain logical ἀντιφάσεις, 22^a22, thirdly, of animal and vegetable species, 642^b12, and there were also anatomical diagrams, 510^a30.

Further, we may safely conjecture that there was, not a black board, but a white one, a λεύκωμα: for sometimes, e.g. *NE* v 5 § 8 and § 12 and *prior analytics* 52^a16, we have the description of a diagram, and in some instances the MSS. reproduce it. Indeed I think that such diagrams ought to be faithfully reproduced in the texts as a tradition dating from Aristotle himself. And here I may note in passing that when Aristotle delivered his course περὶ ψυχῆς, two members of his class were men of a fair or light complexion, one of them being the son of Diares, the other the son of Cleon: for at 418^a20 we read—I borrow Mr Hicks' version—'what is meant by the indirect object of sense may be illustrated if we suppose that the white thing before you is Diares' son. You perceive Diares' son, but indirectly, for that which is perceived is accessory to the whiteness': and again, 425^a24, "of Cleon's son we perceive not that he is Cleon's son, but that he is a white object, and the fact of his being Cleon's son is accessory to the whiteness." And similarly it would seem that in the class which heard Aristotle περὶ τὸ πρῶτως ὄν there was a man who was at once lean and fair: for at *metaph.* Z xv 1040^a12 we read: "if any one should define *you* (σε), he will describe you as a lean, fair animal, or by some other mark which will belong to some one else also." I cannot help fancying that the lean, fair animal must have regretted his notable aptitude for blushing when he was thus personally and pointedly addressed: but the Greek conception of impertinence was different from our own, and I can quite believe that Aristotle regarded this ὕβρις as πεπαιδευμένη.

And now I have something to say about a whole group of

allusions. Just as an English lawyer used to talk about John Doe and Richard Roe as parties to a certain sort of fictitious action, and just as he still, I am told, uses the names of Hugh Hunt and the initials of John Styles, so Aristotle, when he has occasion to speak of a particular human being, takes as his example Socrates or Callias. Of course when Socrates is described as a human being (*ἄνθρωπος*) or as a sage (*σοφός*), there is nothing to suggest that Aristotle has any particular reason for naming Socrates; and when, in the *metaphysics*, Aristotle muddles himself and exasperates his readers by special disquisitions about τὸ *σιμόν*, snubnosedness, camusity, regarded as a quality which by the use of language is inseparable from a particular sort of substance, it is conceivable that he is thinking of *Theaetetus* 143E and 209 BC, where the *σιμότης* of Theaetetus is compared with that of Socrates. But when Socrates is deictically indicated as "this" and Callias as "that," I begin to suspect that Aristotle has before his eyes some sort of representation of Socrates; and when I further observe that he is described as *λευκός*, fair-faced, I fancy that the representation was not a statue or a bust but a picture, and I begin to wonder what the picture was.

Again, when Aristotle wants an instance of a separable accident, he frequently speaks of Socrates as becoming or being *μουσικός*: and Plato's *Phaedo* explains the attribution. At the very beginning of that dialogue Cebes says that Evenus and others had asked him why it was that Socrates, who had never before written poetry, was occupying himself in his prison in versifying the prelude to Apollo and the fables of Æsop: and in reply Socrates bids Cebes tell Evenus that it was not in any spirit of rivalry that he was doing so, but because he had been haunted through life by a dream, in which he always heard the same words: ὦ Σώκρατες, μουσικὴν ποίει καὶ ἐργάζου. Hitherto he had taken this as an encouragement to proceed with his educational mission, philosophy being music of the highest order: but now it has occurred to him that the dream might mean music in the ordinary sense of the term, and he has satisfied his conscience by composing a hymn in honour of the god whose feast delayed his death and in versifying Æsop's fables. The

Phaedo then was in Aristotle's thoughts. This being so I suspect that there was in the lecture-room a picture representing a scene from that dialogue: for the words *καθῆσθαι, καθήμενος*, which describe Socrates' attitude in the *Phaedo*, are again and again used by Aristotle of Socrates. Whence I conclude that there was a picture of Socrates sitting on his bed in the prison and arguing on the last day of his life that the wise man will regard the approach of death with a cheerful confidence. And I fancy that there was another picture, in which Callias the son of Hipponicus was prominent. For he too is constantly used by Aristotle as a lay figure: and unless there was something special to recall his name, it is not easy to see why he should be thought of. There is nothing to suggest that he was in any sort a Socratic. He came of a rich and noble family, but apparently did it little credit. He was remembered chiefly as a lavish patron of sophistry, who on one occasion, as recorded in the *Protagoras*, brought together most of the notable sophists of his time. Now as of Socrates, so of Callias, Aristotle speaks deictically, as though he were pointing to a representation: for example, 1033^b 24, 1034^a 6. He too is *λευκός*, "white-faced," and partly for this reason, partly because I do not see otherwise how a representation of him could be found at the Lyceum, I conjecture that he was a prominent figure in some scene from the life of Socrates. Now there is one specially important reference to him. In the *prior analytics* 43^a 36 we read *φάμεν γάρ ποτε τὸ λευκὸν ἐκεῖνο Σωκράτην εἶναι καὶ τὸ προσιὸν Καλλίαν*: "we say that that fair-faced thing is Socrates, and that that which approaches him is Callias." Is there then in the story of the sophistical congress at Callias' house any one moment which would give a painter an opportunity of representing Callias approaching Socrates? At 335 c Socrates becomes or pretends to become restive and impatient of Protagoras' continuous discourse, and rises to go, whereupon Callias, their host, intervenes. I borrow the following translation from Wright: "And as I was rising, Callias, seizing my hand with his right hand, and with his left laying hold of the cloak I am now wearing, said: 'We won't let you go, Socrates; for, if you leave us, we shall find our conversation no longer the same thing. I beg, therefore, that you

will remain with us; for I know nothing that I would more gladly hear than a discussion between you and Protagoras. So pray oblige us all.'” This is the one place in which Callias is prominent. When he is mentioned earlier, it is only as one of the listeners who walked beside Protagoras in the front line: and plainly the promenade would not give the painter anything like so good an opportunity as the little scene in which Callias intervenes to reconcile his guests.

So much for the furniture and the fittings of Aristotle’s lecture-room. I turn now to another part of my subject. It has been asked again and again: are the philosophical writings of Aristotle books, or records of lectures? And if they are records of lectures, are they drafts or memoranda prepared by Aristotle himself, or summaries and notes preserved by his hearers? Now I find in Aristotle’s writings certain peculiarities which I should not expect to find either in published works or in the notes of pupils, but which lead me to think that here are Aristotle’s notes for his lectures, or, more exactly, memoranda covering the ground of the lectures which he was about to deliver.

Let us ask ourselves what are the characteristics of the lecturer’s discourse. (1) The MS. of a lecturer may be of all sorts from a complete draft to a few curt jottings: or again, short of a complete draft, it may be a summary, literary in form though not full enough to be read currently. On the other hand his notes, while fuller than a few curt jottings, may be strung loosely together, and yet neither organized nor exactly formulated. Moreover they may be different in character at different times. But (2) it is conceivable that the lecturer should embody in his informal notes paragraphs taken from literary writings. Another point to be observed is (3) that if the lecturer repeats his course and uses his old notes a second time, there will almost certainly be additions and omissions, and in all probability the changes to be made in the delivery of the lectures will be inadequately explained in the MS. For the lecturer is thinking mainly of the impending lecture, and will not trouble himself to record exactly all the alterations which he makes in the delivery. Again (4) when he finds himself on familiar ground, he may either extract paragraphs from another course, or con-

tent himself with brief mentions to be amplified extempore. Then too (5) I find that my notes sometimes take the form of instructions to myself—such as “N.B.,” “Amplify!” “Tell them so and so,” “Dictate!” Yet another characteristic (6) is that the sentences are often flung upon the paper without any attempt to mark their relations to one another: for the notes are meant to suggest the topics, and not to expound or coordinate them. Again (7) the lecturer's sentences will be simple and conversational, and will seldom be complicated either in syntax or in structure. Again (8) the lecturer will allow himself great freedom in the selection of words and the use of technicalities.

Now I find examples of all these things in Aristotle's philosophical writings. That they are neither complete drafts nor yet mere jottings is, I think, obvious: and it is, I think, further obvious that there is more literary quality in some of his writings than in others. For example, the *ethics* seems to me to have more literary quality than the *metaphysics*, from which I derive a good many of my illustrations. As an instance of a literary patch, I may quote *ethics* I viii 7 = 1169^a11. Even in a bald version you will realize that this is something very different from Aristotle's ordinary, ramshackle, discourse.

Like the lecturer, Aristotle repeats himself, corrects, substitutes, adds, omits. The consequence is that his writings sometimes resemble a waste-paper basket: we have not so much one text, nor two texts, nor, as Professor Cook Wilson supposes in *ethics* vii, four or perhaps five. Rather it contains one text together with a host of accretions. For, even if the original text should be preserved intact, it is hardly likely that the revision will be a harmonious and consecutive whole: and it may well be that neither the original text nor the text adopted by the lecturer on subsequent occasions can be disengaged from the agglomerate. So I demur to the phrase “double recension,” which we are familiar with in regard to the *de anima*.

Again he sometimes draws upon his old stores for a few paragraphs, and sometimes contents himself in his notes with a brief mention to be amplified extempore. For example, it is a familiar fact that book M of the *metaphysics* repeats, with

occasional variations and additions, several important pages of book A : and again in A ix 990^b11–15 we have three Platonic arguments and three Aristotelian refutations packed into the compass of four lines : “ for, according to the arguments from the sciences, there will be ideas of all things which admit of scientific study : and according to the theory of the one in many there will be ideas also of negations : and, according to the argument from our thought of a thing after it had ceased to exist, there will be ideas of perishable particulars, for the image of them remains.” However subtle the Greek intellect may have been, we may be quite certain that Aristotle could not have trusted either to hearers or to readers to understand so exiguous a statement. He cannot have meant this passage to be anything more than a reminder to himself. It is as if I wrote in my notes “ third man ! ” meaning that I must here insert an explanation of that famous argument. Again, just as I sometimes insert stage-directions for my own use, so in *metaphysics* Λ iii 1069^b35 Aristotle writes μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι οὐ γίνεται οὔτε ἡ ὕλη οὔτε τὸ εἶδος, λέγω δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα, and again 1070^a4. The intrusion of the ὅτι shews that this is a mere reminder, and that the text makes no pretence to be a full exposition. Another point is that the lecturer is apt to be careless in his memoranda in regard to the connexion of his sentences : for as the notes are meant to be amplified, the connexions can best be supplied extempore. Accordingly in *metaphysics* Z ii 1029^a9 sqq. in six lines we have six sentences all beginning with γάρ. It is true that any explanatory sentence or clause whatever may be introduced by that long suffering particle : but when it is used in this promiscuous way, when no attempt is made to shew what sort of explanation is offered, γάρ in no wise helps us to the understanding of the argument. And there are instances in which δὲ takes the place of *any* distinctive particle, just as if an English author were to write sentences without any connecting words. Now this is precisely what I expect to find in a lecturer’s notes. Again the lecturer’s sentences will be conversational and will seldom have any complication either of syntax or of structure. Accordingly Aristotle constantly prefers the indicative form of the conditional sentence—“ if this is so, the result will be ”—

where a historian or an orator, using the optative, would have written "if this were to be so, the result would be." Finally it is notorious that Aristotle sometimes allows himself a large liberty in the invention of unliterary words. A man who can make from the pronoun *ἐκεῖνος*, "that," the adjective *ἐκεῖνός* on the model of *ξύλινος*, "thaten" on the model of "wooden," can have had *no* scruples. Moreover it is to be remembered that certain phrases which *we* pardon as recognized technicalities—such as *τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι* and *τὸ ζῶν εἶναι*—originally belonged not to the language of philosophical literature, but to the jargon of the lecture-room: and accordingly I allow myself in like manner to translate *τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι* "the what makes it so," and I think that in so doing I better preserve the flavour of Aristotle's speech than I should do by adopting the conventional phrase "the essential nature." There was a time when I had thought of "quiderativity," but even that seemed to me too formal.

Again, I think that a little phrase which has troubled the commentators is purely conversational. In 1072^b22 Aristotle writes *ἐνεργεῖ δὲ ἔχων*. Now according to Bonitz with *ἔχων* we must supply *τὸ νοητόν*, and take the sentence to refer to "the supreme mind, since it contains in itself, and is, its own object, not only possessing the faculty of thinking, but also energizing in thought": and I have to acknowledge that the result is not unsatisfactory. But to complete the sentence, do we not want either *τὸ νοητόν*, or at any rate *αὐτό*, or some equivalent, and is not the sentence after all somewhat feeble? On the other hand Krische takes *ἔχειν* to mean the possession of faculty in opposition to *ἐνεργεῖν*, the exercise of it. With Bonitz I think this interpretation impossible in our context: and I cannot see that it adds anything to the argument. Thus far then I declare for Bonitz (and Zeller) against Krische (and Schwegler). But I venture to think that there is another possible interpretation, simple, natural, and idiomatic: and it a little surprises me that apparently no one has suggested it. We all know that *ἔχων* appended to a present indicative "adds the notion of duration to that of present action," *L.* and *S.*, e.g. *τί κυπτάζεις ἔχων*, *τί φλυαρεῖς ἔχων*, and the like. Why should we not give the word this idiomatic meaning, "and it keeps energizing" or "it

energizes continually"? For this notion, that supreme mind is continually operant, dominates the situation, and moves the austere Stagirite to an unwonted enthusiasm when he proceeds to the theological interpretation. "It is wonderful that God should have always an excellence which we have sometimes: that he should have a greater excellence is still more wonderful."

HENRY JACKSON.

TRISTE PROFVNDI IMPERIVM.

Iuu. XIII 49 sq.

nondum *imi* sortitus triste profundi
imperium Sicula toruos cum coniuge Pluton.

I will transcribe first the notes on these lines in my edition of 1905, and then Mr Owen's remarks in J. P. xxxv p. 144.

49 imi*, om. **P**, **aliquis** Ψ, uide Ouid. met. iv 444 *imi tecta tyranni* **50 imperium LO, imperium aut PΨ**; at de Neptuno sermonem non esse demonstrat *triste adiectiuum*, uide Hor. carm. III 4 46 *regnaque tristia*, Sen. Med. 11 *dominumque regni tristis*, Stat. Theb. VIII 80 *regia tristis*.

'I naturally inferred from Mr Housman's note "**IMI***, om. **P**, **ALIQUIS** Ψ" that his surprising conjecture *imi* for *aliquis* was due to the supposed loss of a word for which *aliquis* found in the manuscripts other than **P** was a stopgap conjecturally supplied. Therefore I showed by examples that the omission of a word such as *aliquis* is a slip common in **P**, and affords no basis for conjecture. But Mr Housman now'—i.e. an. 1915, J. P. xxxiv p. 43—'says that his objection to the text is that "*triste* is applicable to Pluto's empire and inapplicable to Neptune's."

When Mr Owen confesses that he 'naturally' behaved in this manner,—naturally left my notes unread, naturally inferred, from having done so, that I, in spite of my record, was a palaeographical emendator like himself,—he lays bare with great simplicity the root of the trouble. That such proceedings are natural to him, and almost unimaginable to me, is a fact which accounts for most of our dissensions; and when he says on p. 142 'Mr Housman is dissatisfied that I disagree with him' his divination is far astray.

But although he has not even yet read my notes of 1905 he has read at least one sentence in my article of 1915, '*triste* is applicable to Pluto's empire and inapplicable to Neptune's';

and he replies that *triste* is equally applicable to either. Because there are occasions when the sea deserves and receives the epithet *tristis*, he thinks that Neptune's empire can be called *triste profundum imperium*. Neither I nor anyone else can explain to Mr Owen that this is not so, and I shall make no endeavour of the sort. The way to refute such reasoning, as Burke said, is not to answer it, but to use it. The sky, as well as the sea, is called *tristis* on appropriate occasions, Sen. dial. i 4 14 'perpetua illos hiemps, *triste caelum* premit,' n.q. iv 4 3 'niualet diem, cum altum frigus et *triste caelum* est'; and Mr Owen says (J. P. xxxiii p. 252) that *profundum* means the sky in Manil. v 721. Therefore Jove's empire, as well as Neptune's, can be called *triste profundum imperium*. The only one of Saturn's sons whose empire, according to Mr Owen, cannot be called so, is the lord of hell, called *dominus regni tristis* by Seneca.

And why? Because Mr Owen, casting about for something definite to say against my surprising conjecture, discovered, to his relief and joy, that there is no example in the dictionaries of *profundum* meaning the deep of hell. That the adjective *profundus* is attached to *Acheruns*, *manes*, *Dis*, *Erebus*, *Tartara*, that Pluto is called *Iuppiter profundus* and Proserpine *Iuno profunda*, are not considerations which, under the circumstances, would weigh with Mr Owen. Nor, from the fact that *profundum* means the deep of heaven in Manil. v 720, did Mr Owen infer that a fortiori it could mean the deep of hell: quite the contrary. J. P. xxxiii p. 252 'The same word could hardly mean both heaven and hell in so precise a language as Latin. Considering the quantity of theological literature that has been written in this language, if this were so, it would lead to confusing results' (it is horrible to think what confusion must have been caused by using *spiritus*, as theologians did, of both God and the Devil). Now I do not myself care whether the substantive *profundum* occurs elsewhere in the required sense or not; but for Mr Owen's sake I turned to the first author whom I thought likely to furnish an example, and I cited an allusion to Amphiaras' descent into the underworld from Aetn. 578 'septemque duces raptumque profundo.' Mr Owen however says that *profundum* here means merely 'the abyss,'

which is a comparatively shallow affair: hell is too deep to be called *profundum*; and he still requires a passage where the realm of Pluto is unmistakably so entitled. Well, here are two: Sen. Phaed. 147 sq. 'teneri crede Lethaeo abditum | Thesea profundo' and Oed. 577 sq. 'temptari abditum | Acheron profundum mente non aequa tulit.' But I suspect that Mr Owen will still find my conjecture as surprising as ever, and that his dislike of it is based upon something much more solid than any erroneous opinion about the sense of *profundum*.

At the three other places, III 236 sq., VII 184 sq., I 168, Mr Owen unostentatiously abandons, in deference to my unfair criticism, the attitude which I criticised: this surely is very handsome conduct on his part. I will only add that what he calls on p. 142 'the attack which has been made by Mr Housman (J. P. xxxiv 40 foll.) on certain conclusions of mine' was a reply to an attack which had been made by Mr Owen (J. P. xxxiii pp. 246—55) on certain of my conclusions.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ANCIENT HISTORIANS AND THEIR SOURCES.

Communicated to the Oxford Philological Society, 20 Feb. 1920.

The object of this paper is to consider an assumption—it may almost be called a dogma—which underlies the greater part of what has been written (especially in Germany) during recent years on the question of the relation between ancient historians and their sources. Students of the politics, the religion, and the economic life of the ancient world have long realised that the greatest caution is required before they venture upon any generalisations whatsoever about ‘Greco-Roman antiquity,’ a period in which are to be found anticipations of almost all the tendencies which have revealed themselves more explicitly in medieval and modern times, and such caution is equally desirable in those who occupy themselves with ancient historiography, the conception of History, its functions and method, held by ancient historians from Herodotus onwards. If generalisations about ‘antiquity’ are possible at all, they must surely be based on such facts as the non-existence in ancient times of railways, telegraphs, and printing; where human nature is concerned, it is not unreasonable to expect an overwhelming amount of evidence before accepting views which imply that the ‘ancients’ were intellectually and morally different from the ‘moderns.’

In spite of much recent criticism¹ the ‘positivist’ view that the object of the ‘scientific’ historian is to discover and illustrate ‘laws’ is far from extinct, though it too often happens that these laws turn out to be merely empirical generalisations, which ought at best to serve as guiding ideas, and which cannot without absolute dogmatism be applied to all the relevant facts.

¹ Croce, *Teoria e Storia della Storiografia* (1917) pp. 265—282; Ed. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* (1910) pp. 1—78, and *Gesch. des Altertums* 2nd ed. vol. II. p. 182f. Croce’s chapter on

Greco-Roman Historiography (pp. 165—181) takes the view that ancient historians were too ‘pragmatic’ in their standpoint, and were too little interested in the history of ideas.

As it is with a 'law'¹ of this character that the present paper is concerned, I begin by quoting the statement of it given by Nissen some 50 years ago in an article on Pliny's *Histories*². 'It is commonly said,' he declares, 'that the writings of Tacitus are based on thorough investigation of sources, and the exact scientific standards of our day are attributed to ancient writers. These assertions merely raise an incredulous smile on the face of anyone who has submitted any part of Tacitus to exact study. In fact, they contradict all the fundamental conditions of ancient historical writing. The law concerning the use of sources (*das Gesetz der Quellenbenützung*) which I have laid down in the case of Livy applies to all ancient historians from Herodotus onwards, but more especially to all who described not their own but a past time. They took over from their predecessors not merely their material, but the form given to it, and pulled it about as seemed good to them (*um damit nach freiestem Gutdünken zu schalten*). The only difference between careful and careless, critical and uncritical, writers is that the one reproduce their source in form and contents more or less slavishly, while the others test (*prüfen*) and study (*sichten*) their source, and impose upon it the stamp of their own mind. The Romans had no conception of the study of original documents, such as has been attributed to Tacitus by modern writers.'

It will be noticed that this statement, extreme as it is, does admit that ancient historians sometimes used several sources, and were capable of applying some sort of criticism to them, but modern followers of Nissen wish to drop even these qualifications. Fabia, e.g., in his *Sources de Tacite* (p. 118) says 'Not only had an ancient historian no scruples in borrowing from his predecessors materials already worked up, but among his predecessors there was one whom he considered the best, and whom he takes as his special guide. He plays the part of principal source; the others have only the inferior position of secondary sources. The historian, in other words, does not fuse together

¹ In his *Cäsar's Monarchie u. das Principat des Pompeius* (1919) p. 20, Ed. Meyer protests against the use of this word. 'It is to be wished that

this misleading expression would disappear from all discussions of style.'

² *Rheinisches Museum* vol. xxvi. p. 500.

all previous accounts: he chooses one which serves as base, and completes or corrects it by means of the others, with more or less of continuity and care.' In accordance with these principles, Fabia reduces to a minimum the use made by Tacitus of his secondary sources, and establishes to his own satisfaction that in the *Histories* he practically rewrote Pliny the Elder, and in the *Annals* Aufidius Bassus and Cluvius Rufus.

The same view has been expressed even more strongly by writers on Plutarch's Biographies. Ed. Meyer, e.g., in his study of the Life of Cimon (*Forschungen* vol. II) denies that Plutarch had read any of the numerous writers whom he quotes about, e.g., the Battle of the Eurymedon or the Peace of Callias. His source (Vorlage) was an earlier biographical work from which he merely, not always intelligently, copied the views of previous historians. No modern writer, he says, if called upon to write a short biography of Charles V or Frederick the Great would think of studying contemporary documents; he would simply aim at expressing in an interesting form conclusions established by others. (Surely this is not quite the same thing as the procedure which he attributes to Plutarch.) He considers that Plutarch when writing his Greek Lives had at his disposal a mass of biographical works compiled by Hellenistic writers, and that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, he merely selected from this mass *one* book of which he approved, and rewrote it in his own style, adding nothing of any importance. The same view is accepted in the main by Leo in his *Griechisch-Römische Biographie*¹. He asks, e.g. (p. 176), why in his Life of Demetrius Plutarch quotes hardly any previous writers, while the Life of Demosthenes contains references to more than twenty. 'The essential point,' he says, 'is that in his Demetrius Plutarch paraphrases an author who himself quoted few or no authorities, while in the Demosthenes he uses a biographical writer whose book had a learned character.'

A similar attitude is adopted (possibly with rather more justification) by many writers on Plutarch's Roman Lives. Peter²,

¹ *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie nach ihrer litt. Form* (Leipzig, 1901).

² *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer* (Halle, 1865) p. 11.

e.g., combating the view of a previous writer that the Life of Coriolanus was based on the study of several authorities, continues: 'In such a way may Pliny have worked but never Plutarch. Rather while he was writing he can scarcely have had even Dionysius before him. He had read him carefully through, perhaps made some short extracts, and then wrote out his biography quite freely from memory.' Though the Life of Cicero seems to bear traces of the use of several sources—it quotes Cicero's pamphlets *De consulatu* and *De consiliis*, his letters and speeches, the Memoirs of Augustus, and Tiro's Life of his master—Leo and Schwartz will not allow that Plutarch set eyes on any of these writings. Leo¹ says that the biography is directly derived from an author who made use of the above sources and also of the historians of the period (Sallust and Livy). Schwartz² makes a similar assumption, describing Plutarch's source as 'a well read pedant who composed a lively mosaic from the writings of Sallust as well as from the literature of pamphlets and gossip': he suggests that he was the obscure Fenestella 'a learned compiler who despised no trifling and piquant detail'³.

In spite of the unanimity with which this general principle seems to be accepted, the writers whom I have quoted occasionally show signs of feeling a little uncomfortable about it. Ed. Meyer, e.g., says 'It is natural that Plutarch got hold of the most detailed history available, and, when possible, added extra material'⁴. A passage in the Life of Cimon concerning the Cimon and Thucydides, which he, with much probability, traces back to Didymus, seems to him to be of this character, i.e. an addition by Plutarch from his own reading. But why, if Plutarch's reading included Didymus, should it not have included other writers, the references to whom, according to Meyer, are derived from his *Hauptquelle*? Leo, again, says 'If he is provided with a convenient summary of the essential facts,

¹ *op. cit.* p. 165.

² *Hermes* vol. XXII. (1897) p. 554: 'Die Berichte über die catilinarische Verschwörung.'

³ Similarly, in dealing with Appian,

Meyer assumes that he had only one source. v. *Kl. Schriften* p. 399, *Cäsar's Monarchie* p. 609; cf. Schwartz s.v. Appianus in Pauly-Wissowa vol. II.

⁴ *Forschungen* II. p. 66.

he can easily add characteristic details from his own collections¹. If, however, one admits the existence of such 'collections,' there seems to be no reason to assume that only 'characteristic details' were derived from them.

I propose in considering this question to confine myself to Tacitus and Plutarch; they were practically contemporaries, and both wrote of the early Roman Empire, though unfortunately of Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars* only those of Galba and Otho survive. In the first chapter of his *Life of Alexander* Plutarch lays stress on the distinction between history and biography, but he only does so in order to justify himself for emphasising certain aspects of his subject. There seems no real basis for the common assumption that in antiquity the historical was quite distinct from the biographical tradition, and that biographers used entirely different sources from historians. Indeed, one of the commonest criticisms of ancient historians is that they occupied themselves too much with 'great men,' and too little with movements and tendencies². Few historians are so impersonal as Thucydides, and no biographer could concern himself with *ἡθῆ* to the exclusion of *πράξεις*. It may well be the case that the general view which I am combating is more true of Plutarch than of Tacitus, but it is convenient to treat together two authors who represent the same period of antiquity, and whose works, at first sight at least, give the impression that they are based on a careful survey of the available material.

In dealing with Tacitus I start with the letter of the younger Pliny³ in which he replies to Titinius Capito, who had urged him to write history. 'Tu tamen iam nunc cogita quae potissimum tempora aggrediar. Vetera et scripta aliis? Parata inquisitio, sed onerosa collatio. Intacta et nova? Gravis offensae, levis gratia.' The words 'Parata inquisitio, sed onerosa collatio' have naturally been treated as of crucial importance to students of ancient historiography. What view of historical method do they imply? Some critics (e.g. Fabia) see in them a statement that ancient historians felt themselves under no obligation to consult sources which had been used by a predecessor. But

¹ *op. cit.* p. 162.

³ v 8.

² e.g. Croce, *Storiografia* p. 171 f.

do they mean more than that it is convenient if the relevant material has been collected by an earlier worker? What modern writer on, say, the Athenian Empire fails to benefit from Busolt's footnotes, but the recognition of an obligation to him does not imply that no direct use is made of the *Corpus* or Thucydides. Indeed, the following words 'onerosa collatio' make it clear that a comparison of earlier writers is considered to be requisite. How can a critical 'collatio' of sources be made without some reference to the authorities on which the rival versions are based? I fail to see what justification Schwartz has for saying that 'such a comparison was limited to comparatively few points which seemed to be of special importance.' Some ancient (and some modern) historians have dealt with their sources in a careless and uncritical way, but the point is that Pliny's words seem to imply the existence of a standard, and that it was regarded as the duty of an historian to compare his sources and not merely to select and rewrite one of them.

Other letters of Pliny provide much information about Tacitus' method of work. Not only do we find that Tacitus asked for the fullest details about the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 (VI 16, 20), but Pliny goes out of his way in writing about an event which happened under Domitian to say 'quanquam diligentiam tuam fugere non possit, cum sit in publicis actis' (VII 33). In the face of this clear evidence Fabia is driven to say that the principles which he applies to the *Annals* and the extant part of the *Histories* are not applicable to the lost later books, in which Tacitus was dealing with what were, in Pliny's words, 'intacta et nova.'

Again, while admitting that Tacitus was more of an artist and less of a student than the elder Pliny, we are perfectly entitled to use the well-known account given by the younger Pliny of his uncle's method of work¹ to throw light on the question of the degree of conscientiousness expected in an historian of this period. 'Avunculus meus' he says elsewhere² 'historias et quidem religiosissime scripsit.' The material included in the 160 note-books which the uncle left to the nephew must have been to a large extent collected for his

¹ *Ep.* III 5.

² *Ep.* v 8.

historical works. In the extant *Historia Naturalis* (III 1) we read 'Quapropter auctorem neminem unum sequar, sed ut quemque verissimum in quaque parte arbitrabor,' and there seems to be no reason to think that, when writing history, Pliny adopted a different method. The application to him of the epithet 'religiosus' goes to prove that a standard of historical scholarship existed at that time, and makes it difficult to believe that a great reputation as an historian could have been acquired by a writer who fell far short of it.

It is commonly said that ancient, and particularly Roman, History was seriously injured by its association with Rhetoric, and it is easy to find passages which show that great, perhaps excessive, importance was attached to 'eloquentia,' e.g. Cic. *de Oratore* II 15 Videtisne, quantum munus sit oratoris historia? Haud scio an flumine orationis et varietate maximum; Tac. *Annals* IV 34 Titus Livius eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis; *Agric.* 10 Livius veterum Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores; Quintilian x 1. 31 Est historia proxima poetis, et quodammodo carmen solutum; *id.* 101 Livius...supra quam enarrari potest eloquens. Most of the historians of the early Empire began their careers as barristers, e.g. Servilius Nonianus (diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris, *Ann.* 14. 19), Cluvius Rufus (eloquentia clarus *Hist.* 4. 43), and, of course, Tacitus himself. But the importance of these considerations, as it seems to me, has been greatly exaggerated. Do the passages quoted do much more than prove that a good style was appreciated in an historian? For they do not stand alone. In the letter which has been so often quoted Pliny says that he shrinks from writing history *because* his training at the bar to some extent unfits him to do so: 'Orationi et carmini parva gratia, nisi eloquentia est summa: historia quoquo modo scripta delectat.....Habet quidem oratio et historia multa communia, sed plura diversa in his ipsis quae communia videntur.' In the *De Oratore*¹ Cicero puts into the mouth of Antonius an account of the function of an historian which is far from treating history as a mere rhetorical exercise: 'Quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid

¹ II 15. 62 f.

veri non audeat? ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? ne quae simultatis? Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus, ipsa autem exaedicatio posita est in rebus et verbis: rerum ratio ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem; volt etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriaque dignis consilia primum, deinde acta, postea eventus expectentur, et de consiliis significari quid scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis declarari non solum quid actum aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo, et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causae explicentur omnes vel casus vel sapientiae vel temeritatis hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestae, sed etiam, qui fama ac nomine excellant, de cuiusque vita atque natura.' This is a programme which certainly involves a critical treatment of evidence.

Lucian¹ again, in the true spirit of Polybius, holds that the two essential qualifications for an historian are *σύνεσις πολιτική* and *δύναμις ἐρμηνευτική*. In style he is to aim primarily at clearness, and should avoid the tricks of the rhetorician. He is to collect his facts with care, and select the informants least likely to be partial. 'And here comes the occasion for exercising the judgement in weighing probabilities²'. Finally, Livy, the most 'eloquent' of ancient historians, tells us in his Preface that the history of Rome has been written frequently: 'dum novi semper scriptores *aut* in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se *aut* scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt.'

Passages such as I have quoted discredit the idea that there is any fundamental difference between the conceptions of the function and method of History held by enlightened thinkers in ancient and in modern times. It is not only in antiquity that historical works have been written whose object is rather 'rudem vetustatem superare' than 'certius aliquid afferre.' For the life of Cicero, for instance, 'parata inquisitio,' all the relevant material has long ago been studied by scholars; what a modern writer can do is what Pliny expresses by the word 'collatio'—he can criticise the views of his predecessors, and deal with the familiar material from a new standpoint. On the other hand, there are even in Ancient History periods which

¹ πῶς δὲ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν §§ 34, 43, 47.

² κἀνταῦθα ἤδη καὶ στοχαστικός τις καὶ συνθετικός τοῦ πιθανωτέρου ἔστω.

are still relatively 'intacta ac nova,' and an historian of these may be fortunate enough to have at his disposal material hitherto unpublished or quite inadequately discussed, and thus 'certius aliquid afferre.'

It seems then probable that the importance which the ancients admittedly attached to style in historical composition did not blind them so much as has often been supposed to the need of sound and critical judgment in an historian. There were in antiquity historians who were mere plagiarists (e.g. Diodorus) and others who fall short of the highest standards of scholarship (e.g. Livy), but the important fact is that the faults of such writers were recognised as faults. As Lucian says¹, the standard was set once for all by Thucydides, and the view may be, and has been², held that modern historians too may take him as a model.

To return to Tacitus, the most superficial reading of his works gives the impression that he had before him several sources. Like every historian, he had to make a selection, and it is a false assumption that he was ignorant of facts which he does not happen to mention; if footnotes had existed in antiquity, he might have given us some of the information which we get from Suetonius and Dio. He probably did not live up to the principle which he lays down 'Nos consensum auctorum secuturi quae diversa prodiderint sub nominibus ipsorum trademus' (*Ann.* XIII 20), and very likely rejected stories which seemed to him improbable without stating his reasons in the text of his work. We know, for instance, that there were several versions of the death of Tiberius (*Suet. Tib.* 72 f.), while Tacitus only gives one; but there is no need to follow Fabia³ in thinking that he made no use of the authors in whom the other versions appeared.

The following are a very few of the passages which seem unfavourable to the view that Tacitus followed only one authority:

Hist. I 41. Extremam eius vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere.

¹ *op. cit.* § 42.

³ p. 411.

² e.g. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* p. 67.

id. II 37. Invenio apud quosdam auctores...dubitasse exercitus, num posito certamine vel ipsi in medium consultarent, vel senatui permetterent legere imperatorem.

id. II 101. Scriptores temporum qui potente rerum Flavia domo monumenta belli huiusce composuerunt, curam pacis et amorem reipublicae, corruptas in adulationem causas, tradidere.

id. III 28. Hormine id ingenium, ut Messalla tradit, an potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium incusat haud facile discreverim.

id. III 29. Inter omnes auctores constat.

id. III 51. Celeberrimos auctores habeo.

id. IV 83. Origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata: Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant.

Ann. I 81. De comitiis consularibus...vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur.

id. III 3. Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio functam.

id. IV 10. In tradenda morte Drusi quae pluribus maximae fidei auctoribus memorata sunt retuli.

id. IV 53. Id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae.

id. VI 7. Nobis pleraque digna cognitu obvenere, quamquam ab aliis incelebrata.

id. XIII 20. The rival views of Fabius Rusticus, Cluvius Rufus, and Pliny are quoted. 'Sane Fabius inclinatus ad laudes Senecae, cuius amicitia floruit.'

id. XIV 2. Cluvius and Rusticus quoted again. 'Sed quae Cluvius eadem ceteri quoque auctores prodidere, et fama huc inclinatus.'

id. XVI 6. Quamvis quidam auctores tradant.

In *Ann.* I 69 Pliny and in xv 61 Fabius Rusticus are quoted for details which do not appear in the other sources.

In the face of this evidence, to which must be added the passages from Pliny quoted above to prove the 'diligentia' of Tacitus, how is it possible to hold the view that the narrative of the *Histories* and the *Annals* is not based on a careful study of earlier historians, and to some extent of documentary sources,

such as the 'acta diurna' and the 'acta senatus'? Apart from *a priori* considerations, the critics of Tacitus seem to rely mainly on the remarkable verbal resemblances which have been noted between the first two books of the *Histories* and the writings of Plutarch and Suetonius on the same subject. As these resemblances have been collected by Fabia and by Hardy (*Studies in Roman History*, First Series, pp. 295 f.), I content myself with one instance.

Tac. *Hist.* I 41. Extremam eius vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit varie prodidere. Alii suppliciter interrogasse, quid mali meruisset, et paucos dies exsolvendo donativo deprecatum: plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita e republica videretur.

Suet. *Galba* 20. Sunt qui tradant, ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum: Quid agitis, commilitones? ego vester sum, et vos mei! donativum etiam pollicitum. Plures autem prodiderunt, obtulisse ultro iugulum, et ut hoc agerent ac ferirent, quando ita videretur, hortatum.

Tac. *Hist.* I 41. De percussore non satis constat: quidam Terentium evocatum, alii Laecanium; crebrior fama tradidit Camurium quintae decumae legionis militem impresso gladio iugulum eius hausisse.

Plut. *Galba* 27. ἀπέσφαξε δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, Καρούριός τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαίδεκάτου τάγματος· ἔνιοι δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δὲ Λεκάνιον ἱστοροῦσι, οἱ δὲ Φάβιον Φάβουλον.

The theory which has been based on such certainly very striking resemblances is that Tacitus, Suetonius, and Plutarch alike are drawing from one writer, from whom they select the incidents which interest them, rewriting them in their own style, without troubling, except very occasionally, to 'verify the references' or to add anything of their own. Stress too has been laid on the discrepancies which have been noted between the account of the relations between Nero, Otho, and Poppaea given in *Ann.* XIII 45 and that which is found in *Hist.* I 13; it has been supposed that in the former case Tacitus is reproducing Cluvius Rufus, the 'source' of the later books of the *Annals*, and in the latter Pliny the Elder. The difficulty raised by the passages where Tacitus says, e.g., *invenio apud quosdam*

auctores is removed by the simple expedient of saying that 'behind the indeterminate plural is concealed the single name of the common source' (Fabia p. 115).

Now it is quite certain that the Lives of Suetonius¹ did not appear till at least 15 years after the publication of the early books of the *Histories*, which it is clear from Pliny's Letters had an immediate success, and it is perfectly impossible to date Plutarch's *Galba* and *Otho* with any exactness, so that it appears not to be impossible that both Suetonius and Plutarch made, at any rate, some use of Tacitus, though he cannot have been their only source. But even if we hold that Plutarch and Suetonius are not directly dependent on Tacitus (and this seems on the whole to be probable), are the resemblances which have been noted between their accounts much greater than one might expect to find between three writers dealing with the same subject, in about the same space, and using, naturally to some extent the same authorities? Do 'quidam auctores' and 'scriptores temporum' simply mean 'C. Plinius'? If, as Fabia tries to prove, only one continuous history of the year 69 existed in the time of Tacitus—that of Pliny in his continuation of Aufidius Bassus—the theory of one source may be approximately true of this part of his work, though even Fabia admits that he consulted Messalla, and Mommsen² and Peter consider that Cluvius Rufus dealt with the year of the Four Emperors. But, in any case, it seems unfair to make general statements about the method of Tacitus on the strength of conclusions drawn from his treatment of a period for which *ex hypothesi* only one satisfactory source existed. We know that for the reign of Nero Tacitus had at his disposal at least three sources, Cluvius, Rusticus, and Pliny. Why is it necessary to assume that one of these was the *Hauptquelle*, and that the others

¹ It seems unlikely that Suetonius would content himself with one authority if the account of him given by Peter (*Gesch. Lit.* vol. i. p. 124) is at all correct. 'Kein Schriftsteller der späteren Jahrhunderte lässt sich auch nur annähernd mit ihm vergleichen, keiner hat den Umfang seiner Wissens

und seiner Gelehrsamkeit, seinen Forschungstrieb, seine Gründlichkeit, seinen unermüdlichen Fleiss wieder erreicht; man kann ihn den Varro seiner Zeit nennen, einen dritten Varro hat es nicht gegeben.'

² *Hermes* iv. p. 318 f.

were only occasionally consulted? Tacitus undoubtedly compared their accounts of certain rather unimportant matters; what reason is there to suppose that he did not do so throughout? He states himself that he is going to follow a 'consensus auctorum' (*Ann.* XIII 20), and only very strong evidence should make us take this definite statement to be a deliberate falsehood. I do not deny that Tacitus may occasionally have taken a reference from one of his authorities without checking it, especially if he had at his disposal a work of such a careful compiler as Pliny. He may not have thought it necessary to look up the exact authorities for the name of the murderer of Galba, or for the different accounts of his last words. But this is a very different thing from the procedure which is attributed to him and other historians by the writers whom I criticise. Tacitus is not above criticism as an historian, indeed, in many respects he falls short of the ideal, but the evidence which has been adduced to prove that he was an uncritical plagiarist is totally inadequate¹.

I turn now to a brief consideration of Plutarch. Most of the numerous studies of his *Biographies* start with the assumption that he had read at any rate a large proportion of the authors whom he quotes, and on whose merits and defects he often comments. It is supposed e.g., that for his fifth century *Lives* he had read not only Herodotus and Thucydides, but Ion, Stesimbrotus, the Attic comedians, the Attidographers, Ephorus, Theopompus, and the various Peripatetic and Alexandrian writers whom he mentions in the course of his narrative. A writer who is known from his *Moralia* to have been a well-read man has naturally been supposed to have read the works to which he refers. Before dealing with the criticism which has recently been brought against this supposition, I quote, as in the case of Tacitus, a few examples of the passages which seem strongly to support it.

Nicias 1. Since then it is impossible to pass over in silence those actions of Nicias which Thucydides and Philistus have recorded, especially such as indicate his manners and disposition, we shall give an abstract of what appears necessary, lest we

¹ I am glad to note that Boissier (*Tacite* p. 74) takes a similar view.

should be accused of indolence and negligence. As for other matters not generally known, which are found scattered in historians or learned from ancient dedications or decrees, we shall collect them with care, not to gratify a useless curiosity, but to enable men to understand his character and disposition. (This reference to ἀναθήματα and ψηφίσματα is of great importance, and supports the view that Plutarch made a free use of Craterus' συναγωγή ψηφισμάτων.)

Them. 27. Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus say that Xerxes was dead, and that the relations of Themistocles were with his son, while Ephorus and Dinon and Clitarchus and Heraclides and many others say that he came to Xerxes himself. But the view of Thucydides seems to fit in best with the chronology, though this is not absolutely settled.

Cim. 13. Callisthenes says that no definite agreement was reached, but that the battle of the Eurymedon prevented the Persians from sending their fleet into the Aegean. But this treaty is included in Craterus' collection of psephismata, as though it were historical.

Per. 28. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. Duris indeed often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not misled by interest or passion, and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country in order to put the Athenians in an odious light.

Them. 2. Yet Stesimbrotus says that Themistocles heard the lectures of Anaxagoras, and frequented Melissus the physicist, which is quite impossible chronologically; for Melissus commanded against Pericles, who was much younger than Themistocles, at the siege of Samos, and Anaxagoras was his associate.

Pomp. 10. But the evidence of Oppius must be taken with caution, when he speaks of the friends or enemies of Caesar¹.

Passages such as these establish the fact that *someone* used

¹ Similar passages are *Solon* 19, *Crassus* 13, *Caesar* 8, *Cicero* 49. It is very probable, however, that Plutarch

took some of his quotations from Latin writers second-hand. He was not very familiar with Latin.

several sources, was capable of recognising prejudice and inaccuracy, and appreciated to some extent the value of documentary and epigraphical evidence. Is it necessary to suppose that Plutarch took both his facts and his criticism second-hand, and to follow Leo¹, who says 'It is important to realise that the biographical writer never claims even relatively to draw from primary sources, but always prefers that someone else should provide him with a reservoir and a pipe'? How is this statement to be reconciled, e.g., with the passage from the Life of Nicias quoted above?

In his study of the Life of Cimon² Ed. Meyer declares that the great mistake which has been made by modern students of Plutarch (and Nepos) consists in not drawing a sharper distinction between historians and biographers. 'They search for the sources of Nepos and Plutarch as though these writers were in the same position as Livy, Trogus, Diodorus, and Arrian, instead of treating them in this matter like Diogenes, Marcellinus, and the biographies in Suidas. Although it is clear that they made no use of Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenophon, and that Plutarch never opened the *Ath. Pol.* of Aristotle, writers speak of Ephorus, Theopompus, etc. as the sources of Plutarch and Nepos, assume that they extracted long passages from these and similar authors, and even imply that the quotations made by Plutarch from the most obscure authors were collected, at least to a large extent, by himself, and that the learning which he displays is his own. These are all fancies which are quite inconsistent with the facts.' The view which Meyer himself favours is that Plutarch and Nepos drew from what he vaguely calls 'die gelehrte biographische Tradition,' which incorporated the labours of scholars of the Peripatetic school and the Alexandrian age, and that the apparent learning of later writers was simply plagiarism.

It has been urged above that there is no good reason for accepting this sharp distinction between History and Biography, and that, on the contrary, the ancients did not adequately distinguish between the two. There are certainly long passages in Plutarch's Lives which are naturally studied in exactly the

¹ *op. cit.* p. 165.

² *Forschungen* II. p. 67.

same way as if they occurred in the writings of Diodorus, Appian, or Dio. But this point does not greatly concern the main question; writers whom I have quoted in connection with Tacitus take the same view of the method of 'historians' as does Meyer of the method of 'biographers.'

Again, if we admit, as is indeed necessary, that Plutarch inherited a great amount of scholarly work on the subjects of his biographies, does it follow that he only consulted one of his predecessors in each case? One generally looks in vain in the writings of his modern critics for the names of the authors of which he made special use. He used 'eine möglichst ausführliche Vorlage,' but he is not allowed to have consulted any of the greater writers of the Hellenistic age, e.g., Hermippus, to whose researches we undoubtedly owe much of the information contained in the Lives of Solon and Lycurgus.

The implication seems to be that because Plutarch is an interesting writer, not devoid of literary merit, he cannot also have possessed any of the instincts of a student, and as great an emphasis is laid on the distinction between historian and scholar as on that between historian and biographer. It is supposed that historians and biographers alike, at least in Plutarch's day, thought only of picturesqueness and of moral lessons, leaving to others all the drudgery of research. It seems to be forgotten that Livy, the writer to whom this theory is more applicable than to most, declares that the function of the historian is not merely 'rudem vetustatem superare' but 'certius aliquid afferre.'

The view which I am combating has gained considerable support from the belief that Wilamowitz¹ has established that Plutarch had never read the *Ath. Pol.*, and that his quotations from that work are all second-hand. It is therefore worth while to consider the main points which Wilamowitz makes. (1) In the Life of Themistocles there is no reference to the statement of the *Ath. Pol.* that he was concerned with the fall of the Areopagus, though this assertion has a bearing on the date of his flight to Asia, in connection with which many other writers are quoted. (2) In the Life of Solon the constitution of Draco

¹ *Ar. und Athen.* i. 299 f.

is not mentioned; the date of the institution of the Areopagus is discussed without any reference to the statement of the *Ath. Pol.*¹ that it existed before Solon. Now such arguments from silence are notoriously weak, and it is remarkable that two of the points which Plutarch fails to mention—the connection between Themistocles and the fall of the Areopagus, and the constitution of Draco—are almost certainly points on which Aristotle is wrong. When Ed. Meyer² is speaking of Plutarch's source (not of Plutarch himself) he says that he shows great critical insight in simply ignoring, e.g., Ephorus' impossible account of the battle of the Eurymedon. Apparently when Plutarch's source leaves things out he shows a critical sense, but when Plutarch does so, it is because he knows nothing about them. It is impossible not to suspect some confusion of mind in those who have championed the extreme view.

To return to Wilamowitz—he has to face the fact that in Plutarch's Lives there are several direct references to the *Ath. Pol.*, e.g., *Nicias* 2—The best statesmen of the fifth century were Thucydides, Nicias, and Theramenes; *Them.* 10—The generosity of the Areopagus in the year of Salamis; *Cimon* 10—Cimon gave free meals only to his own demesmen; *Per.* 9—Pericles bribes the people out of public funds on the suggestion of Damonides of Oa. In support of his view that these quotations were all second-hand Wilamowitz draws attention to the fact that they mostly occur in what he calls a 'nest of quotations' along with references to other authors, e.g., in *Cimon* 10 the main narrative seems to go back to Theopompus (v. fr. 94) while details are added from Aristotle, Cratinus, Gorgias, and Critias. Again, in *Them.* 10 we find the quotation from Aristotle in close proximity to a reference to Cleidemus and a decree of the Troezenians, probably taken from Craterus. Wilamowitz concludes that all the quotations, including those from Aristotle, were drawn from some learned predecessor of Plutarch or from scholia. But many of Plutarch's quotations do not appear in groups, and the source of these 'nests of quotations' may just as well have been his own notes as a work of a learned predecessor. In any case, the arguments by which Wilamowitz

¹ Ch. 2. 6.

² *Forschungen* II. p. 20.

tries to prove his point seem to me quite insufficient for the purpose.

Various views have been held as to the extent of Plutarch's historical reading. Wilamowitz, though he will not allow that he was acquainted with the *Ath. Pol.*, says that he certainly consulted Ion, Stesimbrotus, Craterus, Panaetius, Didymus, and Theophrastus, and that many traces of the last are visible in his theoretical views on political matters. Busolt¹ thinks that he used Ion, Stesimbrotus, and Callisthenes directly, but took other references from a biographical source or from scholia. 'It is not easy to draw a line between his own work and that of others, but it is probable that' (when writing the Life of Cimon) 'he had before him a biography which was based on the work of Theopompus and other sources.' Indeed, the theory that he used only one source must be associated mainly with the names of Meyer, Leo, and Schwartz, though there seems to be a general desire to minimise his erudition.

Meyer² is particularly anxious to prove that Plutarch was not acquainted at first hand with the writings of Callisthenes, who is quoted in the Life of Cimon for the name of the Persian commander at the Eurymedon, and as denying the historicity of the Peace of Callias. According to Meyer, Callisthenes can only have dealt with this period in a digression contrasting the vigorous anti-Persian policy of fifth century Athens with the Spartan policy which led to the Peace of Antalcidas. If this is so, it is almost incredible that he denied the reality of the Peace of Callias, on which fourth century writers were so fond of enlarging; he probably stated that after the Eurymedon Persia felt too weak to send ships into the Aegean, and that later, after the death of Cimon, she concluded a definite agreement not to do so. If this reconstruction is correct, there has certainly been a misunderstanding somewhere, and Meyer holds that, in view of this, Plutarch cannot have read Callisthenes himself, apparently on the ground that he would have been incapable of such a piece of carelessness. But in that case the mistake must have been committed by his source, of whom elsewhere Meyer speaks with respect as a representative of 'die

¹ *Gr. Gesch.* iii. i. p. 36.

² *op. cit.* p. 2.

gelehrte biographische Tradition,' who must either have misunderstood Callisthenes himself, or have reproduced someone who did. Someone must have read the original work of Callisthenes in order to misunderstand it, and, if there is a misunderstanding, it seems more consistent to attribute it to Plutarch, who is *ex hypothesi* a mere literary man and moralist, than to his source, who is elsewhere assumed to have embodied the results of learned investigation.

It was pointed out above that Meyer and Leo are willing to admit that Plutarch added a certain amount from his own reading to the material which he derived from his source. But such a concession seems to me to make it perfectly impossible to establish their general position, for, in view of the fact that perhaps not a single one of what are taken to be Plutarch's *Hauptquellen* has come down to us, how are we to determine what are his own additions? If we study, for instance, the account given in the Life of Aristides of the operations at Plataea, we note that apart from a great deal of information clearly derived, directly or indirectly, from Herodotus, there is a fair amount of material which must be attributed to another source. The popular view is that the Herodotean and non-Herodotean passages were taken by Plutarch from Idomeneus of Lampsacus (of whom, incidentally, he speaks with disrespect in one place¹). But is there any objection to supposing that, when Plutarch was preparing to write his Life of Aristides, he ran through the account of Plataea in Herodotus, with whom he was of course familiar, looked at any later accounts on which he could lay his hands, noting—I think we must be prepared to admit—mentions of variations in detail without always verifying them, and then wrote the Life in his own style, embodying in it the material which he considered relevant from his memory and his notes?

A similar account may be given of the method in which the Life of Nicias was composed; it seems probable that it is adequately and truthfully described in chapter 1, quoted above². Thucydides is followed closely when Plutarch is dealing with

¹ *Per.* 10.

² v. Heidingsfeld, *Quomodo Plutar-*

chus Thucydide usus sit in componenda Niciae vita (Liegnitz, 1890).

subjects like the operations at Pylus and the Peace of Nicias, for which he was obviously the best authority. On the other hand, the account of the Sicilian Expedition differs in so many details from that of Thucydides, that it seems reasonable to ascribe most of it to Philistus, to whom Plutarch refers in the introductory chapter. Again, there is no reason to assume that Plutarch is misleading us in saying that he has added to what he derived from the two historians a considerable amount of material from other sources. Why should the quotations from, e.g., the *Ath. Pol.* and the comedians not be due to his own reading?

It is not my purpose to claim for Plutarch the title of critical historian; I do not even wish to assert that he always verified his references. He did not always think it necessary to state the source of his information (though he might have done so had footnotes existed in antiquity). The inscriptions which he quotes are probably derived from some such handbook as that of Craterus, and it is possible that his numerous quotations from the Attic comedians were found by him in some collection of passages of historical interest. The scholars of Alexandria must have produced works similar to those which nowadays enable the essay of a beginner to sound like the work of a learned student. Although Plutarch is quite capable of recognising prejudice or exaggeration in his authorities, he was probably too little alive to the desirability of weighing their relative merits, and preferring a Herodotus to an Idomeneus.

But all this may be admitted without accepting the views of Meyer and Leo. Plutarch was certainly a well-read man. I imagine that, like the elder Pliny, he took copious notes. When he was writing his *Lives* he very likely referred to these rather than to books. This would explain why certain passages in extant works to which we would expect him to refer are not mentioned; when he was reading the book he had not realised their importance. He may sometimes have trusted to memory and thus given an inaccurate quotation. He may have taken 'parallel passages' without always looking them up (books were not easily procured before the days of printing). He may have forgotten to what authority he owed a piece of information.

But this is very different from doing what Meyer and Leo attribute to him, sitting down with an earlier biography of the same man in front of him, copying out without acknowledgment not only the narrative, but the judgments and the controversial passages, and contributing, apart from the style, only a very occasional fact from his own reading. He may not have been a critical historian, but he was probably an honest man, and it is difficult to believe that the ancient and modern standards of honesty in an historian were as different as is implied by the theory which I have criticised. There seems to be no justification for applying to either Plutarch or Tacitus the name of plagiarist¹.

G. H. STEVENSON.

¹ Since writing the above I have read the discussion of the sources of Tacitus in Schanz, *Geschichte der röm. Litteratur* II ii (1913) pp. 315—321, and am glad to find an almost complete agreement with the views which I have expressed. Apparently the "Ein-

quellenprinzip" has been attacked by E. Groag and A. Gercke in *Fleckeeis. Jahrb. Supplementbd.* 22—3 (1896—7). Schanz, while holding that Tacitus used numerous sources, considers that it is impossible to specify them accurately.

CLAUSULAE AND PLATONIC CHRONOLOGY.

As I hope to show, there are three rhythmical types that are characteristic of Plato's later works only; and in their application students of Plato have, what has hitherto been lacking, an adequately objective criterion for dating some of the most important of his dialogues. But since the rhythm of Greek prose is still, comprehensibly enough, a subject that does not come within the ken of the average classical scholar, I must first of all deal with its general aspect before coming to its effect on the chronology of Plato's works.

Rhythmical movement in prose is a subject that may be variously conceived. To guard against misunderstanding, I must necessarily try to define my position, though clear-cut distinctions on such a matter should not be expected to give the whole truth satisfactorily. I shall deal with the consecution of syllables in certain works of Plato, and to be more explicit, with such consecution only in the endings of sentences, that is in the clausulae, but I shall disregard the rhythms produced by the arrangement of phrases and of clauses and of sentences themselves.

Examination of the rhythms of Greek and Latin prose authors is a fairly recent development, and hitherto most of the work done has been with orators or with markedly rhetorical writers, so that there is a tendency to confine rhythm only to those authors who may be supposed to have arranged their word-effects deliberately in order to strike the popular ear. Indeed, this tendency has gone so far, that, to name a scholar whose word carries great weight, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff¹ treats the possibility of rhythm in the Platonic dialogues very summarily. In a general survey of rhythm in Greek prose he relegates Plato to a brief footnote, dismissing him on the ground of style as a writer who stands apart from the rhythmical ten-

¹ *Hermes* 35, p. 35.

dencies of his contemporaries and who cannot be brought into connexion with them in this respect. But the trend of his article (he is dealing primarily with the later Atticist and Asiatic writers) shows that like others he is too much influenced by the artificial rhythms of the later rhetorical writers, who intentionally stereotyped their rhythmical endings. Plato stands on a different level; though no orator he might nevertheless have concluded his periods rhythmically out of mere force of nature. Cicero, indeed, distinctly asserts the rhythmical 'conclusio' to be a human invention—*post inuenta conclusio est, qua credo usuros ueteres illos fuisse, si iam nota atque usurpata res esset; qua inuenta omnes usos magnos oratores uidemus.* (Cic. Orator 169.) That Gorgias of Leontini first showed the way to balance phrases and clauses, can be maintained, and Cicero's statement may stand in this respect if 'conclusio' is confined to the structural rounding off of the periods; but the rhythm of the syllables and of the words depends on the individual and peculiar music that the best prose writers have on all subjects and in all languages, and this rhythm is usually innate and not acquired.

The most interesting and sententious writer on the rhythm of prose in antiquity is Aristotle (Rhet. iii 8); practically every word in the chapter is repeated and amplified to wearisome length in the works of later rhetoricians. The main guiding principle that Aristotle inculcated is that the style must be rhythmical, but not metrical—*τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε ἄρρυθμον* (l. c.). The rhythm must not be made up of metrical feet in any regular sequence, else the prose will be turned into verse, or rather into a medley of catch-phrases, with the reader or listener ready to give the inevitable refrain. When we consider Plato in particular, we shall find his rhythms in his last works predominating with such startling certainty as one would barely think possible in prose, and thus, when he is weighed in Aristotle's scale, he is found somewhat wanting in this respect. And this is true not only of the Laws, where Plato might be thought to have paid attention to his rhythm, considering that the periods in that work are constructed on an elaborate scale, but also of the Philebus,

where the disjointed formlessness of composition and the rugged harshness of style are clear evidences of the form being completely overmastered by the matter in the mind of the author. In this circumstance we have a strong argument against the theory that rhythm in prose must always be premeditated. The truth is that rhythm may be intentional, but it is primarily not. I could point to a peculiarity in the construction of the Sophist that is another indication of Plato's unconsciousness of his own rhythms, but to mention it at this stage would only complicate matters. It seems that to subscribe to the opposite theory is to imply that Plato in his last years as it were of malice prepense and to his own detriment narrowed his fine feelings down to helpless subservience to three rhythmical cadences. Rather, I should think that he was so much under the spell of these cadences and so oblivious of his enslavement that he never noticed how frequently he was using them.

Aristotle then proceeds to consider each metrical foot for the purposes of rhythm in prose; he rejects the dactyl as too epic, the iambus as too much belonging to ordinary conversation and the trochee as too light and tripping. In thus differentiating iambics and trochaics in prose, Aristotle has fallen into a strange error. He justifies his stigma on the trochee by referring to tetrameters, thereby showing that he is influenced by the poetical usage of these metres; but it passes the wit of man to tell whether in an alternate succession of long and short syllables in a piece of prose we are to begin with the long or with the short. It is just as absurd to distinguish in prose between a dactyl and an anapaest in the body of a sentence. Now that these metres have proved unsatisfactory, Aristotle says *λείπεται δὲ παιάν, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο μὲν ἀπὸ Θρασυμάχου ἀρξάμενοι*. These words might easily have been perverted by Cicero¹ to imply that prose rhythm commenced with Thrasymachus, but Aristotle says no such thing. All that the words legitimately convey is that in Aristotle's opinion the first man to use the paeon as a rhythmical cadence, whether consciously or not, was Thrasymachus; and there is no need to foist on Aristotle the views of Cicero and his modern followers.

¹ Orator 175.

It is well known that the ancients considered the end of the sentence, that is the clausula, the rhythmical pivot of the whole sentence, and this was true for palpable reasons. For us prose is written, not to be spoken, but to be read, and to be read in paragraphs, which mould the rhythm to a large extent, and all our teaching on the writing of prose depends on the vital importance of the paragraph. In the best Greek prose, however, and to an obviously especial degree in the Platonic dialogues, the paragraph does not play so important a part, and if some modern texts are divided into paragraphs, it is mostly for convenience' sake. The chief divisions of the written page that the Greeks knew were the grammatical—sentences (*περίοδοι*) and clauses (*κῶλα*); these divisions forced themselves, not upon the eye as with us, but upon the ear, which was clearly influenced most by the parts of the sentence that stood out in relief, the beginning of the sentences and clauses and the end. But the impression created by the initial part of the period was materially diminished by the mass of words that filled the body of the sentence, and so it came about that the early part was much less important, from the standpoint of oral reading, than the unencumbered clausula. Still, it is wrong to think that the clausula is the only part of the sentence that has any rhythm. This blunder is avoided by Quintilian and Hermogenes¹. Aristotle recognises a distinct rhythm for the beginnings of sentences; in deciding for the supremacy of the paeon, which is infrequent in poetry, as the basis of the rhythm, he does not restrict its use only to the clausula, but advises its cultivation in initial positions too. In particular, he says that it is better to employ the first paeon (— ∪ ∪ ∪) for the beginning and the fourth paeon (∪ ∪ ∪ —) for the clausula. Curiously enough, it is this very cadence, the paeonic, that forms the main rhythm in Plato's last works; the first example in the clausulae of the

Laws is *δικαιότατον γεγονέναι*. Examination of the peculiarities of this paeonic rhythm shows that frequently an extra syllable

¹ Cf. Hermog. *περὶ ἰδεῶν* i, p. 260 (Rabe)=Spengel, p. 301, ἡ ἀνάπανσις ἢ ποιὰ μετὰ τῆς συνθήκης τῆς ποιᾶς τὸν

ῥυθμὸν ἀπεργάζεται; and Quintil. ix 4, 61 sqq.

or two is added after the paeon¹, and that it is merely a variation of the type, and nothing more, to say *μετὰ ῥαστώνης*

διαπερᾶναι (Laws i 625 b) or *πολέμιον διανοητέον* (Laws i 626 d).

In any figures² that I shall give I must be understood to be speaking only of clausulae; for my object has been primarily the value for the chronology of Plato's later works that the discovery of his rhythms has, and since of all the parts of the sentence the clausula is the most important in point of rhythm, in all applications of his rhythm the clausula must hold the chief place. Yet in the whole of the twelve books of the Laws, in the Philebus, in the Politicus and in a part of the Sophist the rhythms that make up the body of every sentence are not a bit different from the clausulae, and it is remarkable, nay bewildering, to watch the almost unbroken continuity and the unimaginable frequency with which the few rhythmical forms occur. To quote examples is childish when every page in the works mentioned teems with them; Laws ix 853 c *καὶ τούτων ἀποτροπῆς τε ἔνεκα καὶ γενομένων κολάσεως τιθέναι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμους, ὡς ἐσομένους, ὅπερ εἶπον, αἰσχροὺν μὲν τινα τρόπον*³ is extreme only in so far that the main type of the three, namely

¹ Though there may be no ancient authority for allowing such an addition of syllables, the statistics of the Laws, the Philebus and the Politicus are, I think, quite decisive. The percentages of $\sim\sim\sim | \approx$, averaging 10.3%, are so remarkably high that their connexion with the main paeonic type seems undeniable. Again, on comparing $\sim\sim\sim | \approx$ with $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ and $\sim\sim\sim | \approx$ with $\sim\sim\sim\sim$, we find that in 23 out of the 28 cases the types that have a paeon before the last two syllables have percentages that are at least three times higher than the percentages of the types that have no paeon before the last two syllables; these non-paeonic types have the higher percentage only in 1 case out of the 28.

² I know only two attempts to elicit the rhythms of Plato's later years.

Mr W. Kaluschea deals with the clausulae of the later dialogues in the *Wiener Studien* (26, 1904); he has not convinced scholars. His presentment is in many ways unsatisfactory—he treats (for instance) the rhythms of the Sophist as homogeneous. I have made no use of his figures, but have myself worked over the later works. The remarks of Prof. Campbell in the introduction to his edition of the Sophist and the Politicus are those of an observant empiricist groping in the dark. I know the work of A. W. de Groot (*Handbook of Antique Prose Rhythm*, 1918) only from reviews published after this paper was written.

³ The (short) vowel of *τε* is elided; the long vowel of *τιθέναι* is counted short, as I hope to show soon.

∪∪∪¹, is used to the practical exclusion of the other two. The latter are --∪∪ and ---∪. The main type, with its variations, occurs in clausulae on the average about thirty-eight per cent.; in the third and the sixth books of the Laws it reaches a total of forty-four per cent. The second type (--∪∪) occurs about twenty-five per cent.; in Laws xi it has thirty-seven per cent., but this is abnormal. The average of the third group is about fifteen per cent., so that the three together make up seventy-eight per cent. of all the clausulae that are to be found in the Laws and in the works that accompany it. I have taken care to use one text throughout, that by Burnet, and have followed his punctuation and readings always, in order that my readers should have no occasion for impugning the trustworthiness of my results. I shall later on point out instances where the rhythm shows that Burnet's readings are in all probability wrong, but in tabulating my figures I have followed Burnet's text faithfully and have disregarded the evidence of the rhythms, although if I had made simple changes² the seventy-eight per cent. would have been increased.

As to the method, I have counted the clausula of every sentence, but have omitted the endings before colons. Since I have concentrated upon the clausula as the most important and the most tangible part of the whole sentence, I have similarly restricted myself to the most important class of sentence-divisions, the full-stop. If I had included the colon endings the result, I need not say, would have been just the same, but the work would have been greater. Moreover, once you overstep the bounds of the full-stop you are drawn in strict logic beyond the colon to the clauses that make up the period, for the Greek colon often represents an English comma merely; and the vista

¹ I have throughout taken the last syllable to be anceps.

² I.e. by the proper insertion and omission of nu ephelkustikon (about which I shall say something shortly) and by the avoidance of hiatus. With regard to the latter subject the statistics of the rhythms confirm (what is already well known) that Plato in his later works avoids hiatus. When in cases

of hiatus the first vowel is short, in order to obtain the correct rhythm (i.e. one of the three types) elision is necessary in four cases for every one in which non-elision would produce a good rhythm. But when the first vowel is long or a diphthong, elision does not take place; the long vowel is counted short (see p. 232, note 2).

of work thus opened is indeed frightful. It will be seen that I have left nothing to caprice; the only sentences that I have omitted are the formal questions and answers that take up half a line at most, such as ἀληθέστατα, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις (Laws i 627 d) and τὸ δὲ πῶς χρῆν ἡμᾶς λέγειν (ib. i. 630 d) and θαῦμα καὶ ἀκοῦσαι (ib. ii 656 d), which it would have been intolerable to count, though even here it is noteworthy how the shortest collocation of words contains one or other of the two chief rhythms.

Vowels before stops (or mutes) followed by a liquid remain short and we thus obtain evidence from a prose author of the length of such syllables in the ordinary conversation of Greeks towards the close of the classical period. In the breathed stops followed by a liquid (πρ, τρ, etc.) I find after careful counting in the whole of the Laws that for every case in which the lengthening of such syllables would produce an ending belonging to the second and the third chief rhythms¹ there are at least three cases in which such a lengthening would change the best rhythms (υ υ υ ≈ with its variations) into very bad rhythms. For γρ see σύντασιν ἀγρίαν ποιεῖ (Phil. 46 d), where the main type υ υ υ – is followed by an appendage of two syllables; also τιθασῶ καὶ ἀγρίῳ (Polit. 264 a), πολιτείας ὑπογράφειν (Laws v 734 e), and κηρύγμασιν ἀγρίοις (ib. xii 953 e). Obviously to consider the syllable long in these cases would destroy the rhythm, and the same is the case with vowels followed by δρ, as οὔτω καταδραμεῖν (Laws vii 806 c), καὶ σφόδρα σαφεῖς (ib. v 745 b), αὖ σφόδρα πένης (ib. 743 c), τὰς σφοδροτάτας (Phil. 63 d), ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ σφόδρα κεχρημένοις (Laws iv 717 c), τινων σφόδρα γυναικῶν (ib. i 639 b), and καὶ σφόδρα φανήσεται (ib. v 733 a)². If the vowel before the mute in the case quoted before the last is considered to be lengthened, the ending would be that of an hexameter, which is the rhythm that is most avoided of all by Plato in these works. I can quote only Polit. 300 c and Laws vi

¹ Such lengthening of course never produces an example of the first rhythm (υ υ υ ≈ with its variations). If the third chief rhythm (--- ≈), which has the least percentages of the three, is excluded from the reckoning, the proportion will be, not three to one, but five to one (i.e. the figures will be not

35 : 12 but 35 : 7).

² Since hiatus is avoided by Plato in his later works, τῶν σφόδρα δλιγων (Phileb. 52 b) and ἔοικας σφόδρα ἀποκνεῖν (Laws vi 780 d) may be added as confirmatory examples. On the other hand, τὰ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντα ἄγρια (Polit. 264 a) must be added as an adverse case.

769 b as instances that would make for the view that the vowel before the voiced stops followed by a liquid is lengthened¹; but in this matter the majority must undoubtedly be followed, so that it seems certain that such syllables are short. Long vowels or diphthongs at the end of a word followed by a vowel in the beginning of the next word are shortened, as in Homer; of this too there is no possibility of doubt. The instances that can be quoted are so many that it is really futile to go to the extremity of enumerating them singly²; so that we have very important evidence of the ordinary Greek feeling on the matter, as opposed to the Roman tendency of elision.

It is noteworthy that the type $\cup \cup \cup \simeq$ is of the same metrical length as the last three syllables of the type $-- \cup \simeq$ and that both have a short syllable in the penultimate position, so that the three types may be two only after all; but I have not allowed such speculations to interfere with my presentment of the statistics.

To put the great differences in rhythm between the later and the earlier dialogues in their proper light, I ought to add figures for earlier works; this I shall do later on, in the case of one dialogue (the *Timaeus*) and a part of another (the *Sophist*), which I have worked through³.

¹ Before $\beta\lambda$ it seems from $\iota\pi\acute{o}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta\varsigma$ (Laws xi 932d) and from $\delta\acute{\xi}\upsilon$ $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (ib. iv 715d) that the vowel is lengthened, or to speak more strictly, that the vowel and the following consonants make a long syllable. In this Plato agrees with old Comedy, see Kühner-Blass i, § 75, p. 306 fin.

² In the *Laws* against every four instances in which such shortening makes the rhythm of the best type ($\cup \cup \cup \simeq$ and its variations), only one instance of any of the three main types can be adduced in favour of the vowel remaining long. If cases, in which the least important rhythm of the three is produced, are excluded, the proportion is then seven to one (i.e. 64:9 as against 64:14).

³ Mr W. Kaluscha's article in the *Wiener Studien* (26, 1904) deals with

the earlier as well as with the later works of Plato. To judge from the figures adduced there, the three rhythms characteristic of the later dialogues never total more than 40% or 50% in the earlier. Hexameter (about 7%) and iambic and trochaic (about 14% together) endings are constant in the earlier dialogues, but these types and the rest appear in such equable proportions that it is desperate work to try to arrange the single dialogues themselves. Mr Kaluscha produces nothing definite with regard to the earlier works. There is a peculiarity in the rhythms of the *Phaedrus* that he does not seem to have observed. The rhythms of the speech of Lysias are different from those of the speeches of Socrates; the speech of Lysias has the dispondees 32%, whereas the speeches of Socrates

Laws															
Polit. Phileb.		i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii		
%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
(i)	)	14.2	17.1	16.2	14.0	22.8	18.8	23.5	21.8	19.7	17.4	22.4	17.5	15.5	18.6
	)	8.7	11.0	9.3	11.5	8.8	9.1	10.8	12.4	8.4	10.7	9.6	10.4	6.3	7.7
	)	3.7	4.4	3.8	2.0	8.0	6.6	8.3	4.9	5.5	6.2	6.9	6.3	6.3	7.7
	)	6.6	6.2	4.1	3.0	4.4	4.6	0.6	5.3	5.5	5.0	4.1	4.9	1.2	5.0
Total of (i)		33.2	38.7	33.4	30.5	44.0	39.1	43.2	44.4	39.1	39.3	43.0	39.1	29.3	39.0
(ii)	)	21.2	23.5	21.3	20.1	21.7	27.4	22.3	22.3	23.4	23.6	25.0	30.5	37.4	24.9
(iii)	)	16.3	16.0	14.2	23.2	11.6	12.2	10.8	13.6	13.9	18.6	16.8	11.1	11.5	13.6
Total of (i, ii and iii)		70.7	78.2	68.9	73.8	77.3	78.7	76.3	80.3	76.4	81.5	84.8	80.7	78.2	77.5
	)	8.1	4.4	7.9	8.5	5.2	5.6	5.1	5.3	6.5	5.6	5.0	3.7	7.5	6.8
	)	4.1	2.9	5.2	4.5	2.8	2.0	0.6	1.5	2.5	4.5	2.7	3.0	2.9	2.7
	)	3.5	3.8	4.9	2.5	1.6	5.1	3.8	3.4	2.2	3.4	0.9	1.9	3.5	2.7
	)	3.3	2.1	3.0	4.0	4.8	0.5	1.3	1.1	2.2	0	1.4	3.0	1.7	3.2
	)	2.4	1.0	1.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.6	1.5	1.9	0	0.9	0.8	1.7	1.4
	)	1.3	1.4	1.9	1.0	1.6	0	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.5	0.8	1.2	0.9
	)	5.8	5.3	6.0	2.0	3.2	5.6	8.3	4.1	6.1	2.8	3.2	4.2	3.5	5.0
	)	1.1	0.8	1.1	1.5	1.2	0.5	2.6	1.1	0.9	1.1	0.9	2.2	0	0

have it only 6.5%. Again, the Socrates speeches have iambic and trochaic rhythms 25%, but the speech of Lysias has no instance of them. Too much should not be concluded from this great dissimilarity; the speech of Lysias is very short and therefore does not afford

a reliable basis for a study of its clausula rhythms. But the figures seem to make against the opinion, which is easily refuted on other and sounder grounds also, that Plato himself is the real author of the speech of Lysias.

It does not take long to see that the rhythms of the first two books of the *Laws* are nearer to those of the *Politicus* than to those of the *Philebus*, and that in strict logic the *Philebus* should have been connected in the table with one of the middle or of the later books of the *Laws*; for the differences are too glaring to admit of doubt. Furthermore a steady growth in the total of the three rhythms is noticeable, but when they reach the seventy-eight per cent. mark they fluctuate slightly. One cannot expect mathematical precision in a matter that depends so much on personal feeling. In the almost total elimination of hexameter endings Plato seems to be acting of set purpose; but this does not imply premeditation in his adoption of his principal rhythms. There are indications that Aristotle had predecessors who touched upon the subject of rhythm in prose, so that there is nothing remarkable if Plato became influenced by the new theory, that the hexameter ending should be excluded from prose.

Before I enter upon the chronology proper and the very interesting rhythms of the *Sophist*, I must first point to some new lights shed by the rhythms on important matters that cannot be neglected. I shall exclusively base my remarks on the *clausula* rhythms, whenever they afford decisive indications, but indeed the rhythms of the rest of the sentence, which are the same, are practically on the same level as regards grammatical questions, so that with care more evidence, which I think will be confirmatory, can be dug from the mine that has been opened up. Phil. 59 a settles a vexed question once for all; the form that Plato used, in the later works at least and presumably also in the earlier, is *συντεταμένως* (read by the corrector of Ven. 189), not *συντεταγμένως*, which the Bodleian has. Similarly the form of the dual is *τούτῳ τῷ γένει*¹ (Polit. 260 b), not *γένει*, which is read by nearly all the MSS. but which makes the rhythm as bad as the iambic rhythm of *συντεταγμένως*. On the issue between *σ* and *ξ* in compounds of *συν*, the instances in favour of the *σ* outweigh those on the other side both in

¹ The reading may be *γένῃ*, which Burnet prints. To judge from Kühner-Blass i i, § 123, p. 432, *γένει* in Attic

prose seems to be merely an error of the manuscripts.

number and in importance; contrast πάντα συνορῶντα (Laws xii 965 b) and ταῦτα συνέπεσθαι (Phil. 24 d), which would be the exceedingly rare hexameter ending if ξ be read, with Laws vii 793 b and 813 e, iv 709 b, v 727 c, and Polit. 275 e, which would only produce the third and least important rhythm (---≡) if ξ be substituted, and consider also that in Laws i 640 d, iii 681 b and 687 e, and Polit. 261 c the main rhythm (∪∪∪≡) would be destroyed and (in all the cases except the last) iambic cadences put in its place if ξ be read, and there can be no hesitation as to the verdict. I need not point out that in applying the main rhythms to the elucidation of intricate and hitherto almost insoluble problems we are going beyond the vagaries of manuscripts right up to, it may in all truth be said, Plato's own ear for rhythm. Even if the numbers on both sides would be equally balanced, there is still a very strong probability in favour of the spelling or reading that agrees with the chief rhythms.

Many bad clausulae may be put straight by simply omitting or inserting the nu ephelestikon. Rhythm, it has been repeatedly said, prescribes the presence or absence of this letter, and now that we have the rhythm, with no possibility of any doubt, much of the difficulty of its usage disappears. In χαίρουσιν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς (Laws ii 656 a), τοῖς κεκμηκόσιν νέμοντα (ib. iv 718 a), ἀπειλήσοντές τισιν νόμοις (ib. vi 783 d), ὑψηλοῖς τισιν λόφοις (ib. iii 682 c), θύμασιν καὶ εὐχαῖς (ib. x 888 c), ἔμπροσθεν πρότερον (Polit. 296 b), ἀπώλεσεν μέρη πολλὰ (Laws xi 935 b) and in other cases the simple and necessary omission of the nu would correct the rhythm. In making up my figures I counted these examples as they stand, for the reason that I have given. Similarly many instances can be added to the second chief rhythm (---∪≡) and to the third (---≡) by merely putting in the missing nu; e.g. ἔμπροσθε κεῖται (Phileb. 41 d), ἐστὶ καὶ θεοῖς (ib. 65 b), γράμμασι μανθάνει (Laws vii 819 b), δόξειε λέγειν (ib. ix 859 e), and ἐστὶ φύσει (Polit. 302 a).

In punctuation and in textual matters the rhythm can be of considerable help. In Laws ix 854 b the full-stop should be at παντὶ σθένει and a colon or a dash should be put after εὐλάβεια,

μαθέ and thereby you prevent the ὅταν clause disfiguring the text with its asyndeton. In Phil. 15 c, ταῦτ' ἔστι...ἀπάσης ἀπορίας αἷτια μὴ καλῶς ὁμολογηθέντα καὶ εὐπορίας ἂν αὐ καλῶς, omit the ἂν with Badham and the rhythm also is put right; to understand εἴη is extremely harsh, and the passages quoted in Bury's note (Theaet. 186 d and Aristoph. Clouds 5) stand on quite a different footing. Phil. 36 b ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἀλγεῖν has now the rhythm also against it; the ending in question occurs only 4·4 % in the Philebus. Badham suggests omitting τοῖς χρόνοις, which would make a better rhythm but this very unsatisfactorily leaves ἐν τούτοις hanging in the air. In Phil. 31 c ἁρμονίαν ἐτίθεις, the Bodleian's reading, is condemned by the rhythm and ἐτίθεσο is rightly read; similarly in Phil. 22 e μαχουμένη κεῖται, given by most MSS., gives a far inferior sense and rhythm to μαχομένη. In the third book of the Laws (678 b) the reading of the first hand in the Vatican, προεληλυθεν ἅπαντα, makes a far better rhythm than the πάντα of the Paris manuscript A and it should therefore be read. And in Laws ix 857 c there can be no question that ἐν τῷ νῦν παραπεπτωκότι λέγειν is the correct reading and that παρόντι, read in the margin of the MSS., is wrong. In Polit. 285 b πρὶν ἂν...οὐσία περιβάλληται, περιβάλληται (read by the Bodleian) is contrary to rhythm as well as to grammar.

Of the chronology of the Laws there is little to say. The rhythms show it to be a homogeneous whole, written probably in the order in which we have it. There can be no doubt raised as to its genuineness, and even Zeller, who questioned its authorship in a pamphlet written while he was young, abandoned his scepticism later in life. But it may be worth while to recall one of his objections. He stigmatised the language of the Laws as extraordinarily forced in some places¹, but if we consider the question of the rhythm, probably we shall find this to be the fundamental reason for the unnaturalness. In the eleventh book of the Laws Plato is speaking about a wife that is mad or that has some other mental or bodily malady; he expresses himself in curious language—μαινόμενα

¹ See E. Zeller, *Platonische Studien*, p. 93 f.

κηδεύματα ἀναγκάζοντος λαμβάνειν ἢ δεινὰς ἄλλας σωμάτων ἢ ψυχῶν συμφορὰς (926 b). Such a phrase as γυναῖκα μαινομένην... συμφορὰς ἔχουσαν could not usually enter into his style when he wrote the Laws; and so it is with most of the other peculiar phrases emphasised by Zeller, e.g. παίδων δὲ ἰκανότης ἀκριβὴς ἄρρην καὶ θήλειαν (xi 930 c), ἔργων ἀποτελοῦντες γένεσιν ἔμμισθον (xi 920 e), and χειμώνων τε ἀνυποδησίαι καὶ ἀστρωσίαι (i 633 c). There is another peculiarity in the later style of Plato that the rhythms help us to understand, namely his increasing use of the Ionic dative plural in -σι in the A and O stems; cf. ἐπομένοισιν ἑτέραν (Polit. 304 e), ἀξίαισι σχολαῖς (Laws vii 820 c) and ἀρμονίαισιν μέλη (ib. ii 660 a). It is true that not all examples of the Ionic dative can be explained by the rhythm, but note in the second instance quoted firstly how an iambic rhythm is avoided and secondly how unerringly Plato's rhythmical instincts asserted themselves in not admitting the Ionic form in the noun also; for in the second chief rhythm (— — ∪ ∞) no extra syllables are added, as is shown by the low percentages of the form — — ∪ — ∞.

Now that I have dealt with those problems of technical detail that have been put in a clearer light by the recognition of Plato's rhythm, there remains still the most important question of all, chronology. I shall speak about the Sophist, the Politicus, the Philebus and the Timaeus. These dialogues all bear the unmistakable features of style that belong to the later phases of Plato's career, and there is no possibility of drawing chronological inferences within this group on this score. They are written from the standpoint of rigorous philosophical speculation, and little power is displayed in such matters as dramatic form or characterisation. Plato has definitely degenerated from the manner of his greatest literary works, where the philosophy is subordinated in our view to the beauty of the composition and to the delicate irony of the delineation of character. He now pursues the question on hand with the utmost seriousness and intentness. The monotony of abstruse argumentation is no longer broken by the amusing relief of

interludes that have no vital appropriateness to the matter under discussion. In the *Politicus* the myth is presented with no dramatic effect and solely for the better comprehension of the context, and in the *Sophist* the crude banter on the general profession of the sophists is but a pale reflection of the searching satire with which Plato portrays particular sophists in the earlier dialogues, *Gorgias*, *Protagoras*, *Thrasymachus* and *Polus*.

The *Sophist* and the *Politicus* have these characteristics in common with the other dialogues of this group, but they have another peculiarity that is not found with any similar distinctness in any other dialogue of the Platonic corpus. This lies in their being primarily attempts to define the sophist and the statesman by means of the method of dichotomy. This method of definition by means of division is found not only in these two dialogues¹, but it is the length to which the method is carried and the concentration upon division into two parts only that give the dialogues their singularity. Elementary definition indeed is inseparable from any form of proper thought, and in the references to the subject in the *Republic* little appreciable advance beyond this natural and general stage is discernible. For instance, in *Rep.* 454a ff. a presumed difference in the treatment of men and women on the ground of difference in sex is set aside as a verbal quibble (*κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα*) due to a division that is not *κατ' εἶδη*. But in the *Phaedrus* (265a ff.) the subject receives lengthier treatment at Plato's hands. Socrates shows that madness is a notion that can be divided into two parts; firstly the ordinary kind of madness (*ἡ ὑπὸ νοσημάτων ἀνθρωπίνων*) and secondly the madness that is a divine emancipation from the burden of convention (*ἡ ὑπὸ θείας ἐξαλλαγῆς τῶν εἰωθότων νομίμων γιγνομένη*). Of these two divisions the latter is subdivided into four—prophecy, the ecstasy of rites of initiation, poetry and love. Furthermore, some theoretical rules on the subject are adumbrated, and the object of the dialectician is declared to be twofold. He has first to take a synoptic view of many scattered particulars and to gather them under one *ἰδέα* in order to obtain a clear definition of the term in question,

¹ It is practised also in the *Euthyphro* and in the *Gorgias*, but without being emphasised.

and secondly he must be competent to use the reverse process of analysis, to divide *κατ' εἶδη*, but the divisions must be at the natural joints, else he will cut across them as a butcher does with meat. In these dialogues, as Professor Jackson has pointed out¹, the method of divisions does not reach the level of the *Politicus* and of certain parts of the *Sophist*, for it is still only a subsidiary means of maintaining the discussion by determining the precise meaning of debatable terms that arise during its course.

Though the method of *διαίρεσις*, especially by dichotomy, is common to both the *Sophist* and the *Politicus*, marked differences in the application of the method are distinguishable in various parts of them. Remark has frequently been made on the trivial and even fallacious character of many of the dichotomies in the early part of the *Sophist*, and some scholars, recalling how profound and penetrating Plato shows himself to be in other dialogues of the same period but ignoring the indubitable penetration of certain sections of the *Sophist* and of the *Politicus* that can come from only Plato and that are worthy of him alone, have been led by consideration of these imperfections to cast the whole of both dialogues under a ban of spuriousness. Socher has gone even to the length of calling the *Sophist* a Megarian criticism of Platonism. But to cut the knot of the dilemma in this way is now discredited and the rhythmical results that I shall apply will, I hope, give it the death-blow. The differences that exist will be seen to be not the work of different authors but of Plato in the different stages of his thought on the dialectical method, as it is called.

The *Sophist*, after a short and formal introduction, plunges at once into the dichotomous method. Plato does not propound any guiding principles about it, nor does he justify its worth as a means of scientific inquiry, but confidently assumes the method to be adequately laid down. Yet in the *Politicus* he is far more cautious and not only formulates with emphasis certain regulations for the true application of the method of divisions, but also makes great exertions to put these rules into practice. And even in the *Sophist* itself, in a later part, a more

¹ I am indebted to his article in the *Journal of Philology* xv 285 ff.

serious view is taken of the subject than in the beginning. Investigation of the rhythm gives the true answer to this strange fact. The *Politicus* was written later than all the *Sophist* and in a far later stage than the early part of it. That the *Sophist*, for explanatory purposes, falls into two parts, has long been recognised. The profound discussion centring round the possibility of the existence of Not-Being stands apart from the rest of the dialogue. In the course of the argument the sophist is declared to be an image-maker who makes falsity seem reality; this definition involves us abruptly (the transition is very forced) in an intricate inquiry as to whether our quarry, the sophist, entangled in our dialectical net and brought to bay, might not retort on us that falsity ($\tau\acute{o}$ $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$) has no Being and cannot therefore be an object of attack. This new inquiry is not decided until more than half of the dialogue is spent on it, and then with startling suddenness the discussion reverts to the classification of the sophist. Emphasis must be laid on the complete dropping of the practical application of the method of division by dichotomies throughout this disproportionately long digression; the penetrating discussion, or rather exposition, for discussion it may only be called by courtesy, is concentrated mainly on the possibility or the impossibility of the existence of $\tau\acute{o}$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\acute{\omicron}\nu$. The result is to show that some conceptions have intercommunion with others ($\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$), and that, since negative notions are not really contrary to positive notions, Not-Being is not the contrary of Being but only different from it; it has relative existence and can therefore become an object of thought.

The results of the clausula rhythms give the reason for the peculiar arrangement of the *Sophist*¹. They show quite clearly that Plato first wrote the part before the digression and the part after it, and then at a much later stage he inserted the digression, and then wrote the *Politicus*. In fact the rhythms of the digression are the same as those of the *Politicus*, except

¹ There has been great disagreement among scholars upon the question, whether the main purpose of the *Sophist* lies in the method of *διαίρεσις* or

in the digression. The fact that the *Sophist* so strangely falls into these two halves was the cause of the disagreement.

that they are not quite so pronounced as being earlier, while those of the rest of the Sophist are of a totally different character and akin to the rhythms of the Timaeus, which, as I hope to show, was written much earlier than people at present assume. But that does not imply any contemporaneity in the composition of the earlier parts of the Sophist and of the Timaeus; for the rhythms of the works that precede the Laws group (the Laws, the Philebus, the Politicus and the digression of the Sophist) are curiously jumbled, and thus little comparative chronology can be deduced from similarity in rhythms between the Timaeus and the earlier portions of the Sophist. At present it is enough to demonstrate that these parts of the Sophist did precede the digression in their time of composition, and I am only connecting them with the Timaeus because I shall deal with that work later on and because the rhythms of both are different from those of the later works. For comparative purposes I add the Politicus.

		Sophist excluding Digression	Timaeus	Sophist Digression	Politicus
		%	%	%	%
(i)	~~~~~	9.0	12.0	15.1	14.2
	~~~~~|~	6.0	6.4	9.9	8.7
	~~~~~|~~~	1.6	2.9	2.0	3.7
	~~~~~|---	3.8	3.1	6.4	6.6
Total of (i)		20.4	24.4	33.4	33.2
(ii)	---~	17.6	12.6	18.9	21.2
(iii)	----~	10.8	8.6	13.5	16.3
Total of (i, ii and iii)		48.8	45.6	65.8	70.7
	-----~	6.8	5.5	5.8	8.1
	-----~	8.3	10.1	5.8	4.1
	-----~}	14.1	16.1	8.1	6.8
	-----~	3.0	3.1	1.3	2.4
	-----~	3.3	1.8	2.6	1.3
	-----~}	9.8	12.4	7.7	5.8
	-----~	5.8	5.2	3.2	1.1
Total of the other types		51.1	54.2	34.5	29.6

The figures tell their own tale both in the aggregate and singly. The digression of the Sophist is seen to be distinct not only in subject matter but also in the time of its composition from the rest of that dialogue; and it may be of some significance in this connexion that in two places in the *Politicus* (in 284 c and 286 b) Plato refers expressly to the digression of the Sophist as though it were a part well-marked for him. Again, the mere fact that Plato allowed himself to interpolate a whole section in a work that was written before and that shows palpable differences in rhythm demonstrates Plato's complete obliviousness of any changes in his rhythm.

The limits of the digression can be defined with tolerable accuracy. At 260 a the main rhythms that mark the preceding pages break off and till the end of the dialogue the rhythm is precisely the same as that of the pages before the digression, the beginning of which I have placed at about 236 c. But this *terminus a quo* is not to be taken too strictly; for Plato would naturally have had to recast at least some part of what is to us the end of the old before he could interpolate the new, and the rhythms show that this was so. For a page or two before the beginning of the digression, as I have fixed it, the rhythm shows somewhat more of the later types than would be natural if we should suppose them to have been left untouched; but this applies only to the couple of pages immediately preceding the digression, and the main body of the old work has been left apparently in its original state. Yet it would be absurd to be mechanical about such a matter and to exclude minor verbal alterations altogether, and although the rhythms fix the close of the digression undoubtedly at 260 a, that does not preclude Plato from having smoothed down inequalities that would have made the transitions noticeable.

It ought to be barely conceivable to find anybody maintaining the contemporaneity of both parts of the *Sophist* in spite of the manifest evidence of the rhythms, but I fear that some people will do so. They will argue, I suppose, even if it is true, as it undoubtedly is, that for the hundreds of pages of the *Laws* Plato did keep conspicuously to three rhythmical cadences, without the slightest interruption, and even if he did



keep to the same rhythms in the *Politicus* and in the *Philebus* and in the digressive portion of the *Sophist*, again without the least break, what is to hinder us from permitting him to write the other parts of the *Sophist* with quite another rhythm at the very same time? What indeed, except common sense? If they think that such a striking rhythm is a garment to be donned and doffed at will, there is perhaps nothing to find fault with in their catholic outlook; but I shall not be so generous, and shall assign one rhythm to one period and another to an earlier period, and I shall find reason on my side in other respects too.

The *Sophist*, as I have said, opens with no theoretical justification or explanation of the dichotomous method. After proposing the *ἀσπαλιευτής* as an easy example to apply, the Eleatic Stranger at once asks whether we are to look upon the angler as a man who has an art or as one who has not, and when the answer is given in the affirmative, he proceeds, as if none could question it, *ἀλλὰ μὲν τῶν γε τεχνῶν πασῶν σχεδὸν εἶδη δύο* (219a)—production and acquisition. This leading statement gives rise to the series of classifications that Plato lays down in the earlier part of the *Sophist*. By incomplete differentiations and assimilations and by disregard¹ of the metaphorical element in language the sophist Proteus-like is transformed into a huntsman of young men of wealth and distinction, a manufacturer of and a merchant and a retail trader trading in intellectual merchandise, a dialectical athlete, a purger of obstructive notions and finally a maker of false images (see 231 d ff. for most of these seven conclusions). When the discussion is resumed after the definition of the angler, Plato implies without much warrant that the sophist, like the angler, is also a hunter (221 d ff.) and by far-fetched combinations he gathers under the class of hunting such conceptions as war, tyranny, forensic pleading, political

¹ Of course much of this looseness of logic in the early part of the *Sophist* must not be taken seriously, but must be attributed to the satirical element that undoubtedly exists in that part. Yet there remains a sufficient residuum

of seriousness that in point of comprehension of the dichotomous method compares unfavourably with the view taken of the method in the digression of the *Sophist* and in the *Politicus*.

haranguing and love-making (see 222 c ff.); indeed the general is a hunter just as the vermin-killer, and the physician and the bathman are purifiers both. By an inference peculiarly characteristic of Greek he identifies *στάσις* and *νόσος* apparently without suspicion that the identification is based only on a metaphor ingrained in the Greek mind (see 228 a). In fact the divisions in the early part of the Sophist are on the same level as those in the Phaedrus¹, the difference being only in the emphasis that is laid in the Sophist on division into two parts only. But in the later part of the Sophist, in the long digression that I demonstrate to have been composed later, Plato evinces a far higher conception of division into categories². He points out that certain *εἶδη* admit of intercommunion and thereby concludes that in dialectical combination and separation *ἐπιστήμη* is needed to show *ποῖα ποίοις συμφωνεῖ τῶν γενῶν καὶ ποῖα ἄλληλα οὐ δέχεται* (253 b); and that to divide according to classes without confusing the Same with the Other is the work, not of the sophist, but of the philosopher (*τῷ καθαρῶς τε καὶ δικαίως φιλοσοφοῦντι*). This treatment of the subject is summarised in the following sentence:—‘Isolation of concepts is utter annihilation of all reason’ (*τελεωτάτη πάντων λόγων ἐστὶν ἀφάνισις τὸ διαλύειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ πάντων· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀλλήλων τῶν εἰδῶν συμπλοκὴν ὁ λόγος γέγονεν ἡμῖν* Soph. 259 e). I see in this summary of the previous arguments a confirmation of the break at 260 a disclosed by the results of the rhythms. The next sentence may now be seen to have been inserted in order to bridge over the gap yawning between the old and the new (*σκόπει τοίνυν ὥς ἐν καιρῷ νυνδὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις διεμαχόμεθα* κτλ.) and such hints as are found afterwards referring to the digression are easily explained as indispensable for the proper rounding off of the discussion. But such necessary insertions had no appreciable effect on the rhythm of the eight pages or so that form the conclusion of the dialogue, and this rhythm, as well as the bulk of the subject matter, is not

¹ In connexion with the dichotomies of the early part of the Sophist Prof. Jackson rightly points out that Plato is interested mainly in the value they

have for the elucidation of debatable terms.

² H. Jackson, *l.c.* p. 287.



that of the digression but of the part of the dialogue that precedes it. Question should be raised as to how it was possible for Plato to leave the earlier part of the *Sophist* as it stands, in light of the new outlook revealed in the digression. When once logical differentiation is seen to be the philosophic method *par excellence*, it seems to us a blunder to combine the empiricism of the earlier part of the *Sophist* with the deep theories of the digressive and later part. But I think that we should not try to force on Plato our keener perceptions on the subject. Practice and theory do not always go hand in hand and this is much more the case when a bold thinker is forging far ahead in advance of his age along a new line of inquiry. Aristotle probably would never have developed his logical method were it not for Plato, but we should not expect Plato to comprehend Aristotle and future thinkers within himself also. It is quite conceivable that the digression that we now have has ousted a part of the original *Sophist* dialogue that contained a less advanced stage of Plato's thought and that was therefore intolerable to him in the flush of his new ideas. He was profoundly interested in establishing the truer theory on the matter, but mastery over the practical application of it came slowly, if ever at all.

The treatment in the *Politicus* is significant in all respects. His broadened outlook is presented by Plato in an exceedingly clear light by a pointed instance. After it has been shown that a ruler is comparable to a herdsman of gregarious animals (p. 261), the younger Socrates is asked by the Stranger how he would divide *ἀγγελαιοτροφική* into two, and in the simplicity of his heart the youth answers very readily, that the division should be between men and animals. In refutation of this unscientific division the Stranger points out very carefully how wrong it is to assume a part (*μέρος* or *μόριον*) taken from a whole class or species (*εἶδος*) to be always of necessity an *εἶδος*. A species, the speaker proceeds, is always a part, but the converse proposition that a part is always a species, is not necessarily true. It is praiseworthy, no doubt, to discriminate anything separately by itself apart from the others, but this must be done properly, otherwise the result will be but a bit of

hair-splitting. It is safer to dissect in the middle¹, and in this way you obtain species, as opposed to truncated portions of species. (See Polit. 262 b and 263 b.) The Stranger further stigmatises the unreasonableness of the distinction set up by the younger Socrates by comparing it with the equally senseless division of mankind into Greeks and barbarians, which is made on the assumption that just because the latter are designated by a single title they therefore form a distinct class. This instructive diversion is made by Plato almost at the opening of the discussion after he has given a few instances of careful demonstration of the affinities between various concepts. The method to be followed in the search for *πολιτική* is distinctly stated at the outset. It must be marked off apart from all other classes, and these are not opposites of it, but only different—*ἄλλο* (258 c). Here we get a very clear reference to the argument of the digression in the Sophist², and further indications are furnished by the distinctions immediately forthcoming. The ruler is not confined exclusively to the theoretical class of sciences; all that Plato now says is that he belongs more (*οἰκειότερον* 259 d) to it than to the practical, and that he can help little with his hands or with his body towards holding his kingdom *in comparison with* what he can do with his intellect. And so further on (260 e) the kingly art is 'mixed' in the same class with the arts of the interpreter, the boatswain, the prophet, the herald, etc., which all carry out the function of commanding (*αἱ σύμπασαι τό γ' ἐπιτάττειν ἔχουσιν* and cf. *πρὸς ἀρχήν* 259 b for the point of affinity between a king and a householder). Throughout the Politicus this growing power in the use of the analytical method is manifest. Though the divisions are generally still dominated by the idea of dichotomy, question is beginning to be raised as to its appropriateness in all cases, and in one specific case at least Plato is forced to

¹ διὰ μέσων δὲ ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι τέμνοντας and so δεῖ μεσοτομεῖν ὡς μάλιστα 265 a. In the earlier part of the Sophist there are two very casual references to the same principle. In 223 d ἡ καπηλική is called σχεδὸν ἡμισυ μέρος of ἡ

μεταβλητική and in 229 b we have εἰ πη κατὰ μέσον αὐτῆς τομὴν ἔχει τινά. There is no emphasis in either case nor does the point affect the main thesis.

² Campbell *ad loc.*



divide into seven parts *κατὰ μέλη*. Dichotomy is seen to be impossible in this case and therefore one more link is forged by Plato in the logical chain by his restricting the division to the fewest number of parts possible (*κατὰ μέλη τοίνυν αὐτὰς οἶον ἱερεῖον διαιρώμεθα, ἐπειδὴ δίχα ἀδυνατοῦμεν. δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἐγγύτατα ὅτι μάλιστα τέμνειν ἀριθμὸν αἰεί* 287 c). The complexity of his subject has taught Plato to discard practically all numerical limitations to analysis.

This is not the place to go deeply into the many details of the method of *διαίρεσις* to be found in the *Politicus* and in the *Philebus* and to see how it influenced Plato's later views on ontology. My aim has been only to put the mental operations of the earlier part of the *Sophist* in a clearer perspective and to show the gradual evolution that the methods of thought received at Plato's hands in the whole of that dialogue and in the practical application of them in the *Politicus*. Though for ordinary purposes Plato avails himself in the *Politicus* of the use of the common metaphors of speech, he is completely conscious of their being only metaphors. It is true that in the early part of the dialogue he speaks of the ruler as a herdsman, yet in 275 b (*κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα*) he displays full knowledge of the value of the comparison and indeed soon afterwards by pointing out clearly the far more comprehensive sphere of activities belonging to the statesman he almost destroys the comparison, in generalising our conception of his functions from 'rearing' collectivities of creatures (*ἀγελαιοτροφική*) to 'tending' them (*ἀγελαιοκομική*).

A whole section of the *Politicus* is taken up with elaborating the differences and similarities subsisting within the single *εἶδος* of wool-weaving and in this we have another indication of the deeper levels to which the analytical method now penetrates. Whereas in the *Sophist* Plato had been satisfied with looking at the sophist in seven different ways, he now takes up one path and by a process of logical elimination or differentiation and by attempting to grasp *all* the similarities and dissimilarities belonging to the various members that we provisionally assume to be of one class (see *Polit.* 285 b) he tries to get the one view about the matter on hand that must be the true view.

Plato had come to be deeply conscious that in the method there lay something vastly more important than a means to gain 'consistency in the use of debatable terms,' as Professor Jackson puts it very succinctly. The Platonic method of *διαίρεσις* as conceived in the digression of the Sophist, in the Politicus and in the Philebus is the true prototype of our modern system of scientific classifications, and this view of the matter is put beyond cavil by a well-known fragment of a contemporary comic poet, Epicrates¹. We get there a satirical picture of the pupils of the Academy under Plato's direction absorbed in 'dividing' a *κολοκύντη*, and since satire falls flat unless there are elements of truth in the caricature, it is not fanciful to connect it and what we know from the later dialogues of Plato with the Aristotelian investigations in natural history.

The unsatisfactory character of the definitions in the earlier part of the Sophist has hitherto been explained on the ground that they are a travesty of a new phase of thought, just as in the Cratylus he plays at etymologising and in the Phaedrus at rationalistic mythologising in mockery of certain foibles of the day. It has also been urged that they are provisional and that the method is purposely meant to develop by stages. These two suggestions² are both very lame. That when Plato had reached the exalted views of the digression in the Sophist and of the Politicus he deliberately and with little purpose descended to inculcate truth by means of inaccuracies is hardly believable. That he should play his adversaries' game and speak inaccurately in scorn is a feature that would be quite conceivable in Plato, but not when he does not give the least indication of *such* a satirical drift. The satire, that there undoubtedly is in the early part of the Sophist, is to be seen in the direct hits at the whole tribe of sophists. When he was depicting the all-powerful sophist to be from various points of view just a common artisan or tradesman, he had a satirical vein underneath it all and he intended to humble his pride by the vulgar identifications. But it is idle to imagine that Plato is secretly poking fun at the

¹ See Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* 2, p. 287 (the fragment is preserved in Athenaeus ii 59c); the very word used is *διαίρειν*.

² See Campbell, *Sophistes and Politicus*, vii ff.



method of *διαίρεσις* itself¹. Rather, when he wrote the earlier part of the *Sophist* he had not yet seen the full value of the method, though, as the enthusiasm of the *Phaedrus* about generalisations and distinctions proves, it was already established as a method of some value. He had unearthed a treasure-trove of wisdom (*ἡσθεὶς ὥς τινα σοφίας εὐρηκὼς θησανρόν* Phil. 15 e) and he turned it about on all sides in the fulness of his pleasure; and the point of his new lance was directed full tilt against the false followers of truth, Isocrates and his whole tribe. To think otherwise would ascribe to Plato too fiendish a trick played on his readers; nowhere does he intimate that in the early part of the *Sophist* he is really making an exhibition of how not to divide. However finely strung and gifted with true genius we recognise Plato to have been, and though we must always keep far from attempting to fix bounds to his penetrating intellect, we should be deluding ourselves with a vain phantom in maintaining such a view in the face of the clear evidence of the rhythms and of Plato's procedure elsewhere. He never had any difficulty in showing the smile lurking in his face—the *Euthydemus* is a case in point—and we should be doing him an injustice in imagining a smile at which he does not hint.

I shall now endeavour to show how the rhythm and the language² agree in requiring for the *Timaeus* an earlier date than is usually ascribed to it.

The rhythmical results give for the *Timaeus* unequivocal response. The three chief rhythms characteristic of Plato's last phase occur in it 45·6 %, in the digression of the *Sophist* 65·8 %, in the *Politicus* 70·7 %, and in the *Laws* the totals run up to 80 % in some cases and even beyond that. It cannot be thought that the *Timaeus* has these rhythms to any considerable extent; for 45·6 % is a paltry total in this connexion and indicative only of the equability of rhythm which the *Timaeus* has in common with the *Republic* and with all the other dialogues of the earlier

¹ Apelt (I now find) takes the same view that the satire is not directed at the method (see his ed. of the *Sophist*, p. 31).

² The question, whether there is anything in the subject matter of the

*Timaeus* that militates against placing its composition before that of the digression of the *Sophist*, the *Politicus* and the *Philebus*, will be decided by others, who are more competent than I to deal with it.

periods. Assuming that each kind of rhythm (of a standard number of syllables, e.g. four or five) had an average percentage, the three main types with their variations would amount to 50%, since they make up half of the possible permutations. But in this case they would not be prominent at all and would not stand a bit above their fellows, so that when we find a total of 45.6% for them in the case of the *Timaeus* they are appreciably below the average. The rhythms that are remarkable in the *Timaeus* are -- ◡ -- ◡ (10.1%) and -- ◡ ◡ ◡ and ◡ -- ◡ ◡ ◡ (16.1%); and these have extraordinarily low percentages in the *Laws*, so that we may confidently deny them any connexion with the later rhythms. Even if we were to take the second part of the last percentage, namely ◡ -- ◡ ◡ ◡, and we were to go so far as to consider the last three syllables as outside the rhythm, we should still not be able in this last resort to get any considerable number of cases fitting in with the principal rhythm of the *Laws* group. There is no escape. The *Timaeus* has nothing to do with the rhythms of the *Sophist* digression, the *Politicus*, the *Philebus* and the *Laws*. Rhythm puts its composition earlier than that of all these works; for I presume that nobody will venture to put it later than that of the *Laws*.

The substance of the numerous recent treatises on Plato's language is serviceably given in Mr Lutosławski's book 'The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic' (chap. iii). Taken as a whole the statistics he has accumulated (accurately I suppose), especially those dealing with the later dialogues, give the impression of an imposing and solidly-grounded structure, but in fact very many of the five hundred characteristics enumerated collapse under the slightest foot-fall, and while some of them afford a steady hold, not all of these are to our present purpose. The work of Prof. Campbell¹, the pioneer in the method, lay in comparing nouns, verbs and adjectives in various dialogues, especially in the *Sophist*, in the *Politicus*, and in the *Philebus* with those occurring also in the dialogues that by a natural *petitio principii* he presumed to be indubitably the latest, the *Timaeus*, the *Critias*, and the *Laws*; it has no significance with

¹ See his *Introd. to Sophistes and Politicus* and his essays in Jowett and Campbell's ed. of the *Rep.* vol. ii.



regard to the relative position of the *Timaeus* and of, for instance, the *Philebus*.

Of the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* and very rare words occurring in the *Sophist*, as enumerated by Prof. Campbell, 80 % are adjectives and nouns formed from adjectives ending in *-ικός*, whilst in the *Politicus* there are 60 % of such formations; the vast majority of these 'peculiarities' in the *Sophist* occur in the dichotomous part that I have shown to be the earlier. Surely we can allow Plato that freedom of vocabulary that we allow Herodotus, Thucydides and even Xenophon, a writer incomparably more circumscribed in his style and genius. If¹ *ἰσχύιον*, *γαργαλίζω*, *διαθερμαίνω* and *διαχωρεῖν* occur only in the *Phaedrus* and in the *Timaeus* in the whole body of Platonic writings, the reason is as clear as crystal. In both works medicine is touched on, directly in the one and indirectly in the other, and the only medical terms possible must be used there and everywhere else in Greek in the same connexion. And so it is with the words in the *Sophist* and in the *Politicus* that deal with spinning and hunting; pure accident or manifest coining has made them *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*. The important dialogues each deal for the most part with one or two particular subjects and, as is quite natural, each has its own quota of appropriate terms. According to the table in Mr Lutostawski's work (p. 92 last column), the *Phaedrus* has in proportion nearly as many words occurring nowhere else in Plato as the *Laws*, the *Philebus* has only about a third of the proportion of the *Politicus* (which is equal in length to it), while the *Timaeus* and the *Critias* together exceed that of the *Laws* by about 50 %. To take the number of peculiarities proportionately according to the number of pages in each dialogue is no irreproachable procedure, but for comparative purposes it is much more sensible than leaving the size of the dialogues altogether out of consideration. Statistics such as these, derived mechanically from totalling up *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, can have small bearing on chronological questions, but rather they indicate how luxuriantly prolific Plato's vocabulary was on all the subjects

¹ So Campbell says (*Rep.* ii, p. 54). there is the noun, *γαργαλισμός*, in  
But *γαργαλίζω* occurs *Phil.* 47a, and *Symp.* 189a.  
seemingly not at all in the *Timaeus*;

with which he dealt. The *Phaedrus* teems with poetical words, such as γάννυμαι, γλαυκόμματος, μελίγηρυς, and at whatever time of life he was, if Plato wished to enthrall his readers with a dithyramb in prose, he naturally had to import into his diction a rich stock of poetical words. It is absurd to conceive that in his youthful days he had no such command of language as the *Phaedrus* displays, or that in later years his quarrel with the poets entered so far into his artistic being as to hinder him from employing their language for his own purposes. The *Timaeus* deals with highly technical subjects of wide range; the *Laws* comprises a comprehensive code of regulations on most of the matters that affect the generality of mankind; the *Sophist* and the *Politicus* develop a scheme of dichotomies that, if anything, lends itself to new coinages in language; and the *Philebus* is extremely restricted in its subject and offers no scope for Plato to trick out elegantly the one or two ethical and metaphysical speculations it concentrates upon. Prof. Campbell himself concedes¹ that the *Philebus* cannot be expected to have a high proportion of 'peculiar' words "in consequence of the dry abstractedness of the discussions"; the other dialogues have equally cogent reasons to explain their respectively high or low percentage of strange words. We can therefore treat as misleading this method of dealing with Plato's language. The *Timaeus* is no more written later than the *Philebus* because it passes rapidly from subject to subject, than the *Philebus* is written earlier because it deals with only a few subjects of a confined range of vocabulary.

It would be hasty to condemn all methods of examining Plato's language, because one method of approach is unsuccessful. To get at the essential worth of such investigations we must have recourse not to misleading catalogues of words used according to the general requirements of Greek vocabulary, but to those idioms that may with fitness be called characteristic of Plato's style. Fortunately some of these have been investigated. In estimating the relative force of a number of instances of a particular idiom in the later dialogues, we must remember that the *Philebus* is exactly as long as the *Politicus*, that the *Timaeus*

¹ Rep. ii, p. 53.



is 25 % greater than either, and that the *Laws* is about five times the *Philebus* or the *Politicus*. Plato's use of adjectives in *-ειδής* and *-ώδης* is a marked feature of his style. The results of P. Droste's research¹ show that these adjectives are frequently used and boldly formed in the *Phaedo*, the *Republic*, and the *Timaeus*, whilst in the *Politicus*, the *Philebus* and the *Laws* they are rare. Consider these instances of adjectives in *-ειδής* used first (apparently) by Plato: *Phaedo* 21, *Rep.* 24, *Tim.* 8, *Polit.* 1, *Phil.* 1, *Legg.* 1². The usage is undoubtedly significant, and not dependent upon the subject of any dialogue. There is nothing here to prove that the *Timaeus* is to be dated just before the *Laws*; rather everything points to its being separated by a long interval. I am bringing forward these statistics, not as being by themselves conclusive, for this they cannot be—the element of chance is present—but because they have been thoughtlessly bandied about for the last twenty years, when a little care would have shown the direction in which they point. The really important characteristics of Plato's later style hitherto investigated are not numerous, and it would be helpful to point them all out; but it must be remembered that the *Timaeus* is much larger than the *Philebus*. In his later works Plato adopted the use of *καθάπερ* for *ὥσπερ*, *ὄντως* for *τῷ ὄντι*, *σχεδόν* for *σχεδόν τι* and *τὰ νῦν* for *νῦν*; all these idioms seem to be colourless and not confined to any particular subject, so that they may be called indicative.

		<i>Timaeus</i>	<i>Polit.</i>	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Laws</i>
<i>καθάπερ</i>	occurs	18	34	27	148 times
<i>ὄντως</i> (for <i>τῷ ὄντι</i> )	„	8	11	15	50 „
<i>σχεδόν</i> (for <i>σχεδόν τι</i> )	„	9	13	14	122 „
<i>τὰ νῦν</i>	„	5	5	9	79 „
<i>πέρυ</i> (after its noun)	„	15 0/0	21 0/0	32 0/0	29 0/0 of all instances of the preposition ³ .

I have given all the characteristics of Plato's later diction that can be considered valuable and incontestable; it cannot be said that I have chosen only such instances as suited my

¹ *Lutos*, pp. 111—117.

as conclusive.

² *ib.* p. 115. The figures for *-ώδης* (*Crat.* 10, *Phaedo* 4, *Rep.* 14, *Tim.* 9, *Polit.* 1, *Phil.* 1, *Legg.* 11) are nearly

³ *ib.* p. 103 (*καθάπερ*), p. 120 (*ὄντως*), p. 124 (*σχεδόν* and *τὰ νῦν*), and p. 131 (*πέρυ*).

purpose, for all these and no more have been accepted by recent scholars. Though the *Timaeus* is larger than either the *Philebus* or the *Politicus*, it nevertheless has considerably less of the linguistic peculiarities of Plato's later days than the one and, with one exception, than the other also; and in this the stylistic method, such as it is, adds its quota of confirmation to the overwhelming evidence of the rhythmical tests.

	Epinomis	Ep.vii	Ep.viii	Ep.ii	Ep.iii	Ep.xiii
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(i) $\cup \cup \cup \asymp$	25.6	18.6	14.7	13.0	10.0	4.7
$\cup \cup \cup - | \asymp$	11.4	11.1	5.9	9.2	5.0	7.0
$\cup \cup \cup - | \cup \asymp$	1.3	5.8	2.9	9.2	2.5	4.7
$\cup \cup \cup - | - \asymp$	5.4	2.1	5.9	3.7	15.0	0
Total of (i)	43.7	37.6	29.4	35.1	32.5	16.4
(ii) $-- \cup \asymp$	23.5	24.3	26.5	14.8	17.5	13.9
(iii) $--- \asymp$	14.1	10.1	17.6	18.5	22.5	11.6
Total of (i, ii and iii)	81.3	72.0	73.5	68.4	72.5	41.9
$-- \cup -- \asymp$	5.4	7.4	5.9	7.4	7.5	7.0
$--- \cup \asymp$	0.7	2.1	5.9	3.7	0	4.7
$-- \cup \cup \asymp$	6.7	5.2	0	3.7	10.0	14.0
$-- \cup \cup \cup \asymp$	0.7	3.7	5.9	0	0	2.3
$--- \cup \asymp$	0.7	2.1	0	3.7	2.5	0
$-- \cup \cup \cup \asymp$	2.7	5.2	8.8	11.1	5.0	23.2
$--- \cup \asymp$	2.0	2.1	0	1.9	2.5	7.0
Total of the other types	18.9	27.8	26.5	31.5	27.5	58.2

The rhythms of the *Epinomis* are precisely those of the *Laws*; the main type ( $\cup \cup \cup \asymp$  with its variations) occurs 43.7 %, the second type ( $-- \cup \asymp$ ) 23.5 % and the third ( $--- \asymp$ ) 14.1 %—a total of 81.3 % altogether. The most considerable of the *Epistles*, the seventh, which must have been written after 353 B.C., also shows the rhythms of the *Laws* very markedly; 37.6 % for the first type, and 24.3 % for the second. In considering the other *Epistles* the value of the rhythms as a criterion is diminished for the simple reason that they take up so little space and there is consequently something to be



reckoned on the score of pure chance. In most of the cases the half a page or so admits of no possibility of talking of its rhythmical clausulae; but the second, the third, the thirteenth and perhaps the eighth Epistles may appear sufficiently long. The most trivial letter of this lengthier group, the thirteenth, has the Laws types altogether only 41.9 %; most people have considered it spurious and the rhythms seem to confirm this view. In the second and the third Epistles the three Laws types occur 68.4 % and 72.5 % respectively, so that there is a strong support in this for considering them genuine. There is a curious anomaly in the composition of the first type in the third letter; the variation on it produced by the addition of two syllables is found more times than the primary type itself,  $\cup \cup \cup - | - \asymp$  occurring 15 % against only 10 % for  $\cup \cup \cup \asymp$ , but this is probably mere accident. Whether anybody is disposed to accept the evidence of the rhythms as conclusive of the genuineness of the Epinomis, the seventh, the eighth (which also has the Laws rhythms), the second and the third Epistles, depends upon how far he is influenced by subjective considerations. It is conceivable that an imitator, immersed in the later works of Plato, should have quite unconsciously picked up his rhythms, but we should have expected him to make some fatal slip that would betray him at once. But no such significant blunder can be discovered; the hexameter endings are almost as rare as in the Laws, and so it is with the trochaic and iambic endings. The great factor that militates against considering these works genuine is the subject matter, except in the case of the seventh and the eighth letters; the style of the Epinomis is mediocre and lacks the pointedness that Plato displays even in the Laws, while the second and the third letters contain things that one hesitates to ascribe to Plato. The seventh letter, with which the eighth is inextricably bound, cannot reasonably be considered spurious, though grave doubt may be raised as to the short digression on philosophical matters in the middle of the narrative. Cobet, whose authority is unquestioned on such a matter, declares the style of the seventh letter to be most emphatically Plato's—*Platonis ipsius esse hanc epistulam et argumentum et stilus clamant* (*V.L.* p. 235), and the study of

H. Raeder¹ shows that the letter avoids hiatus, and that it falls in line with the later Platonic works in the use of *καθάπερ* for *ὥσπερ*, *ὄντως* for *τῷ ὄντι*, *σχεδόν* for *σχεδόν τι*, and *τὰ νῦν*. I have really no doubt as to the genuineness of the seventh and eighth epistles, except for the necessary proviso on the doubtful passage; they are worthy of Plato and throw trustworthy light on Plato's political activities, which can be substantiated on the theoretical side almost verbally from the teaching of the Laws. In this fine apologia pro vita sua Plato shows how constantly he restrained himself from plunging into the whirlpool of a political career. He embarked on his episode with Dionysius II only under great constraint, despite his consciousness of the fickleness of youth, and only to avert the reproach of dastardly to his own philosophy, which would surely be cast on him if he would reject a splendid opportunity of realising the political doctrines to which he had devoted so much of his time. His piercing view and independent spirit are visible throughout the narrative, and command our sympathy for his attempt to act honourably in the troubled waters of Syracusan politics².

L. BILLIG.

¹ *Rhein. Mus. f. Philol.* 61 (1906); where he has also in a very painstaking way sufficiently defended many statements in the narrative part of the seventh letter against captious critics.

² I am indebted for various suggestions to Prof. J. A. Platt, Prof. A. C. Clark, Mr E. Harrison and Mr F. M. Cornford.



## A NEW SUPPLEMENT TO THE BERNE SCHOLIA ON VIRGIL.

The Berne Scholia (published by Hagen in *Jahrbücher für Class. Phil.*, 4th Supplement, 1867, pp. 749 ff.) together with the kindred collections printed in Hagen's *Appendix Serviana* (the *Explanatio in Bucolica Vergilii* preserved in two versions and wrongly attributed in the MSS. to Philargyrius, and the *Brevis Expositio* of *Geo.* I and II) are generally regarded as extracts from a 'variorum' commentary compiled by an Irishman, perhaps Adamnan Abbot of Iona, from sources which go back to Servius and Donatus¹. The grounds for identifying the compiler with the Abbot of Iona are far from strong², but the name 'Adamnan,' which is mentioned in the *Explanatio* (I) on *Ecl.* 3, 90, provides a convenient title for the commentary, and the evidence at least consists with the Abbot's date. I hope to show reason for believing that further extracts from the same commentary are to be found in the Abstrusa glossary (*C. G. L.* IV 3—198, the unbracketed portions) and in other Latin glossaries which borrowed them from Abstrusa. The Berne Scholia extend only to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, the other collections not so far; but beyond that fact there is nothing to suggest that the full commentary did not cover the *Aeneid* as well³: probably the makers of these extracts had access only to its first volume. In the glossaries we have much material which is clearly derived from scholia on the *Aeneid*, and some which can be referred to the *Appendix Vergiliana*. Now in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* the connection between the glossary and the commentary is beyond doubt, and we have no evidence of any other such source on which the compiler of Abstrusa drew or could have drawn.

¹ Thilo, *Rh. Mus.* xv 119; Mommsen, *ibid.* xvi 442; Funaioli in Pauly-Wissowa, VII 857, *Rh. Mus.* LXX 84; Barwick in *Comm. Phil. Ien.* VIII 2 (1909).

² See Manitius, *Lat. Lit. des Mit-*

*telalters*, I 239.

³ Philargyrius, who was Adamnan's principal source for the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, had commented on the *Aeneid* also. See Barwick, *l.c.* p. 95.

I conclude therefore that in the glossary material we have a relic of Adamnan's complete commentary. In the light of this material I hope later to deal with the question of the authorship of Virgil scholia, the recovery of Donatus and the origin of Daniel's additions to Servius.

§ 1. It has been remarked by Professor Lindsay (*C. Q.* xi 121 ff.), though without full investigation, that the Abstrusa glossary is rich in Virgil glosses which have every appearance of being derived from the marginal notes of some copy of the poet's works, and differ from the Virgil glosses of Abolita in that they do not represent the brief explanations of some monastery teacher, but often coincide with comments of Servius and Servius 'Danielis' and with the Irish 'variorum' scholia of Hagen's *Appendix Serviana*. A glossary-compiler drawing material from marginal notes would begin by copying out his items as they occurred in the MS. Alphabetical arrangement would follow, and thus the glosses would cease to stand in the same order as the scholia stood in the MS. A further complication enters if the glossary was drawn from more than one source (*e.g.*, Abstrusa drew also on marginal interpretations of a Biblical text), since the glosses from different sources would become mixed up. Abstrusa has advanced to a considerable degree of alphabetical arrangement: throughout large parts of it account is taken of the first three, and in some sections of the first four letters of the lemma. But in spite of this some groups of Virgil glosses still persist, standing together in the glossary precisely in the order of the Virgil lines.

Thus on page 28 (CA-) we have no. 24 cantus, *Geo.* 1, 403; 25 casum, *Aen.* 1, 221; 26 carere dolo, *Aen.* 2, 44; 27 Charybdis, *Aen.* 3, 420; 28 carpitur, *Aen.* 4, 2; 29 candentes (read 'candentis'), *Aen.* 4, 61; 30 Caucasus and 31 cautes, *Aen.* 4, 366 and 367. Other groups are (CON-) 40, 23 concurrere, *Geo.* 1, 318; 24 concilias, *Aen.* 1, 79; (24^a conderet, *Aen.* 1, 5); 25 conspexere, *Aen.* 1, 152; 26 <conticuere>, *Aen.* 2, 1; 27 conversi, *Aen.* 2, 73; 28 congredi, *Aen.* 2, 397: (EX-) 68, 9 extulit, *Aen.* 1, 127; 10 excludit (excudit), *Aen.* 1, 174; 11 expediunt, *Aen.* 1, 178; 12 experti, *Aen.* 1, 202; 13 exempta, *Aen.* 1, 216; 14 exacta, *Aen.* 1, 309: 68, 51 exuberat, *Geo.* 1, 191; 52 exitium, *Geo.* 3, 503; 53 exitiale, *Aen.* 2, 31; 54 exoptat, *Aen.* 2, 138 (-atum); 69, 1 exutus vinculis, *Aen.* 2, 153;



3 excisa, *Aen.* 2, 637; 4 exul, *Aen.* 3, 11; 5 extorris, *Aen.* 4, 616: 70, 17 expromere, *Aen.* 2, 280; 18 exhalantem, *Aen.* 2, 562; 19 expedior and 20 expeditus, *Aen.* 2, 633; 21 exta, *Aen.* 4, 64; 22 excetra, *Aen.* 6, 287; 23 exhaustum, *Aen.* 9, 356. Even where there is more intrusion of non-Virgilian glosses, the Virgil items often preserve the order of the lines from which they were taken: e.g. (PER-) 141, 9 perfidus and 10 perfidiosus, *Ecl.* 8. 91; 11 percussus, *Geo.* 2, 476; 13 pernix, *Geo.* 3, 93; 16 peresum, *Geo.* 3, 561. The presence of these groups proves that the glossary drew upon notes on Virgil.

The following instances will illustrate the connection with Servius and Servius 'Danielis':

10, 14 admonet: rogat. Serv. *Aen.* 10, 153 ('admonet inmiscetque preces') partim rogat, partim admonet hoc solacium esse vitae humanae tutissimum. 10, 27 adspirat: favet (pavet, pabet *codd.*)=Serv. *Aen.* 2, 385. 11, 32 aequora: maria vel campi, ab aequalitate dicti. Serv. *Aen.* 2, 69 aequora vero modo maria, alibi campos...dictum est ab aequalitate. 27, 20 caulem: fruticem. Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 12, 413 caulem autem medium fruticem, qui vulgo thyrsus dicitur. 28, 28 carpitur: consumitur. Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 4, 2 carpitur autem paulatim consumitur. 29, 31 canoris: chordis. Serv. *Aen.* 6, 120 ('fidibus canoris') bene sonantibus chordis. 51, 17 despiciens: deorsum aspiciens aut contemptui habens. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 224 deorsum aspiciens, sicut suspiciens sursum aspiciens. 58, 46^a dum: donec, quamdiu. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 5 ('dum conderet urbem') aut enim Troiam dicit quam, ut primum in Italiam venit, fecit Aeneas...dum enim haec fieret, ab agrestibus propter vulneratum cervum regium mota sunt bella: aut Laurolavinium, et significat 'dum' donec; tam diu enim dimicavit quamdiu ad tempus faciendae civitatis veniret. 72, 31 phalera<e>: ornamenta equorum=Serv. *Aen.* 9, 359. 74, 30 (in an Abol. section of *Vat.*, but given also by the pure Abstrusa MSS.) phalanx: legio lingua Macedonum, and 77, 18 phalanx: exercitus. Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 2, 254 phalanx lingua Macedonum legio. et est a parte totum, hoc est synecdoche; significat enim totum exercitum. 76, 20 fingens: componens=Serv. *Aen.* 4, 148. 97, 32 inrigat: infundit=Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 1, 692. 98, 27 instar: similitudo=Serv. *Aen.* 6, 865. 105, 13 latex: aqua quae latet in venis. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 686 latex proprie aqua est, ab eo quod intra terrae venas lateat. 112, 28 macte: magis aucte (autem *codd.*)=Serv. *Aen.* 9, 641. 115, 44 mene: me ergo. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 37 'ne' non vacat, significat enim 'ergo.' 120, 36 mucro: teli cuiuslibet acumen. Serv. *Aen.* 11, 817 hinc apparet mucronem esse cuiuslibet teli acumen. 124, 20 nequa: non. Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 3, 453 nequa pro non aut nulla. 131, 22 ocreas: tibialia. Serv. *Aen.* 8, 624 ('leves ocreas') nitida tibialia. 132, 11 olli: illi aut cui vel tunc. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 254 olli modo 'tunc'...alias tamen olli 'illi' significat. Cf. *Aen.* 4, 105 olli, aut illi aut tunc. 152, 31 puer: filius Graece. Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 3, 339 filius, quia Graeci *παῖδας* etiam filios dicunt. 157,

15 quatit: concutit. Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 2, 611 concutit, conmovet. 158, 28 quis: quantus, quam magnus. Serv. *Aen.* 9, 36 ('quis globus?') id est quantus; admirantis enim est, non interrogantis. 160, 41 recusso: concusso=Serv. *Aen.* 2, 52. 162, 37 rependens: compensans=Serv. *Aen.* 1, 239. 172, 18 sine mente: sine voluntate=Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 5, 56. 172, 19 sine: permitte=Serv. *Aen.* 10, 598. 179, 23+24 summissus: inclinatus, summissi: supplices. Serv. 'Dan.' *Aen.* 3, 93 ('summissi') utrum corpore an anima? an quia supplices rogamus? an, quod verum est, inclinati? 184, 19 tibia: symphonia. Serv. *Aen.* 11, 737 ('curva tibia') symphonicorum. 184, 22 Tiberis a Tiberi<n>o rege. Serv. *Aen.* 3, 500 alii volunt non Thybrim cecidisse sed Tiberinum, regem Albanorum, a quo Tiberis dictus est. 185, 8 tollere: erigere. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 66 nam qui potest mulcere potest et tollere, id est erigere in tempestatem. 195, 22 volutans: cogitans. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 50 et modo ait 'volutans,' id est cogitans.

The glossary presents the scholia in an abbreviated and often fragmentary form, and the cutting down is sometimes unintelligent; but Abstrusa clearly differs in character from Abolita, for though resemblances occur between Abol. items and notes of Servius or Servius 'Danielis,' they are not such as to indicate that the glosses originate in the commentaries¹.

A hint, though not a proof, that the Virgil glosses of Abstrusa were derived from a 'variorum' commentary may be found in examples like 47, 17 and 18 coturno: supercilio aut fastu. coturno: genus calciamenti (*Ecl.* 8, 10); 75, 18 and 19 ferox: asper, inmitis. ferox: inplacabilis, inmitis (*Aen.* 1, 263 etc.); 82, 35 and 36 Geta: Gothus. Getae: Gothi (*Geo.* 4, 463); 103, 40 and 41 lacessit: provocat vel iniuriis agit. lacessere: provocare aut irritare (*Geo.* 3, 233); 105, 11 and 12 latices: aquae [quae et nymphae]. laticum: aquarum (*Aen.* 1, 736); 106, 13 legio: numerus militum, a legendo. legio: VI milia sunt (*Geo.* 2, 280) and many others. Now we find many cases in which the glossary coincides in a more or less striking manner with the Berne Scholia and the kindred collections. I give here a complete list of these glosses, arranged in two groups according as they do or do not also coincide with Servius or Servius 'Danielis.'

(1) 13, 17 age: incipe vel dic. *Ecl.* 3, 52, SCHOL. BERN. dic, propone quicquid velis, incipe dicere. 14, 13 alvus: venter=SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 3, 80.

¹ Cf. Weir, *C. Q.* XII 28.



24, 15 baccare: herba iocundi odoris (baccane herba iocundior *codd.*). *Ecl.* 4, 19, SCHOL. BERN. genus herbae florisve iocundi odoris. EXPLAN. id est baccas id est boedin, genus herbae floris et odoris iocundi. 29, 22 carchesia: genus poculorum = SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 4, 380. (SERV. carchesia autem poculorum sunt genera.) 31, 5 cana mala: lanuginem habentia, id est Cydonia. *Ecl.* 2, 51, SCHOL. BERN. cana mala: candida poma vel genus hirsutum. tenera lanugine: id est lanuginem habentia. (SERV. mala dicit Cydonea quae lanuginis plena sunt.) 44, 46 corylos: avellanas vel nuces. *Ecl.* 1, 14, EXPLAN. arbor nucis avellanae. (SCHOL. BERN. corylos arbores nuciferas appellant.) 45, 14 corymbi: hederarum baccae. *Ecl.* 3, 39, EXPLAN. id est baccas hederarum. (SERV. uvas hederarum.) 46, 41 cunabula: initia vel rudimenta. *Ecl.* 4, 23, EXPLAN. and SCHOL. BERN. initia generis. 47, 14 cum: quando = SCHOL. BERN. *Ecl.* 3, 10. 58, 42 dumosa: spinosa [aut loca silvestria]. *Ecl.* 1, 76, SCHOL. BERN. spinosa. EXPLAN. id est drisidi, quod capra cum pascitur <in> spinosa <rupe> pendet. 63, 4 en: ecce = SCHOL. BERN. *Ecl.* 1, 12. EXPLAN. id est ecce. 63, 17 enodis: sine nodo. *Geo.* 2, 78 SCHOL. BERN. enodes: sine nodo. 75, 17 feraces: fertiles = BREV. EXP. *Geo.* 2, 79. SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 4, 114 (reading 'tenaces') alii 'feraces,' id est fertiles. 85, 45 Erebi: inferni = SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 4, 471. 87, 36 honos: honor = SCHOL. BERN. *Ecl.* 5, 78; EXPLAN. *Ecl.* 2, 53. 97, 5 inprobus: inportunus. *Ecl.* 8, 49 SCHOL. BERN. inoportunus. EXPLAN. puer inprobus: id est amore Iason inoportunus. 109, 4 ligustra et vaccinia: florum genera crocei coloris. *Ecl.* 2, 18 EXPLAN. ligustra, id est meli gabur, id est flores vel herba. vaccinia, id est derce roig, violae purpurae, vel subi criib, quia usui sunt, vel genus floris crocei coloris, vel nigrae. Cf. Lindsay, *C. Q.* XI 123. 113, 43 mares: masculi (cf. 114, 3 mas: masculus). *Geo.* 3, 64 SCHOL. BERN. masculos. 123, 12 nectare: melle. *Geo.* 4, 164 SCHOL. BERN. liquido nectare: melle. 125, 40 noram: noveram. *Ecl.* 1, 23 SCHOL. BERN. per syncopam noveram. EXPLAN. id est pro noveram. 131, 16 ocus: citius vel velocius. *Ecl.* 7, 8 SCHOL. BERN. citius, velocius. 131, 17 occursare: saepius occurrere. *Ecl.* 9, 25 EXPLAN. id est occurrere. 135, 15^a Padus (Pagus *codd.*): fluvius. *Geo.* 2, 452 SCHOL. BERN. fluvius Italiae. 139, 35 Poeniceo: rubeo = SCHOL. BERN. *Ecl.* 7, 32. EXPLAN. I id est rubeo. 141, 13 pernix: velox [vel percitus] = SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 3, 93. 144, 17 Pleiades: stellae. *Geo.* 1, 138 BREV. EXP. Pleiades sunt stellae in cauda Tauri etc. 161, 17 redimitus: coronatus = SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 1, 349. 167, 1 satius: melius [vel utilius]. *Ecl.* 2, 14 SCHOL. BERN. id est melius mihi fuerat. 173, 17 solum: terra. *Ecl.* 6, 35 SCHOL. BERN. terrae. 193, 22 virus: venenum = SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 1. 129. 194, 53 umquam: aliquando. *Ecl.* 1, 67 SCHOL. BERN. en umquam: aliquando. EXPLAN. I umquam, id est aliquando. II en umquam, id est ecce aliquando.

(2) 14, 49 alnos: nunc populos. *Ecl.* 6, 63 SCHOL. BERN. alnos pro populis. EXPLAN. alnos, id est ferna, pro populis posuit. SERV. 'DAN.' et quidam alnos poetica consuetudine pro populis accipiunt. 22, 51 aulaeum:

velum. *Geo.* 3, 25 SCHOL. BERN. and SERV. aulaea autem dicta sunt ab aula Attali in qua primum inventa sunt vela ingentia. 28, 30 Caucasus: mons Scythiae. *Geo.* 2, 440 SCHOL. BERN. and BREV. EXP. mons Scythiae pro quolibet monte. SERV. mons Scythiae; est positus pro quibuslibet asperrimis montibus¹. 33, 27 + 28 cerasus: arbor. cerasia: poma. *Geo.* 2, 18 BREV. EXP. and SERV. arbor cerasus, pomum cerasium dicitur. SCHOL. BERN. arbor cerasus, pomum autem cerasum dicitur. 34, 59 cylindrus: lapis volubilis. *Geo.* 1, 178 SCHOL. BERN. cylindro: lapide rotundo in modum columnae, qui volubilitate nomen accepit. SERV. lapide tereti in modum columnae etc. 35, 23 cygni: poetae = EXPLAN. and SERV. *Ecl.* 9, 29. SCHOL. BERN. poetae Mantuani. 44, 48 coacta: collecta. *Ecl.* 6, 31 SCHOL. BERN. collecta, coniuncta. EXPLAN. I id est collecta vel coniuncta. SERV. id est quemadmodum coactae et collectae atomi per magnum inane fuissent origo ignis etc. EXPLAN. II id est collectae materiae creaturarum de atomis minimis, ut gentiles putant. 58, 25 Doris: mare vel mater Nereidum aut nympha. *Ecl.* 10, 5 SCHOL. BERN. fluvius Doris, mater nympharum et maritima nympha. ex nomine itaque eius mare appellatur. EXPLAN. id est dea maris, id est mater nympharum. Doris nympha maritima: ex nomine itaque etc. SERV. mater nympharum est, quam pro mari posuit. SERV. 'DAN.' vel Doris Oceani filia, coniunx Nerei. 64, 26 equidem: ego quidem. *Ecl.* 1, 11 SCHOL. BERN. non equidem: non ego quidem. *Geo.* 1, 193 SERV. DAN. bene autem ait 'equidem,' quod multi pro 'ego' accipiunt, id est 'ego quidem.' 73, 13 (=73, 49) fasces: honores. *Geo.* 2, 495 SCHOL. BERN. id est honores. SERV. honores qui a populo praestabantur. 84, 38 hactenus: huc usque. *Geo.* 2, 1 SCHOL. BERN. adverbium temporis, et significat 'hucusque.' BREV. EXP. ut multi volunt, una pars orationis est et adverbium significans 'hucusque' (=SERV.). 88, 22 iactet: gloriatur, magnificet. *Ecl.* 6, 73 SCHOL. BERN. gloriatur (=SERV. 'DAN.'). 122, 2 navita: nauta. *Geo.* 1, 137 BREV. EXP. navita pro nauta sicut Mavors pro Mars (=SERV.). 123, 20 nequidquam: sine causa = SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 1, 96. BREV. EXP. <neque> nequiquam, id est non sine causa (=SERV.). 149, 27 propter: iuxta = SCHOL. BERN., EXPLAN., SERV. *Ecl.* 8, 87. 159, 50 rapidus: velox = SCHOL. BERN., SERV. *Geo.* 3, 114. 186, 5 trapetae: molae olivae. *Geo.* 2, 519 SCHOL. BERN., BREV. EXP. trapetis: molis olivariis. SERV. molis olivaribus.

¹ When a word occurs at several places in Virgil, commentators no doubt often repeated the same (or practically the same) note. Servius provides numerous examples of this. In the extracts a note of this kind may be preserved at one line and not at another: e.g. *Explan. Ecl.* 2, 53 (honos) = *Schol. Bern. Ecl.* 5, 78. And

it may have been taken into the glossary from a different line again. Thus although *Abstr.* 28, 30 is here compared with *Geo.* 2, 440, its position in a group of CA- words (see p. 258) points rather to *Aen.* 4, 367 as the place in Adamnan's commentary from which it was taken. Servius at that line has the note 'mons Scythiae inhospitalis.'



This evidence shows that *Abstrusa* stands in direct connection either with Adamnan's 'variorum' commentary or with his immediate sources, and got its Servian glosses through that channel. Of the two alternatives, it is less easy to suppose that the glossary-compiler drew independently from the same sources as Adamnan, though if he did the interest of his material for us is still the same: and we shall see that there are other links connecting glosses directly with Adamnan's compilation (see p. 271). Nor is this view negatived by a consideration of the dates involved. Adamnan of Iona (though not he but some earlier Adamnan may be our compiler) was born in 623 or 624 and died in 704. The glossary, so far as we can judge on very slight evidence, was constructed in France¹. Now the oldest existing copy, *Vat. lat. 3321*, is an Italian MS. of the eighth century². It contains the composite *Abstrusa-Abolita*, which was put together in Spain³. Is there time for the commentary to reach France, for the glossary to be compiled, to pass into Spain, to be reduced and combined with *Abolita*, and to pass thence into Italy? All this need not take so very long. Though we can no longer with Thilo⁴ think of the different collections of extract scholia as notes made by different pupils of Adamnan, we shall not date from his old age, and in the seventh century a copy of the commentary might reach the continent quite early. Once the glossary was made, a work so useful in a monastery would be likely to spread rapidly.

If then we accept Adamnan's commentary as one source of Virgil glosses in *Abstrusa*, is it the only source? That it is at least the only source of glosses which are derived from ancient commentators is likely on general grounds, and there is no trace of any other similar quarry having been used. In any case the value of the glosses remains unaltered, for there cannot be much doubt that most if not all of the new material which has any interest comes ultimately from Donatus; but in the absence of any sign to the contrary we may assume that all of it found its way into the glossary through Adamnan. Thus if we identify

¹ Lindsay, *C. Q.* xi 121.

³ *Journ. of Phil. l.c.*

² *Journ. of Phil.* xxxiv 268, *C. Q.*

⁴ *Rh. Mus.* xv 133. Barwick, *l.c.*

and extract the Virgil glosses and rearrange them in the order of the lines to which they apply, we shall have another abstract of the commentary which (at least for the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*) Adamnan compiled from Gaudentius, Philargyrius and (for the earlier part of *Geo.* 1) Gallus, all of whom depended closely on older sources. As we know that Philargyrius commented on the *Aeneid* also, we may assume that here too, as in the other poems, he was Adamnan's principal source; and further, as Gaudentius is a mere epitomator of Servius, we may ascribe to Philargyrius all the non-Servian material which seems to come from an ancient commentator, except that Gallus is a possible source principally in *Georgics* 1¹. It is true that the notes have been much reduced in order to fit them for glossary-form; though, as we shall see, the glossary itself has undergone a process of curtailment which can to some extent be reversed. It frequently happens also that there are several places in Virgil to which a gloss might be referred; but where the alphabetical arrangement has not advanced too far, it is sometimes possible to fix the reference of such a gloss with high probability by the help of those which precede and follow it. An instance of this has already been given (p. 262 n.). We can claim too glosses which were taken from scholia although the lemma is not itself a form of any word which occurs in Virgil. Of this class the following are examples (1) where the gloss can be traced to a known scholium, (2) where it appears to come from a scholium which is lost:

(1) 79, 40 furvum: nigrum. SERV. 'DAN.' *Aen.* 2, 18 (on 'furtim') nam et furtum ideo dicitur quod magis per tenebras admittatur; unde fures qui quasi per furvum tempus, hoc est nigrum, aliquid surripiunt.

133, 22 opobalsamum: lacrima balsami. BREV. EXP. *Geo.* 2, 119 (on 'balsama') opobalsamum dicit; in India quaedam arbores sunt e quibus lacrimae emanant, quod balsamum nominatur.

137, 8 Pan: Incubus. SERV. *Aen.* 6, 775 (on 'castrum Inui') id est

¹ Cf. Barwick's conclusions, in which he follows Mommsen, on the respective shares of Gaudentius, Gallus and Philargyrius in the Berne Scholia etc., *l.c.* pp. 63 ff., 77, 119 f. Funaioli, *Riv. di Filol.* XLVIII 214. In the Berne

Scholia the name of Gallus appears only in the early part of *Geo.* 1, but there is evidence that he was quoted more widely by Adamnan, though very much less than the two others. Funaioli, *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 1281.



Panos, qui illic colitur. Inuus autem latine appellatur, graece Πάν: item Ἐπιδάλης graece, latine Incubo.

(2) 10, 2 adrumavit: rumorem adtulit (marked *Virg.* in *Lib. Gloss.*). Perhaps from a scholium on *Ecl.* 6, 54 'ruminat.' (SERV. ruminatio autem dicta est a rumine, eminente gutturis parte.)

79, 26 funus imaginarium: tumulus sine cadavere. *Aen.* 6, 510 ('funeris umbris'). SERV. sepulturae meae umbris, nam funus illic esse non potuit ubi ne cadaver quidem fuerat.

103, 13 carinantes: inludentes vel inridentes. *Aen.* 8, 361 ('carinis') SERV. 'DAN.' alii quod ibi Sabini nobiles habitaverint, quorum genus invidere et carinare solebat. carinare autem est obtrectare. Ennius 'contra carinantes verba atque obscena profatus,' alibi 'neque me decet hanc carinantibus edere chartis.'

§ 2. The Abstrusa glossary, however, as it appears in the extant MSS., is not complete. The tendency to curtail was almost universal among transcribers of glossaries: space was generally to be economised; time too, no doubt, in many cases where copying was done during a visit to a monastery not one's own; there was the desire to preserve the symmetry of a page, tending to lop off any surplus; and to reduce glosses to the simplicity appropriate to a dictionary. The process can be seen in the MSS. of Abstrusa whose readings are reported by Goetz in *C. G. L.*¹ For

(1) *Vat. 3321* sometimes curtails a gloss which appears more fully in some or all of the others, e.g.

33, 40 caerulea: nigra, a cerae colore tractum. puto est autem nox pallore suffusa. The second sentence is found only in *c* and *d*.

60, 49 aeger: aegrotus vel tristis aut infirmus, *Vat. 3321*. aeger dicitur animo verum tristis, *a*. aeger dicitur animo, aegrotus corpore, *c d*. The full gloss was 'aeger dicitur animo tristis, aegrotus corpore infirmus' (cf. SERV. *Aen.* 1, 208). *Vat. 3321* has curtailed it stupidly.

65, 49 Aetna: mons in Sicilia semper occultis ignibus ardens et nonnumquam flammarum globos evomens, *a b c d*. *Vat. 3321* has only 'Aetna: mons in Sicilia ardens.'

127, 42 obiectant: obiciunt aut opponunt. obices: qui opponuntur, *a c d*. *Vat. 3321* omits the gloss on *obices*.

*c* and *d* (the 'pure Abstrusa' MSS.) commonly save space by omitting *vel* or *aut* between different interpretations. They lack some glosses which appear in the composite MSS., but there is a possibility that these items really belong to Abolita.

¹ *Vat. lat. 3321*, *Vat. lat. 6018* (*b*), *Cass. 439* (*a*), *Par. lat. 2341* (*c*) and *7691* (*d*).

(2) *Vat. 3321* often omits altogether a gloss which other MSS. preserve, *e.g.*

After 32, 56 caelicolae: dii caelestes vel qui caelum colunt, *c d.*

„ 39, 21 cometes: stella quae quasi comam habet, *a b c d.*

„ 40, 24 conderet: constitueret, *a b c d.*

„ 58, 46 dum: donec, quamdiu, *a c d.*

„ 103, 3 casses: retia, *a c d.*

„ 103, 26 labyrinthum: aedificium tortuosum mechanica arte constructum a Daedalo, ubi sine adiutorio cuiuslibet voces resonabant, et si quis in eo ingrediebatur egredi nequaquam sine filo foris ligato valebat propter ambages. [anfractus ambago circuitus] anfractus tortuosus vel domus Minotauri cuiusdam monstri, *a* (curtailed in *c d*).

„ 116, 5 moenia: aedificia murorum, *a c d.*

„ 137, 7 pandum: flexum, curvum, *a c d.*

„ 137, 28 parentat: umbris vel tumultis mortuorum frequenter paret, id est obsequitur aut ministrat, *a c d.*

„ 158, 16 quin etiam: quin aliquando significat etiam, ergo, quod, quia, immo aut vero, *a c* (*d* not available).

„ 183, 23 teretes: rotundi, *a c* (*d* not available).

But we can go beyond the MSS. of *Abstrusa*. For this glossary was freely drawn upon by others, in particular by *Affatim* and others in vol. IV of the *Corpus Glossariorum*, and in vol. V by the 'English' group (First and Second *Amplonian* and *Corpus*), the *Liber Glossarum* and the glossary represented by *Par. lat. nouv. acq. 1298*¹. This fact is easily established by a comparison of the items on almost any page of these glossaries with *Abstrusa*:

(1) <i>Aff.</i> 471, 3=	<i>Abstr.</i> 19, 10	471, 38=	5, 43	471, 45=	16, 8
8=	3, 7	39=	6, 35	46=	16, 46
13=	22, 53	40=	6, 36	47=	17, 15
14=	7, 18+40	41=	7, 29	48=	18, 10
26=	15, 42	42=	7, 38	49=	18, 20
34=	18, 24	43=	13, 22		
36=	3, 23	44=	14, 7		

(2) <i>Sangall.</i> 253, 2=	<i>Abstr.</i> 105, 15	253, 9=	105, 34 ^a	253, 39=	105, 39
4=	105, 6	13=	105, 1	43=	104, 8
5=	105, 5	14=	105, 16	46=	105, 10
6=	104, 2	23=	105, 14	50=	105, 31
8=	103, 25	31=	105, 13	52=	109, 20

¹ Hereinafter called *Par.*



(3) Ampl. I 344, 6=Ampl. II 261, 16=Corp. A 252=Abstr. 7, 25			
	17	A 247	7, 26+47
	18	A 251	7, 27
	19	A 260	7, 28
343, 57	20	A 244	9, 51
	22	A 185	7, 30
	23		7, 31
344, 2	24	A 248	10, 2
8	28	A 188	7, 34
9	29	A 178	7, 38
	30	A 255	7, 41
10	31	A 257	7, 42
11	32	A 215	7, 43
348, 15	270, 15	B 29	24, 17
31	26	B 41	24, 14
40	271, 10	B 81	24, 43
49	24	B 123	25, 35
349, 4	272, 1	B 158	26, 18
10	39	B 217	26, 35 ^a
11	35	B 219	26, 33 ^a
(4) Lib. Gloss. 161, 28=Abstr. 6, 41			
	162, 48=	9, 45	163, 35= 10, 25
162, 6=	5, 37 ^a	163, 27=	9, 47
45=	10, 29	28=	10, 30
46=	14, 47	29=	7, 34
(5) Par. 105, 3=Abstr. 78, 42			
	107, 26=	84, 47	128, 14=139, 21
7=	78, 48	28=	84, 51
107, 14=	84, 34	29=	84, 45
23=	84, 46	30=	84, 55
24=	84, 50	128, 10=135, 10	20=135, 26
25=	84, 44	11=135, 14	

TABLE I.

	Abstr.	Aff.	Ampl. II	Sangall.	Lib. Gloss. ¹	Par.
Ab and Ac sections	96	43	16	22	25	
L section	163	119	62	49	23	28
Ma and Me sections	78	55	15	14	22	14

¹ The figures for *Lib. Gloss.* are from the extracts printed by Goetz in *C. G. L. v.* They include only glosses taken from the complete glossary, not

In Table I, the first column gives the number of glosses contained in our Abstrusa, the remaining columns give the number of these glosses which is also found in the other glossaries.

Now one or more of these glossaries frequently exhibits an Abstrusa gloss in a fuller form than do any of our Abstrusa MSS. The greatest number of such cases occurs in the Liber Glossarum, which is least affected by the tendency to abbreviation. The following examples are all possibly Virgil glosses:

ABSTR. 3, 16 ab imo: deiosum. AMPL. II 259, 32 deiosum (*detiosu cod.*) vel funditus.

ABSTR. 5, 39 acalanthis: cardellus. LIB. GL. 161, 27 + 26 cardellus, alibi carduelis, avis vepribus adsueta (Lindsay, *Class. Phil.* XIII 2).

ABSTR. 6, 1 accisis: circumcisis. LIB. GL. 162, 10 consumptis, circumcisis.

ABSTR. 9, 52 adamans: lapis durus. LIB. GL. 162, 28 lapis durus qui ferro dividi non potest nisi sanguine hireino dividi <tur>.

ABSTR. 13, 9 agmen: multitudo. LIB. GL. 164, 48 ordinata multitudo, id est exercitus ambulans.

ABSTR. 16, 5 amaracus: genus floris. LIB. GL. 165, 38 genus floris unde et amaracinum unguentum fit.

ABSTR. 18, 15 antes: extremi ordines vinearum. LIB. GL. 167, 6 extremi ordines vinearum sive arborum.

ABSTR. 20, 45 arvina: caro ferina. AFF. 484, 48, AMPL. II 267, 26 caro pinguis ferina. LIB. GL. 169, 3 caro pinguis ferina vel mappa interius (interioris? Goetz) sanguinis.

ABSTR. 21, 52 asilum: tabanum. LIB. GL. 169, 17 quem Graeci oestrum, rustici tabanum appellant.

ABSTR. 22, 55 augur: qui aves colligit (colit?). AMPL. II 269, 36 qui aves colit, qui per auspicia <divinabat, id est> avium voces. But this is perhaps a combination of two glosses. Cf. AFF. 485, 55 and 52.

to which the source-mark *De Glosis*, *De Gl.* etc. (i.e. 'taken from glossaries') is attached in the margin. The question whether the source-mark applies only to the individual gloss or to all that follow it up to the next source-mark is a difficult one. Goetz (*praef.* p. xxii) seems to make this assumption, and his extracts include many items of this kind. Between the two MSS. which he used (*Par. lat.* 11529/30 and *Vat. Pal. lat.* 1773, repre-

senting different classes) there is relatively little disagreement in the source-marks. It cannot be safe to assume that no mistakes have been made. But it is a fact that large numbers of the unmarked glosses which follow *De Glosis* items belong to Abstrusa: e.g. in the Ab and Ac sections, if we include these, the number of *known* Abstrusa glosses rises from 25 to 71.



ABSTR. 39, 21^a cometes : stella quae quasi comam habet. LIB. GL. 182, 2 stella est noxia quae quasi comam habet, in cuius ortu pestilentia oritur.

ABSTR. 47, 19 curulis sella : a curru quia equi de curru curules dicuntur. AMPL. II 283, 3 + 4 quia et equi de curru curules dicuntur, velocissimi vero a sedendo sellares dicuntur. Cf. AMPL. I 351, 53. CORP. C 392 has 'velocissimi vero ad currendum.'

ABSTR. 56, 23 discerniculum : ornamentum capitis. AMPL. II 285, 61, CORP. D 313 ornamentum capitis virginalis ex auro.

ABSTR. 63, 38 eoo : orientali aut matutino vel solem, *Vat.* 3321, *a.* eoo : orientem solem, *c d.* There were originally two glosses, (1) eoom : orientem solem, (2) eoo : orientali aut matutino. In the archetype of our Abstr. MSS. the first lemma had been corrupted to the form of the second. *Vat.* and *a* exhibit an attempt to combine the two; *c* and *d*, or their parent, omitted one of them. LIB. GL. 164, 3 and 4 preserves both, along with the corruption of the first lemma.

ABSTR. 73, 13 fascies : honores. LIB. GL. 198, 30 honores sive dignitas consularis.

ABSTR. 73, 18 phalanx : exercitus. AFF. 516, 27 multitudo militum, id est exercitus. Cf. AMPL. II 293, 19. LIB. GL. 197, 33 id est exercitus, alias legio, alibi militum multitudo, alibi ordo militum.

ABSTR. 81, 6 galeros : calamaucos. LIB. GL. 204, 14 calamaucos pelliceos.

ABSTR. 90, 44 inclytus : invictus, gloriosus. LIB. GL. 210, 18 invictus aut gloriosus aut sublimatus.

ABSTR. 117, 19 Minotaurus : monstrum quod capite taurino [hab]et pars alia corporis homo fuit. AMPL. II 310, 63 monstrum quod capite tauri, altera parte corporis homo fuit, a Minoe[t] rege [qui Minos] dictus est et a tauro, quia ex utroque mater semen fertur suscepisse. Cf. SANGALL. 258, 32.

ABSTR. 138, 35 peculatus : furatus de peculio. AMPL. I 380, 4 furatus de peculio publico.

ABSTR. 143, 31 pila : hasta. Servius, *Aen.* 7, 664 says 'Pilum proprie est hasta Romana, ut gaesa Gallorum, sarissae Macedonum.' The second and third parts of this note appear in AMPL. I 362, 49 gaesa : hasta Gallorum, and 389, 20 sarissae : hasta Macedonum. Cf. CORP. G. 37, S 48¹.

ABSTR. 177, 26 subnixa : subiecta vel supposita. PAR. 153, 26 subiecta vel supposita sed melius suffulta vel subfirmata.

ABSTR. 183, 27 tesserarius : praepositus cursorum. (This gloss is apparently not in *c d*, but it stands at the head of an Abol. section in *Vat.*, and may belong to Abstr. It refers to *Aen.* 7, 637.) AMPL. I 398, 13,

¹ For the way in which the parts of a scholium may become scattered cf. Serv. on *Aen.* 7, 16 'ruditus autem proprie est clamor asinorum, sicut grunnitus porcorum, ranarum coax,' with *Sangall.* 280, 48 ruditus : asini clamor; *Lib. Gloss.* 206, 13 grunnitus porcorum est; *Cass.* 402, 556, 47 ranarum : coax.

CORP. T 111 praepositus cursorum qui bella nuntiant (currorum *codd.*, *corr. H. Bradley*). Cf. SANGALL. 291, 43.

ABSTR. 185, 47 transtra: sedilia nautarum. LIB. GL. 250, 16 sedilia nautarum sive medias partes navium.

ABSTR. 189, 14 vastum: inmensum vel grand[e]. AFF. 576, 59 inmensum vel grande vel profundum.

ABSTR. 191, 1 verbenae: sacrae frondes. LIB. GL. 252, 26 sacrae frondes, ut laurus, olea, myrtus. poeta aut<em>...alibi 'verbenae' inveni.

ABSTR. 197, 1 vulgus: populus diversus. AFF. 580, 36 populus diversus vel vilis. AMPL. II 336, 47 vilis populus vel diversus.

These fuller items presented by other glossaries are not such as to suggest later additions made to glosses which had originally been shorter; indeed in some cases (*e.g.* Abstr. 20, 45; 138, 35; 183, 27) they preserve an essential part of the scholium. And as we have seen evidence of abbreviation in the MSS. of Abstrusa themselves, we may conclude that these glosses were derived from a copy or copies of Abstrusa in which there was less curtailment than in any we now have. Moreover, just as we found one Abstrusa MS. omitting items which others preserve, it is probable that all our Abstrusa MSS. have omitted glosses which still survive in some of these other glossaries.

This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that very many items in these glossaries (most of all in Lib. Gloss.) show striking affinity with non-Servian elements in the Berne Scholia etc. I quote here only a few examples.

LIB. GL. (not in *C. G. L.*, but see *Thes. Glos. s. v. alcyon*) alchione: avis marina quae pelago nidum medio facit, cuius partus (partu *Mai*) tertia die pullamina excluduntur, quarto cibo foveantur, septimo volatui ostenduntur. SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 1, 399 nam novem diebus quibus fetus in mari faciunt nulla aura nullusque ventus consurgit...tertio die pullamina excluduntur, quarto foveantur, quinto plumis vestiuntur, sexto alis emoveantur, septimo volatui ostenduntur. quod in glossematibus inveni. These 'glossemata' are mentioned again at *Geo.* 4, 151 and 232, and Barwick¹ regards all three notes as interpolations because that at 1, 399 is not represented in *Brev. Exp.*,—surely a very weak reason, especially as *Brev. Exp.* extends only to the first two books.

LIB. GL. 243, 26 scrobibus: scrobes sunt fossae ubi vites ponuntur. SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 2, 50 scrobibus: scrobes fossae ubi vites ponuntur (preceded by a Servian note on the gender).

¹ *L.c.* p. 118.



LIB. GL. 239, 20, PAR. 141, 16 rastrum: ferramentum culturae; aut a radendo terram aut a raritate dentium rastros dicimus: et est generis masculini pluraliter, hi rastri et hos rastros, his rastris. et aratra dicuntur rastri. SCHOL. BERN. *Ecl.* 4, 40 rastros: aratra. *Geo.* 1, 155 rastris: raritate dentium dicti.

LIB. GL. 166, 15, AMPL. II 265, 8, CORP. A 540 amurca: faex olei = SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 3, 448.

LIB. GL. 180, 16 Codrus nobilissimus pastor significatur et poeta quem Vergilius elegis laudat, shows the same mistake ('Vergilius' for 'Valgius,' cf. Serv. 'Dan.' and Schol. Veron., *Ecl.* 7, 22) as the Berne Scholia. And LIB. GL. 245, 22 spiram: spira proprie funis nauticus tortus. <funis> generis feminini secundum Homerum, may be put beside those puzzling references in the Berne Scholia where for 'Homerus' Hagen proposed to read 'Verrius'¹.

AMPL. II 294, 25 ferrugine: <ferri> obscuritate aut ferri [aut] colore aut fert[ar]i rasura. BREV. EXP. *Geo.* 1, 467 proprie ferri scabies, purpura nigrior Hispana, obscuritas ferri aut ferri rasura. (SERV. ferrugo autem est purpura nigrior Hispana.)

AFF. 539, 47, AMPL. II 311, 57 muscus: genus herbae mollissimae. SCHOL. BERN. *Geo.* 4, 18 musco: genus herbae mollissimae.

AMPL. I. 353, 39 cavani: ululae aves. CORP. C 119 cauanni: ulae. SCHOL. BERN. *Ecl.* 8, 55 ululae aves de ululatu dictae...quam avem Galli cauannum nuncupant.

SANGALL. 243, 50 Hesperus: stella quae primo vespere apparet = SCHOL. BERN. and EXPLAN. *Ecl.* 10, 77.

AFF. 544, 10, AMPL. II 316, 70, AMPL. I 376, 29, CORP. O 238 orge: occide, recalls the Irish glosses of the Berne Scholia etc., for 'orge' is Irish = 'kill.'

These coincidences with the Berne Scholia and their kindred occur in glossaries which we know to have borrowed largely from Abstrusa. Of those which occur in the Liber Glossarum some actually bear the source-mark *De Glosis*. We have seen that Abstrusa even in its present form exhibits many similar coincidences. We may reasonably claim therefore that these glosses were copied from Abstrusa in an earlier and fuller edition.

§ 3. How then can we identify glosses which have disappeared from our Abstrusa but survive elsewhere, when the scholia do not help us? All the glossaries which I have men-

¹ See C. Q. xiv 90, *Jahrb. f. Class. Phil.* 4th Suppl. p. 716, Barwick, l.c. p. 99 n.

tioned contain Abolita as well as Abstrusa items¹. But the amount of known material which they draw from these sources is not uniform. I have already shown the actual number of known Abstrusa glosses which reappear in certain sections of the other glossaries. Affatim, for example, in Ab and Ac repeats 44·8 % of our Abstrusa; in L, 73 %, in Ma, Me, 70·5 %. But of our Abolita it has in these sections only 16·4 %, 12·6 %, 11·8 %. The Second Amplonian glossary has in Ab, Ac 16·6 % of our Abstrusa, in L, 38 %, in Ma, Me, 19·2 %: of our Abolita 12·6 %, 11·7 %, 9·2 %. The following table shows the proportion which the known Abstrusa and Abolita material in these glossaries bears to the rest of their contents. In counting the total number of glosses in the case of the Liber Glossarum and Par., those which belong to the collection of glosses with citations from authors are omitted; in Par. also those which Goetz marks with an asterisk as being elsewhere ascribed to Placidus.

TABLE II.

	Total number of glosses			Known Abstr. per cent.			Known Abol. per cent.		
	Ab, Ac	L	Ma, Me	Ab, Ac	L	Ma, Me	Ab, Ac	L	Ma, Me
Affatim	123	216	118	35	55	46·6	12	12	11·9
Ampl. II	112	218	96	14·3	28·5	15·6	8	12	11·5
Sangall.	105	181	86	21	27	16·3	7·6	7·2	5·8
Par. n. a. 1298	—	100	83	—	28	17	—	15	17
Lib. Gl. ²	132	133	171	18·9	17·3	12·9	20·4	11·3	11

It appears, so far as we can judge by a comparison with our Abstrusa-Abolita MSS., that Abstrusa bulks much more largely

¹ Goetz is mistaken in saying (*C. G. L. iv praef. p. xiv*) that Abstr. glosses passed into Lib. Gloss. 'non contaminatae cum altero glossario,' if he means that Lib. Gloss. has no Abol. items: and (*Der Lib. Gloss. p. 62*) that Par. has none either.

² Items marked 'De Glosis' only. Counting also the unmarked items which follow these we get for Ab, Ac a total of 396 glosses, of which 18 % are known Abstr., and 12·8 % known Abol.



in these glossaries than does Abolita, especially in Affatim; and Abstrusa (but not Abolita) is a much larger constituent of Affatim than it is of the other glossaries. Are we then to look for new Abstrusa items particularly in Affatim? Against such an assumption is the fact that Affatim, like our Abstrusa MSS., presents its glosses in abbreviated form. Far more *long* glosses are found in Lib. Gloss., while the English group stands mid-way. This is borne out by the examples of fuller Abstrusa items already quoted from these glossaries on p. 268, which were chosen simply because they seemed to be Virgil glosses. In 14 of these cases the longer gloss is found in Lib. Gloss. Ampl. II has 6 cases, while Affatim has only 2. There are two others where Affatim and Ampl. II are fuller than our Abstrusa MSS., but less full than Lib. Gloss. It is also significant that we find the same relation between these glossaries when we consider their coincidence with the Berne Scholia etc.¹ Of this agreement there are at least 58 cases in Goetz's extracts from Lib. Gloss., 28 in different members of the English group, only 6 in Affatim. It seems likely therefore that Lib. Gloss. may preserve many a long gloss which belonged to the original Abstrusa and has not found its way into the other glossaries; and that to a less extent the same may be true of the Amplonian glossaries.

Of other sources used for these compilations, though we can identify some, we have unfortunately nothing like complete knowledge; and a study of the manner in which their materials are arranged does not give us much help. Lib. Gloss. has, with few exceptions, a strict alphabetical arrangement, so that items from an uncertain number of glossaries are irretrievably mixed. We can separate out those which belong to the collection of glosses with citations², which seems to have been a distinct source, though even here the line is sometimes difficult to draw; and if we limit our view to Virgil glosses there are many others which can be excluded or neglected. In Affatim and the glossaries of the English group we can trace, besides Abstrusa and Abolita, one distinct source in marginalia from an English MS. of Virgil. These are merely the notes of some monastery

¹ Glosses which are not found in our Abstrusa.

² Goetz, *Der Lib. Gloss.* p. 63.

teacher, and show no sign of the use of learned scholia¹. In spite of its peculiar form of alphabetical arrangement, in which regard is paid not to the letters as such but to the first letter and first following vowel of the lemma, Affatim retains large blocks of Abstrusa glosses; but this is simply due to the great number which it has borrowed in proportion to its other contents. Some Abolita sections of Vat. 3321 are entirely unrepresented, but here and there we do come on small groups of Abolita items. When, therefore, we find that Aff. 533, 10-24 and 26-27 are from Abstrusa, we cannot affirm that 25 is from the same source. There are many such Abstrusa groups with gaps of a single item between: *e.g.* 534, 2-4, 6-10, 12-17, 19-22. But the intervening gloss may belong to Abolita: *e.g.* 533, 28 (Abol.) between two Abstrusa pairs, or 535, 23 (Abol.) between 17-22 and 24-29 (Abstr.). Or it may come from another source which we do not know. The Second Amplonian glossary professes to be a combination of two, but both sources might be composite, so that we cannot ascribe to Abstrusa-Abolita everything which does not seem to come from the English teacher's notes. The two which we do know are to some extent kept separate, and there are considerable groups of known Abstrusa and Abolita items: *e.g.* 259, 18-28 and 31-35 are from Abstrusa. But there has been some mixing also². In the Corpus glossary the same items are generally more scattered. The First Amplonian has two constituents which are kept distinct, the first peculiar to it with Corpus, the second shared also by Ampl. II³. Par. contains at least, like Lib. Gloss., items from Abstrusa and Abolita, the glossary with citations and Placidus. In Lib. Gloss. the first two classes bear alike the mark *De Glosis*, the third *Plac.* Par. does not specify the sources, but the Placidus glosses are placed at the end of each alphabetical section. All the other material, however, is arranged together in an order which regards the first three letters of the lemma. In some parts we can trace fairly compact groups of known Abstrusa items, but even these groups contain intruders at least from Abolita and from the glossary

¹ Mrs Dall, *C. Q.* XII 171 ff.

² Mrs Dall, *l.c.* p. 175.

³ Lindsay, *The Corpus, Epinal,*

*Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries* (Phil. Soc. Publications).



with citations. In none of these glossaries, therefore, could the position of a gloss be used except perhaps under certain conditions to confirm a claim which had other support; and indeed we get no help in this way. In the St Gall glossary, the arrangement is for the most part by the first two letters only, so that there should be more chance of Abstrusa glosses keeping together; but in fact its use of Abstrusa appears to have been capricious and we do not find groups so well marked as in the glossaries already described.

As many possible Abstrusa glosses are common to several of these glossaries, we must try to determine whether they all borrowed independently, in which case their evidence for the reconstruction of Abstrusa will be of much greater value than if some of them took the material at second hand from others. The fact that each of them has some known Abstrusa glosses which are absent from the others is not decisive. It seems clear in the first place that they fall into two distinct classes, (1) Affatim with the English glossaries and Sangall., (2) Lib. Gloss. and Par.

(1) Affatim and the English group both draw upon a collection taken from the English MS. of Virgil described by Mrs Dall. Affatim and Ampl. II agree in showing some Abstrusa glosses combined: *e.g.* Aff. 471, 14, Ampl. II 261, 2 = Abstr. 7, 18 + 40; Aff. 483, 36, Ampl. II 261, 17 = Abstr. 7, 26 + 47. On the other hand, as we have seen, Affatim is nearer to our Abstrusa MSS. in the abbreviated form of its glosses, while Ampl. II supplies far more long items. Ampl. II is arranged by the first two letters of the lemma; so is the first part of Abstrusa. Now we find glosses standing in the same order in both, *e.g.* Ampl. II 259, 21 = Abstr. 3, 3, 22 = 5, 23 = 6, 24 = 7, 25 = 8, 26 = 10, 27 = 11, 28 = 12, 31 = 15, 32 = 16, 33 = 17, 34 = 18. If Ampl. II had taken these from Affatim, with its arrangement by the first letter and first following vowel, they would have stood in a different order,—21, 24 (Aba-), 20 (Abe-), 23, 25, 31, 32, 33 (Abi-), 22, 34 (Abo-), 26, 27, 28 (Abu-). Nor did Affatim borrow from Ampl. II. At 524, 45 + 46 the compiler of Affatim records the loss of four leaves from an exemplar, and there follows a large gap in the series of known Abstrusa items; whereas Abstrusa

items which appear in the corresponding part of Vat. still appear in Ampl. II. In fact the compiler of Affatim used a pure Abstrusa MS. This might have been suggested by the very small proportion of Abolita items which we found in it, as compared with its Abstrusa items, along with the fact that the borrowing from Abolita is apparently more uniform. But it is clear from the presence of Abolita items in large numbers in the gap where Abstrusa was not available: *e.g.* Abol. 90, 45 = Aff. 525, 38; 90, 48 = 526, 7; 90, 52 = 525, 62; 91, 3 = 525, 64; 91, 5 = 525, 29; 91, 6 = 530, 14; 91, 8 = 529, 52; 91, 9 = 528, 24; 91, 11 = 529, 6; 91, 12 = 531, 7; 91, 13 = 530, 44; 91, 44 = 527, 43; 91, 45 = 528, 59; 91, 47 = 531, 30; 91, 51 = 526, 49; 91, 57 = 528, 12; 92, 10 = 529, 53. So here we have more than the usual borrowing from Abolita to make up for the loss of Abstrusa¹.

Sangall. like Ampl. II has Abstrusa items which belong to the portion which Affatim lacked. That Ampl. II did not borrow from Sangall. we see from their different treatment of the gloss 'Bracata Gallia: Gallia quae incolas suos bracatos habet,' Ampl. II 272, 17 + 19 contrasting with Sangall. 210, 49². This equally indicates a connection between Sangall. and the source or archetype (whatever it was) from which Ampl. II derived the gloss. But the question of the independence of Sangall. is of little importance for our purpose, for it often combines in one item glosses from two different sources, or adapts the one to the other³, so that we cannot rely upon it for replacing lost Abstrusa glosses. We may say that in Affatim and the English group we have two independent witnesses to Abstrusa.

(2) Lib. Gloss. and Par. are linked together by their use of the glossary with citations and of Placidus, and by a series of glosses in which Donatus is mentioned as authority. They are distinguished from Affatim and the English group by their lack

¹ The portion of Vat. which corresponds to the gap extends from about 86, 40 to about 99, 20. The Abstrusa glosses here number 312, which would give 39 to each page of the copy used by Affatim: a number which is probably too large for a single-column

page, but too small for a page of double columns (like Corp.). Our suspicion that Affatim drew from a copy of Abstrusa which was fuller than our MSS. is therefore confirmed.

² See Lindsay, *C. Q.* xi 190.

³ *Ib.* p. 185.



of the glosses derived from the English Virgil. Nor does Lib. Gloss. get its Abstrusa glosses from Sangall. The mistake of our Abstrusa MSS. at 141, 35 (pergenuat: *per* genibus pergit) appears also at Lib. Gloss. 232, 32, while Sangall. 271, 31 shows the correct form. The latter makes only one contribution to our list of known Virgil glosses of Abstrusa which are preserved more fully elsewhere than in our Abstrusa MSS. But it often makes additions to Abstrusa items where Lib. Gloss. agrees with Vat. 3321 etc. Sangall. 256, 6 is a combination of two actual and one possible Abstrusa gloss, all of which occur separately in Lib. Gloss. (Abstr. 110, 43; 111, 1. Lib. Gloss. 219, 7, 8 and 9).

It remains to ask whether Lib. Gloss. and Par. are independent of each other. It is at least clear that the latter is not derived from the former. For Lib. Gloss. is nearly always strictly alphabetical, while the other in each section falls into two parts, of which the first, containing the Abstrusa and Abolita glosses and the glosses with citations, is arranged by the first three letters, the second, containing the Placidus glosses, regards only the first two letters. On the contrary Goetz argues¹ that Lib. Gloss. drew from an earlier copy of the glossary which Par. represents, and in which the distinct sources must have been indicated. His grounds are (1) the common elements already mentioned; (2) the fact that the Placidus glosses exhibit a similar form in both glossaries and evidently belong to the same 'recension': e.g. Lib. Gloss. (*C. G. L.* v 82, 8) = Par. 114, 30 is a combination of two glosses which stand together in the Vatican Placidus (v 29, 38 and 39); (3) the fact that the Abstrusa items in both glossaries also show a common 'recension,' which is nearer to Cass. 439 than to Vat. 3321. So much coincidence, Goetz holds, can hardly be ascribed to chance. Many indeed of the Placidus items of Par. are not ascribed to Placidus in Lib. Gloss., but bear different marks, often *De Gls.* or *Cic.* (i.e. *Synonyma Ciceronis*, a title which does not imply any direct connection with Cicero²); and these, if genuine, might or might not indicate separate sources. Certainty is probably unattainable, but at least in regard to the other classes there is no evidence

¹ *C. G. L.* v praef. p. xiv; *Der Lib. Gloss.* p. 62 f.

² Cf. *Der Lib. Gloss.* p. 5.

to weaken Goetz's conclusion, provided it is not taken as the whole truth. The archetype of Par. which was used by Lib. Gloss. would probably contain only a selection from Abstrusa and Abolita; but there is some reason to think that Lib. Gloss. used another selection, or a complete copy, as well. Of the large number of Virgil glosses which are preserved more fully in Lib. Gloss. than in our Abstrusa MSS., none appears in Par. In Lib. Gloss. we sometimes find *both* the shorter and the longer form: *e.g.* Abstr. 20, 45 with Lib. Gloss. 169, 1 and 3; 21, 52 with 169, 16 and 17; 30, 22 with 175, 19 and 20; 104, 33^a (omitted by Vat.; longer in *a* than in *c d*) with 215, 17 and 18; 106, 26 with 217, 18 and 19; 110, 33^a with 219, 1 and 2¹. Such instances seem to imply the use of two copies, one more complete than the other. The compiler of Lib. Gloss. did not aim at saving space, and had no objection to entering the same item in both its forms. Further, in Abstrusa glosses which reappear in Lib. Gloss. but not in Par., Lib. Gloss. does seem as near to Vat. as to Cass. 439 (*a*) if not nearer; often it shows much more affinity with one or both of the Paris MSS. of Abstrusa (*c d*); and sometimes it preserves a right reading where all our Abstrusa MSS. have the same mistake.

ABSTRUSA	LIB. GLOSS.
5, 7 abiure furare <i>Vat. a</i> abiure furate <i>b c</i> (at 4, 12 abiurae furatae <i>omnes</i> )	161, 4 abiurate furate
13, 35 agitator ventilator iubernator vel auriga <i>Vat.</i> agitator gubernator ventilator aut auriga <i>a</i> agitator ventilator vel movetur <i>c</i>	164, 46 agitator ventilator gubernator 47 agitur ventilatur vel movetur
51, 8 dedecoratio inhonesta de- honestatio <i>Vat. a</i> (in- onestas <i>a</i> ) dedecoratio inhonestius <i>c d</i>	188, 9 dedecoratio dehonestatio 10 dedecoratio inhonestatio 11 dedecoracius inhonestacius

¹ These cases are quite different from those in which Lib. Gloss. makes two or more items out of one Abstrusa

gloss, *e.g.* Abstr. 51, 8, Lib. Gloss. 188, 9 and 10; Abstr. 105, 39, Lib. Gloss. 216, 5 and 6.



## ABSTRUSA

- 63, 7 enhermis sine arma vel sine  
mensura *Vat.*  
emerimis sine mensura *a d*  
inormis sine mensura *c*
- 104, 11 oculis morsis *omnes*  
(106, 4^a asculis mordacibus *a*)
- 106, 9 lecticulos *a d*  
lectulos *Vat. c*
- 106, 21^a liptis filius patris *a*  
leptis filius fratris *c d*
- 107, 21^a levigabis dealbabis *a*  
levigabis linibis vel deal-  
babis *c d*
- 109, 8 aqua *Vat. a d (om. c)*
- 109, 11 linicindelia *Vat. a d*  
limicicindelia *c*
- 109, 38 unde et elixare habilis dici-  
tur *Vat.*  
unde et alixare dicitur an-  
uilis *a*  
unde et elixari dicitur. *Ly.*  
in utile *d*
- 110, 33^a in *c d*; *om. Vat. a*
- 111, 22 (*om. c*; *def. d*) lupercalia  
gentilium cultor *Vat.*  
lupercalia gentilium cultus  
*a*
- 111, 27 fratre mariti *Vat.*  
fratrem mariti *a*  
frater mariti *c*
- 118, 44 modestus et modestus et  
placidus unum est *Vat.*  
modestus moderatus placi-  
dus unum est *a*  
modestus et moderatus  
unum est *c*
- 125, 5 morio cuius uxor necatur  
*Vat.*  
maritus cuius uxor neca-  
tur *a*  
morio cuius uxor meatur  
*c d*
- 135, 15 pactorium plantatorium  
*Vat. a*  
pactorio plantatorio *d*

## LIB. GLOSS.

- 211, 2 inermis sine arma alias nu-  
dus
- 215, 10 oculis mordacibus
- 216, 10 lectulos
- 216, 30 leptis filius fratris
- 217, 12 levigabis linibis vel deal-  
babis
- 218, 20 aquatica
- 218, 30 lini cicendelia
- 218, 40 unde et elixare dicitur
- 219, 2
- 219, 28 lupercalia gentilium cultor
- 220, 2 frater mariti
- 223, 12 modestus et moderatus unum  
est
- 226, 16 murro cuius uxor mechatur
- 229, 40 pacatorio plantatorio  
43 pacturio plantatorio

While therefore the archetype of Par. was one of the glossaries used by Lib. Gloss., the latter had also another source of Abstrusa items, which was not only fuller but better than any of our existing copies.

§ 4. We have then, as independent witnesses to Abstrusa, Affatim, the English group, Lib. Gloss. and Par. All these glossaries borrow from Abolita as well as from Abstrusa, but to a much smaller extent, and Mr Weir's article (*l.c.*) shows that a Virgil gloss which suggests an ancient comment as its source is not likely to belong to Abolita. Other than Abstrusa we know of no similar source which is common to these glossaries. In particular, other collections of Virgil glosses which we can trace (the English collection, the items taken by Lib. Gloss. from Virgil MSS. and marked *Virg.*, the Glossae Vergilianae) are much less widespread and, like those of Abolita, are of a different character. In view then of the affinities shown by the Abstrusa Virgil glosses and of the relation to Abstrusa of these other glossaries, we may restore to Abstrusa items which fall under one or more of the following classes. Those which run over into different classes will have all the greater probability.

I. Glosses which show affinity with the Berne Scholia and their kindred. Examples of this class have already been cited (p. 270).

II. Glosses which show affinity with Servius or Servius 'Danielis,' *e.g.*

LIB. GLOSS. 192, 28 elices: sulci ampliores (dulcis in maribus *codd.*) per quos aquae <e>liciuntur. AMPL. I 342, 5, CORP. A 718 aquilici: scrutatores aquarum. AMPL. I 364, 37 harinulcaes (harimulces): repertoires aquarum = CORP. H 18 (harinulces). SERV. 'DAN.' *Geo.* 1, 109 elicit: ab eliciendo. et apud antiquos et hodieque in aliquibus provinciis elices appellantur sulci ampliores ad siccandos agros ducti, unde poeta ipso verbo uti voluit: nam et scrutatores vel receptores (*leg.* repertoires?) aquarum aquilices dicuntur. † barinulas dixerunt (*or* barinulcis, *see Thilo, app. crit.*). LIB. GLOSS. 212, 10 Inporcitorem deum pagani habebant agricolae. 228, 28 Occatorem, Insitorem, Obaratorem, Subruncinatorem, Satorum vel actorem (Vervactorem *Schoell.*), Aratorem (Repar-?), hos homines agricolae pagani deos habuerunt. SERV. 'DAN.' *Geo.* 1, 21 Fabius Pictor hos deos enumerat, quos invocat flamen sacrum Cereale faciens Telluri et Cereri: Vervactorem, Reparatorem, Inporcitorem, Insitorem,



Obaratorem, Occatorem, Sarritorem, Subruncinatorem, Messorum, Convectorum, Conditorem, Promitorem. LIB. GLOSS. 174, 36 calones: qui ligna militibus portant. SERV. *Aen.* 1, 39 classis enim dicta est ἀπὸ τῶν κάλων, id est a lignis, unde et calones dicuntur qui ligna militibus portant, et καλοπόδια. AMPL. I 400, 15, CORP. U 199 virga: quod vi sua regat. SERV. 'DAN.' *Aen.* 4, 242 virga vero insigne potestatis est...dicta quod vi regat.

III. Glosses which are supported by the agreement of two or more independent witnesses, especially the agreement of Lib. Gloss. (or Lib. Gloss. and Par.) with one or more of Affatim and the English group or Sangall., and which seem to point back to an ancient comment, *e.g.*

LIB. GLOSS. 165, 36 alveus: quidquid aquam recipit, canales fluvii. AFF. 473, 49 canalis fluvii (*Aen.* 6, 412). LIB. GLOSS. 241, 16 (39) ruscum: lignum foliis spinosum. AMPL. II 329, 31, AMPL. I 387, 53, CORP. R 253 (*Ecl.* 7, 42). LIB. GLOSS. 230, 18 palmes pars vitis est ubi uva nascitur, quasi palma. Cf. Par. 128, 30. AMPL. I 382, 55, CORP. P 135 pars vitis unde uva nascitur (*Geo.* 2, 364). LIB. GLOSS. 191, 12 dolones: tela abscondita. AFF. 508, 21, AMPL. II 287, 47, SANGALL. 230, 19. Cf. CORP. D 351 (*Aen.* 7, 664).

IV. Glosses which are not presented by more than one witness, but which seem to be derived from a learned source, *e.g.*

LIB. GLOSS. 176, 20 caverna cava: [a]ut grata<m> gratia<m> aut rauca<m> ravim (ruua, rava *codd.*, *corr. Goetz*) et laetam laetitiam Plautus dixit. (*Aen.* 2, 53.) LIB. GLOSS. (in *Thes. Gloss.* s.v.) Manes: dii mortuorum habere (ab aere? *Goetz*) quia manus id est rarus (clarus? *Goetz*) est. Cf. GLOSS. NON. *C. G. L.* v 651, 5 manum clarum et unde manes dicti. (*Geo.* 4, 489.) LIB. GLOSS. 198, 26 Paraetoniae syrtes extra Libycae alias esse ait Lucanus. Syrtes vero Libycae austro flante siccantur. (*Aen.* 1, 111.) LIB. GLOSS. 207, 38 hibernas: magnas et turbidas. hoc Vergilius. Plautus enim 'increpui <hi>bernum.' (*Geo.* 4, 235.) LIB. GLOSS. 206, 37 [h]aruspicina: quam Aruns (arun, arum *cx codd.*, *corr. Goetz*) primo Tuscus invenit, cuius domus fulmine cremuit (!) (*Geo.* 1, 484?)

Sometimes a gloss of this kind in Lib. Gloss. is confirmed by the occurrence of a shorter and a longer form (cf. p. 278) *e.g.*

LIB. GLOSS. 246, 2 stiva: manubrium aratri. 246, 4 stiva velut manubrium est aratri quod manu tenet (tenens? *Goetz*) arator aratrum sistit ut dirigat sulcum. (*Geo.* 1, 174.) LIB. GLOSS. 180, 15 Codrus nobilissimus pastor et poeta fuit. 180, 16 Codrus: nobilissimus pastor significatur et poeta quem Vergilius legis laudat. Cf. SCHOL. BERN. *Ecl.* 7, 22, and see p. 271.

Two kinds of glosses call for special remark here.

(1) There is a considerable number in which Donatus is cited, and in which it seems clear that the reference must be to his commentary on Virgil: *e.g.* Lib. Gloss. 174, 10; 175, 13; 176, 36. They occur only in Lib. Gloss. and Par., but a few of them are supported by the Berne Scholia etc.

LIB. GLOSS. 175, 13 *characteres: modi elocutionum*. *dicit esse Donatus quos Graeci χαρακτήρας vocant, ἰσχνός (scinos codd.) qui tenuis, μέσος (melos codd.) qui moderatus, ἄδρός (adros codd.) qui validus intellegitur*. Cf. EXPLAN. I (*App. Serv.* p. 1) *tres modi locutionum sunt, quos characteras Graeci vocant, ἰσχνός qui tenuis, μέσος qui moderatus, ἄδρός qui validus intellegitur: and the remarks on bucolic poetry which follow the life of Virgil in the Berne MS. 172 (Jahrbücher f. Class. Phil. 4^{te} Supp. p. 742, § 58) 'aut cum tres modi sint elocutionum' etc.*

LIB. GLOSS. 244, 10 (Par. 149, 2) *sensa: nota pro sensu[s] corporis sensa dici*. Donatus ait 'Epicurus ostendit omnia comprehendere posse sensa corporis.' This gloss would seem to belong to the glossary with citations, but like some others of its kind it may have been derived from a note in the 'variorum' commentary with which we are concerned; a quotation from Donatus in which there was the mistake *sensa* for *sensu*. We may perhaps find support for this claim in the Berne Scholia at *Geo.* 2, 246 (on 'at sapor indicium faciet' etc.): *v genera saporum sunt, visus, auditus, odoratus, tactus, gustus,—for this may well be a fragment of a note in which the Epicurean doctrine was mentioned.*

On the other hand it is remarkable to find Donatus cited by name in the glossary. Servius mentions him, but our glosses are not from Servius. Adamnan did not use Donatus directly: his immediate sources, according to the Berne Scholia, were Gallus, Gaudentius and Philargyrius. Their names never appear in the glossary, nor, with very few exceptions, those of authorities cited by them. In the Berne Scholia we have many names, but that of Donatus only twice; once in a reference to his grammar (*Geo.* 1, 67) and once in a note which comes from Servius and must probably on that account be attributed to Gaudentius (*Geo.* 2, 4). In the *Brevis Expositio* there is one other occurrence at *Geo.* 2, 514, also from Servius. But there are in these scholia undoubted references to Donatus even though the name is not given: *e.g.* at *Ecl.* 8, 17 ('nascere praeque diem veniens age, Lucifer, almus') Philargyrius' note in Schol. Bern. is "Almus: lucidum. almus tria genera significat, ut 'lux alma' id est can-



didā, et 'parturit almus ager' id est fertilis, et 'alma parens' id est sancta." Now Explan. II has the same note, but there the lemma is 'praeveniens Lucifer almus,' indicating that in the full commentary there was a reference to the mistake of Donatus, who took *almus* with *Lucifer*. Cf. Lib. Gloss. 219, 10 *Lucifer genere neutro dicitur, ut Donatus*. At *Geo.* 1, 425 ('lunasque sequentes') Servius says 'Donatus dicit lunas noctes accipiendas, sed male, non enim signa, quae dicturus est, ex nocte, sed ex luna colligimus.' In the Berne Scholia stands the note 'lunas: noctes.' Again at *Geo.* 2, 4 we have in the Berne Scholia 'O Lenaeae: Lenaeus Liber pater dictus quod leniat. O Lenaeae: ἀπὸ τῆς ληνός, id est a lacu dicitur. nam quod Donatus dixit ab eo quod mentem delēniat, [propriū Libero patri Lenaeus] non procedit; nec enim potest Latinam etymologiam Graecum nomen accipere.' The second note is Servius word for word, and it shows that the first is Donatus, though without his name. It is clear that Adamnan's commentary contained quotations from Donatus. These quotations, including our Donatus glosses, do not come from Gaudentius, for they are not in Servius; nor, probably, from Gallus. Even the quotations existing in the Berne Scholia are spread over a wider area of Virgil's text than the known extracts from Gallus, and the scanty remains of his notes do not suggest anything of the kind. Mommsen's view¹ that Gallus represents a 'Servius auctus' holds the field, but there is no indication that he enlarged Servius by quoting Donatus where Servius had not already done so. We are left with Philargyrius, whose note on *Ecl.* 8, 17 I have already quoted in connection with a Donatus gloss. Barwick has shown² that Donatus was an important source of Philargyrius' commentary. The latter may have mentioned him by name in much the same way as Servius does,—chiefly where he had occasion to differ from him; and the general character of the glosses is consistent with this view. The Berne extractor seldom names *both* the commentator and his authority; on the other hand it is easy to imagine that the compiler of the glossary was more interested in Donatus than in Philargyrius and his brethren; for he had doubtless been

¹ *Rh. Mus.* xvi 447; Barwick, *l.c.*  
p. 95.

² p. 121. Cf. Funaioli, *Riv. di Filol.* XLVIII 228 ff.

nourished on Donatus' grammar, but to judge from appearances his studies had not extended far beyond it.

(2) One main source of the *Liber Glossarum* was Isidore¹, extracts from whom were marked *Isidori*, *Isid.*, etc. It is hardly to be expected that the marginal indications of source have always been rightly preserved in the MSS., and the question arises in connection with several classes of items. How, for instance, are we to deal with a gloss marked *De Gls.* which coincides strikingly with Isidore, or with a gloss marked *Isid.* which does not seem to have been taken directly from him, or cannot be traced in him at all? We know that Isidore made a large use of ancient commentators on Virgil², and in particular he very often repeats Servius word for word; so that where a *De Gls.* item coincides not only with Isidore but with Servius we may assume that the source-mark is correct. Glosses which have this mark and agree with Isidore but not with Servius we may also adopt with confidence; for presumably Isidore copied other commentators as faithfully as he did Servius. The use of a common source (probably Donatus) is shown by a coincidence like that of *Lib. Gloss.* 254, 14 uligine: sordes limi aut aquae (*De Gls.*) with *Isid. Etym.* XVI 1, 5 uligo sordes limi vel aquae sunt. Such cases are found also in our *Abstrusa MSS.*, e.g. *Abstr.* 145, 22 poculum: calix vel scyphus vel omne vas in quo bibendi est consuetudo, with *Isid.* XX 5, 1 poculum a potando nominatum; est enim omne vas in quo bibendi est consuetudo. Sometimes the coincidence extends also to the *Berne Scholia*, e.g. *Lib. Gloss.* 239, 20 rastrum: ferramentum culturae; aut a radendo terram aut a raritate dentium rastros dicimus; with *Schol. Bern. Geo.* 1, 155 rastris: raritate dentium dicti; and *Isid.* XX 14, 6 rastra quoque aut a radendo terram aut a raritate dentium dicta. Contrast Servius *Geo.* 1, 94 rastra dicta quia terram radunt. In fact unless a *Lib. Gloss.* item is clearly derived from Isidore, the coincidence may be taken as a proof that we are dealing with an ancient comment.

¹ Chiefly the *Etymologiae*, but other works also. See Goetz, *Der Lib. Gloss.* p. 46.

² See Philipp, *Die historisch-geo-*

*graphischen Quellen in den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla*, Berlin 1912, I pp. 35 ff.



On the other hand Lib. Gloss. sometimes credits Isidore with a gloss which is only in part, or not at all, to be found in his works. The explanation of this seems to lie in the fact that Lib. Gloss. used a compilation by Julian of Toledo, who worked over some of Isidore's writings and was himself apparently known as 'Isidore Junior'.¹ So a gloss marked *Isid.* which suggests an ancient source but does not appear to be derived from Isidore may really come from Julian, who may have taken it from Donatus. Again, the actual mention of Isidore in the Berne Scholia does not prove that he was used by Adamnan or by any of Adamnan's sources; for Funaioli² has pointed out that these citations seem to have been introduced into the Berne MSS. from a compilation of a similar nature to that used by the Lib. Gloss., and which exists in a Basel MS. under the name of Isidore (Junior). These facts, along with the detailed study of the very numerous coincidences between Isidore, the glossary and the Berne Scholia, make it unnecessary to adopt with Barwick³ the somewhat difficult assumption that Isidore wrote a commentary on Virgil which has been lost. The genuine coincidences with works of Isidore are accounted for by the use of a common source, and we know that in his *Etymologiae* and *Differentiae* Isidore did draw largely from commentaries on Virgil.

Lastly, there are cases in Lib. Gloss. where Goetz prints the source-mark *Isid.* in error: e.g. 214, 39 *labrusca: vitis silvestris, dicta quod in labris ruris (rubi codd.) nascuntur*. This gloss has no mark in the MSS., though the last preceding mark is *Isid.*, and it does not come from *Etym.* xvii 5, 3 '*labrusca est vitis agrestis quae in terrae marginibus nascitur: unde et labrusca dicta, a labris et extremitatibus terrae*' (from Servius on *Ecl.* 5, 7), for this item also appears in the glossary. Our gloss finds its real double in Adamnan: *silvestris vitis, ideo quod in labris ruris id est in saepibus nascitur* (*Explan., Ecl.* 5, 7. Cf. *Schol. Bern.*, from Philargyrius). Similarly 218, 1 *licini (i.e. lychni): cicindelia lucernae*, and 218, 30 *lini: cicindelia lucernae*, are marked *Isid.* by Goetz though they have no mark in the MSS.

¹ References in Teuffel⁶, iii p. 540.      ence, 1914, p. 77.

Goetz, *Der Lib. Gloss.* p. 77.

³ *L.c.* p. 118.

² *Schol. Vat. Reg. ad Verg.* Flor-

Isidore (*Etym.* xx 10, 2) says 'licinius autem quasi lucinius; est enim cicindela lucernae,' and this too occurs in the glossary, with the source duly indicated. The other two glosses are one, and reproduce Abstr. 109, 11. The double item may be due to the use of two copies, one of which had the mistake *lini* in the lemma; but such a 'cross-reference' where a mistake has been corrected is quite common. The last example (218, 1 along with the Isidore gloss) illustrates a phenomenon which occurs frequently in Lib. Gloss.,—two closely similar glosses, of which one is derived from Isidore, the other evidently from his source: and in many cases that source is clearly a non-Servian commentary on Virgil.

H. J. THOMSON.

ST ANDREWS.



## THE IBIS OF OVID.

In 1894, when my recension of the Ibis had been published in Postgate's corpus poetarum Latinorum, I intended to put together a paper discussing various problems which the poem presents, and in particular defending and explaining my alterations of its text. From this design I was led away by other interests, and the editors of Ovid were left staring at a set of very puzzling objects,—conjectures which I had proposed because I had read the Ibis with attention, and whose cause and aim were obscure to those who had not. Within the last few years I have published two articles upon some of my proposals: one in this Journal, xxxiv pp. 222–38, on my transposition of certain distichs, the other in the Classical Quarterly, ix pp. 31–8¹, on my correction of verse 512. I will now take leave of the poem by adding a series of remarks, general and particular, upon matters which may still seem to need explanation or discussion. But first I will correct one error in my text, and mention four other places where I should now alter it.

*praesidio* in 283 is a slip of the pen for *subsidio*. In order to force myself to think about every detail, I made a manuscript copy of the whole poem, which I sent to the printer; and this is one of those errors of transcription which are caused by anticipating a coming word, here *praesens*.

In the same verse, knowing what I now know of the MSS (see pp. 291 sq.), I should write *praesens sit* for *sit praesens*; in 284 I should write *nihil* instead of *nil*, for the reason which I gave in the Classical Review xxxiv pp. 57 sq.; in 415 I should write *Achaemenidis* for *Achaemenidae* (see p. 314); and in 470 I should write *Dexithoes* or rather *Dexitheae* for *Dexiones* (see pp. 300–4).

¹ In this paper, on p. 32 (where I twice wrote 'Autonoe' by mistake for 'the Sibyl'), the *ire uiro* which I restore

at Sil. xiii 800 may be supported by the *ire sorori* of xv 327.

## I.

The first editor to furnish the Ibis with an apparatus criticus was Merkel in his recension of 1837. His collations, 18 in number, are mostly derived from the unpublished papers of Heinsius, among them the collation of F, called C in his edition; V, called A in his edition, was collated by Moriz Haupt; the rest of the 18 MSS are without importance.

Ellis in 1881 gave, or rather professed to give, collations of 10 MSS, including F (as he chose to call it, though Merkel had attached this letter to another MS) and V (as he chose to call Merkel's A). Only seven of them are worth anything: FG (again a letter to which Merkel had given a different meaning) H (another yet) PTVX. As for the remainder, M is merely a copy of H, and neither Vat.¹ nor Parm. contains anything of merit which is not to be found in one or more of the seven.

The same is true of certain excerpts from a Florentine 'exemplar ex Marcia bibliotheca' made by Politian in the Bodleian copy of the ed. Parmensis 1477. The Zamoscianus saec. xv adduced by R. Foerster in Rhein. Mus. 1900 p. 453 contains only verses 1-37 and in them nothing of importance or even of interest except the *audiat* 27 which it shares with G. The corrupt and corrected Bodleian cod. Canonicianus 20, of 1500 or thereabouts, collated by Mr Winstedt in Class. Rev. 1899 pp. 395 sq., has one lection of note, *thaleceae* 502 for the *paphegee* etc. of the other MSS; but this only shows that some scholar of the renaissance had anticipated Heinsius in conjecturing *Phalaeceae*.

The florilegia excel the complete MSS in two readings, 109 *calidus* Atr. Par. Brit. Bodl. for *clarus*, and 135 *iaziges* Atr., *iatiges* Par., for *iapiges* and worse. The repertorium uocabulorum exquisitorum of Conradus de Mure preserves *astacide* at 515, where the MSS have various corruptions, and slightly excels them in *theudocus* 466 and *Euenus* 513. The late MSS and early editions provide many corrections: 36 *quem*, 84 *chao*, 145 *nolim*, 178 *egypti*, 229 *imbuerunt*, 249 *accedent*, 256 *armati...inermis opem*,

¹ A possible exception is the *nichil arcei* of Vat. in 284, which is nearer than the *nil rethai* of most MSS to

the true reading *nihil Hercei*; but it may be merely a corruption of a correction.



272 *Demodoci*, 284 *ercei*, 323 *Aleuas*, 348 *Tisameni*...*Calliroides*, 357 *facit*, 366 *foris*, 391 *sex bis ut*, 412 *cercionea*, 434 *Threicius*, 463 *cygneius*, 466 *Theudotus*, 483 *Hypsipyles*, 500 *quae*, 545 *Harpagides*, 569 *acerno*, 571 *Anaxarchus*, 573 *Psamathes*, 600 *Orpheos*, 616 *obstructo*. But the MSS on which we depend for the tradition of what Ovid wrote are the seven which I selected in my recension of 1894.

F = Francofurtanus. G = Galeanus, in Trinity College, Cambridge. H = Holkhamicus. P = Phillippicus, now at Berlin. T = Turonensis. V = Vindobonensis. X = Parisinus. The date of one or two is not settled, and is not worth settling: none is much earlier than 1200, and none perhaps much later than 1300.

An apparatus criticus constructed by Ellis is never complete and never completely intelligible. This I already knew when I undertook to edit the *Ibis*, and even if I had not known it I should have begun to learn it in the course of my task. But I did not yet know, what subsequent experience taught me, that he never in his life collated a MS nor even grasped the meaning of the word *collation*. I consequently supposed that he knew the readings of his MSS even where he did not report them, and that his reports themselves were true except where they were self-contradictory; and I contented myself with asking him to supplement them or to clear them up. Sometimes he could, sometimes he could not. 418: text *qui*; note (wrong end foremost, as often) '*que* FHMPVX, *quē* Vat., *qui* G Conr. bis.' What has T? I asked him, and he said *que*. 137: text *mollia pabula*; note '*mollia pabula* FTV Paris. Atrebat., *pabula mollia* PX, *mitia pabula* G.' What has H? I asked him, and he could not tell. 345: text *Dryantiadae*; note '*driantides* P, *driantide* TV, *drianthide* Conr. bis, *driantiade* G unde *Dryantiadae* scripsi cum Riesio et ed. Rubei.' What have FHX? I asked him, and he replied 'no entry for HF: *driantide* X: *Dry(?i)antiadae* may be inferred for F.' 362: text *sua uel Pterelae*; note '*sua* GPVX, *tua* FT Conr., *tibi* M. *pterele* P, *pterere* Vat., *pteleri* F, *sterole* T, *terele* HV, *cherele* X, *cerele* M, *terei* G, *therele* Conr.' What has H for *sua*? I asked him, and he said *tibi*, and he added (contradicting his own note) that it had *cerele* for *Pterelae*, which is not true.

The defects which my enquiries revealed in Ellis's knowledge of F and V I could repair, or thought I could, from the apparatus criticus of Merkel: to repair the defects in his knowledge of H, which were most conspicuous, I applied to Lord Leicester's librarian, Mr A. J. Napier. But no defects, or hardly any, were perceptible in Ellis's knowledge of the best and most important MSS GPT; and there I thought I might trust him. Trust however was not encouraged when Chatelain in 1894 published a photographic reproduction of the first page of V, which furnished the following additions to Ellis's apparatus: 2 *carmen*] *tempus*. 10 *manus*] *meas* corr. in *manus*. 17 *meae* om. 24 *melius* (after *nostras*) expunged. 29 *at*] *ft*. 30 *quod licet hei*¹. And mistrust was so confirmed by the progress of my acquaintance with Ellis's publications that I have now thought it advisable to ascertain for myself the readings of the two most important MSS G and T. G is in the library of my own college, and of T I possess photographs given me by Prof. D. A. Slater. To these I have added the much less important H, which I have been able to examine, by the kindness of Lord Leicester, in the Cambridge University Library. The following corrections or additions (I omit a few mere trifles) are to be made in Ellis's reports of these three MSS.

21 *profugae*] *nostre* H. 24 *noluit* (not *uoluit*) T. 42 *et*] *aut* H. 49 *nondum ferro*] *ferro nondum* T. 60 *iudicii*] *inditii* G. 65 *calendis* H. 84 *chao*] *chori* T. 95 *ibin* T. 99 *ades*] *adest* G. 107 *amnis*] *pontus* T. 120 *quum*] *cum* GHT (and doubtless FPVX). 137 *mollia pabula* H. 141 *tunc* G (Ellis contradicts himself), *tum* T. 142 *mores* H. 177 *quaeque*] *atque* H. 189 *monimenta* G. 194 *aves* H. 198 *aut*] *et* GHT (also F according to Merkel, and very likely PX in spite of Ellis's silence). 220 *ibi* T. 233 *uinxerunt* or perhaps *iunxerunt* H. 247 *disces*] *disce* T. 259 *amintorides* H. 272 *ut*] *et* H. *Demodoci*] *democii* H, *demophodi* (not *demodofi*) T. 275 *melior tumidis* H (Ellis contradicts himself). 277 *sollertique* H. 280 *aquis* (misprint)] *equis* GH. 283 *sit praesens*] *praesens sit* HT. 290 *humor* H. 294 *immensum*] *inmensum* if not rather *immersum* G. *proiciare*] *praecipitere* H. 331 *euridamas* H. 345 *driantide* H. 350 *tideus* H. 351 *uenerem iuncxit*] *iuncxit*

¹ But at 22 the reading is *ipse*, as *ille*, as Merkel states and as I stated it should be from Ellis's silence, not in reliance on him.



(or *uincxit*) *uenerem* H. 359 *thesti* H (Ellis contradicts himself). 362 *sua*] *tibi* H. 383 *Therodomanteos*. T. 388 *ut*] *aut* T. 389 *penus* H. 391 *ycaridos* H. 407 *cum* H. 418 *qui*] *que* T. 426 *conficiare*] *destituare* H. 454 *frigios* H. 467 *Abdera*] *addera* G (which Ellis cites from X). 471 *martertera* G. 488 *driops* H. 497 *eadem*] *eadem et* G. 500 *quod* GT. 510 *cressia* T. 515 *As-tacidaeque*] *Tacide quo* G, *Hyrcacideque* T. 546 *caesus*] *scelus* (not *sectus*) H. 549 *utue*] *utque* H. 552 *habent*] *habet* T. 571 *anaxarnis* (not -*arrus*) H. 581 *fr̄s* H. 596 *dilaniet*] *dilaceret* H. 606 *sic tua uirus*] *corpora uirus* G. 611 and 612 are not omitted by G. 611 *tuis laedaris*] *datus ladaris* G (whence Ellis would have conjectured *datīs* if he had noticed it). 615 *lumine*] *limine* G. 617 *Mineruae*] *diane* G. 628 *eat*] *erat* corr. in *erit* G. 639 *sint* H. 641 *dii* H. 643 *post modo* H.

These errors and oversights¹, however discreditable to Ellis, have done little harm to Ovid; and there are only four verses on which it is necessary to make any remark. In 49 the order of words

*sic ego te ferro nondum iaculabor acuto,*

preferred by Heinsius, conforms to Ovid's usual practice of balancing substantive and adjective in the verse, and now that T as well as FP is found to support it the contrary evidence of GHVX for *nondum ferro* is not superior: there may however be some force in what Merkel says, or rather seems struggling to say in his usual inarticulate fashion, that the latter lays the right stress on *nondum*. In 283 the rhythm of

*nec tibi subsidio praesens sit numen, ut illi*

¹ Mr Owen's report of H in the *tristia*, though he says 'contuli diligētissime,' appears to be no more accurate. I have checked it by the ms for book II, and I find that the following additions or corrections are needed. 61 *quid*] *quod*. 65 *illic*] *illis*. 67 *fit*] *sit*. 111 *patrio*] *toto* with *uel patrio* superscript. 113 *ut...nec*] *et...et*. 114 *sit*] *fit*. 122 *non*] *tamen*. 137 *in illo*] *ab urbe*. 143 *honeratam*] *hornatam*. 150 *continuassee*] *continuisse*. 175 *et*] *es*.

176 *dimidio*] *dimidioque*. 203 *ister*. 213 *pectora*] *numina*. 226 *metum*] *metu*. 235 *non*] *nec*. 251 *submouimus*] *sūmouimus*. 261 *genitrix*. 262 *genetrix*] *genitrix et*. 291 *adoranti*] *adorande*. 379 *indicio*] *iudicio*. 397 *tetrice*] *tretrice*. 411 *qui*] *quod*. 419 *monimentis*. 433 *Memmi*] *memi*. 447 *tibulus*. 476 *deceat*] *deceat et*. 493 *hic* (misprint)] *his*. 495 *describentibus*] *describentibus*. 523 *uarios uenerisque*] *ueneris uariosque*. 547 *credas opus*] *tempus credas*.

is more Ovidian than *sit praesens* and was preferred by Merkel and Riese; but from the silence of Ellis's apparatus it appeared that the *sit praesens* of his text was in all his MSS.¹ It is in G, but it is not in T nor H, and we must now doubt whether it is in any other of the seven, for Merkel certainly implies that F and V have *praesens sit*: this reading therefore I should now adopt. In 500

dixerat inuiso *quod* mala uerba deo,

now that Ellis's report of G is found to be false, there is no authority for *quae* in any good MS; but I still prefer it, as Heinsius and Merkel did. Similarly in 198

inde ego pauca canam, frondes ut siquis ab Ida

*aut* summam Libyco de mare carpat aquam,

*aut* is better than *et*, even though it proves to have less authority.

After my corrections and supplements to Ellis's reports of GHT, the text of these three MSS is at length fully known to the public, but not the text of any of the other four. As regards F and V there are contradictions between Ellis and Merkel; and although, when two scholars in succession report upon a MS, the second usually keeps the report of the first before his eyes, and means his own report, where it differs, to be taken as correcting the other, this is not what happens when the second scholar is Ellis; and on occasions when I called his attention to discrepancies between Merkel's apparatus and his own, it appeared that he had not previously noticed them. As regards P and X we have no witness but Ellis, and what that means we know by this time. But though a fresh examination of these MSS would certainly disclose omissions and errors in his report of them, I do not suppose that here, any more than in GHT, the corrections would render any appreciable service to the text of Ovid. I do not intend to collate the MSS myself, nor do I urge any other scholar to that undertaking, unless he thinks he can find nothing better to do.

I subjoin a list of the changes and additions required in my apparatus criticus by my present knowledge of the MSS; I also

¹ The other editors subsequent to Ellis have overlooked this, and are lucky in their oversight.



repair three errors (404, 470, 540) and two omissions (61, 431) of my own, and I add at 211 a lection which perhaps deserves to be recorded.

22 *ille* GHVX] delete V. 49 *fer. non.* FP] add T. 61 *qui* PVX] add F ex sil. Ell. et Merk. 98 et 99 *ades* GX] G in 99 has *adest.* 107 add '*amnis. pontus* T, *potus...unda* F.' 198 add '*aut* V, *et* FGHT, de PX siletur.' 211 add '*non. nec in* FTV.' 256 after *inermis opem* insert  $\varsigma$ . 281 delete '*redemi* C bis' on the authority of Anton Meyer, *Die quellen zum Fabularius des Konrad von Mure* p. 119. 283 add '*praesens sit* HT et ex Merkelii silentio FV, *sit praesens* G, de PX siletur.' 348 *cal-lirices* C] *callirces* teste Meyero. 351 *iun. uen.* TV] add H. 383 *Therodomanteos* GHV] add T. 388 add '*ut* GPX, *aut* FHTV.' 404 *temporibus* GHTV] delete HV and add PX¹. 431 *repetas* H] add V on Merkel's authority. 434 delete '*tu cereique* C' and add C after *tu tereique*. 470 delete '*sicut coni.* Kinkel.' 497 *et* om. GH] delete G. 500 *quae* G, *quod* cett. (de TX siletur)] *quae*  $\varsigma$ , *quod* O (de X siletur). 515 *Tacideq.*] *Tacide quo.* 540 *fort. urbis*] *urbis*  $\varsigma$ . 572 add '*tritaq.* (al. *circaq.*) C.' 596 *dilaceret* FV] add H. 611 sq. om. G] delete. 617 add '*diane* FG.'

The relations of the seven MSS to one another may be represented thus:

G...XP...T..F.H.V

The nearest akin are X and P; next in closeness is the tie between H and its two neighbours F and V; T stands more apart, and G still more. G and V are the most unlike to one another, and G's next neighbour X is further away from it than are the next neighbours of other MSS from them.

Before asking which is the best MS we must determine what we mean by goodness. The MS whose readings are oftenest right is P: both Ellis and I, though our texts² differ in more than 80 places, follow P more frequently,—I only a little more frequently,—than any other MS. Second, by the same test, comes T; then

¹ *temporibus* has the better authority, but *diuersis uulneribus* is more expressive, and resembles met. v 141 '*matre sator una diuerso uulnere fudit.*'

Guethling (1884) generally follows Ellis, and Mr Owen (1915) generally follows me; Merkel's text of 1884 is more independent but less satisfactory than either.

² Of the other editors since 1881,

begins divergency, and G compares very differently with our two recensions; tried by Ellis's it is third or fourth, tried by mine it is seventh.

Ellis	Housman
1. P	1. P
2. T	2. T
3. {F G	3. V
4. V	4. F
5. X	5. X
6. H	6. H
7. H	7. G

But if the best MS is that which oftenest is right when all the rest are wrong, or nearer the truth when all the rest are further away, then P descends to the third place, and the first and second are occupied respectively by G and T according to Ellis, by T and G according to me.

There is one place where, beyond all question, G alone of the seven MSS is right, 488 *iuuit*. There are three where, though not certainly right, it is preferred to the rest by all the latest editors, from Ellis onwards, 139 *tecum bella geram*¹, 443 *aut*, 470 *Dexiones*; and five more where it is preferred by most of those editors, 27 *audiat*, 30 *qua*, 159 *colubre*, 293 *ethreclides*, 625 *viscera*. There are six where only a minority prefers it, 16 *uiui*, 211 *illuixit*, 285 *a*, 316 *ossa*, 365 *uestigia*, 434 *tu Teleique*; one where nobody prefers it but Ellis, 492 *nomine fecit* (though Merkel builds a conjecture on this reading); and one, 173 *uocabere*, where nobody prefers it but Merkel. Altogether Ellis prefers it in thirteen places, I in eight (now seven only), and three of my seven are places where Ellis does not prefer it.

The places where I prefer T alone to the six other MSS are thirteen: 76 *netis*, 85 *canentur*, 135 *iapiges*, 142 *exanguis*, 233 *uinxerunt* (but here H perhaps agrees), 293 *uictus*, 329 *leneus*, insertion between 338 and 339 of 439 sq. and 461 sq. without 637 sq., 366 *membraque*, 380 *quos*, 387 *demisit*, 449 *et*, 472 *ut*. Of these places there are seven where all recent editors share my preference, 76, 135, 233, 329, 387, 449, 472; two more, 142 and 293, where I am in the majority; and yet two more, 366

¹ Calp. buc. i 50 *secum bella geret*.



and 380, where one other editor agrees with me. Ellis prefers T in eight places out of my thirteen.

The two MSS therefore compare as follows:

G	T
preferred by all in 4 places	preferred by all in 7 places
preferred by most in $4 + 5 = 9$	preferred by most in $7 + 2 = 9$

But now let us turn from their peculiar merits to their peculiar faults. These are so much more numerous that it is impossible to give them all; but out of each MS I have made what I hope is a fair and representative collection of readings somewhat conspicuously different from those of the other MSS and rejected by the consent of recent editors.

G: 24 *non sinit*, 34 *gelido tepidus*, 58 *quamvis non soleam*, 61 *nondum quis sis*, 65 *festo*, 103 *mortales*, 110 *lumina*, 126 *deserat* (for *torqueat*), 131 sq. om., 153 *erit*, 174 *impia*, 189 *monimenta*, 191 *credas*, 205 *tot ue tibi uenient misero*, 264 *clarus...sumptus*, 267 *postquam*, 308 *matre parante*, 311 *gratissima*, 325 *roma*, 362 *terei*, 375 *artis*, 407 *de*, 409 *in humum*, 420 *sepe*, 437 *perille tuo*, 439 *ore*, 459 *ne penam*, 538 *oculos*, 606 *sic tua...corpora*, 637 *sciticas*, 641 *tibi*, 644 *sub*.

T: 56 *quoque*, 98 *precor*, 201 *inhorreat*, 275 *tumidi tibi sit melior*, 276 *uise*, 287 *yrioni*, 355 *necem miseris*, 385 *rapax*, 406 *ipse...urbe*, 430 *consternati*, 443 *utque*, 493 *ad*, 555 *fauniadum*, 586 *et...ut*.

These readings are not all necessarily false, and a partisan of either MS could cram a good many of them into the text. But readings certainly false are much commoner in G than in T, and T has none so bad as some of G's, 103 *mortales*, 205 *tot ue tibi*, 325 *Roma*, 362 *Terei*, which are deliberate interpolations.

In our preferences of P there is little disagreement between Ellis and me and the other recent editors. All of us regard it as right or nearest the truth in five places, 256 *armatis*, 362 *pterele*, 502 *paphegee*, 545 *arpacides*, 560 *aniti* (though in 256 and 502 its superiority is very slight), and most of us in one more, 335 *ypomenida*. Further in 30 *et* it is preferred by two editors, in 181 *qui distat summus* by Ellis alone.

Its singularities are universally rejected in 12 *suo*, 15 sq.

post 18, 28 *potior*, 30 *quam*, 48 *uelitis*, 54 *dicta*, 98 *rogo*, 408 *una*, 457 *magnae subito*, 523 *que om.*, 562 *tua* (for *sic*); but two of these, 12 and 457, are possibly or even probably true. It thus has fewer errors peculiar to itself than any other of the seven MSS, and, as I have said, it is the MS with which modern texts most closely agree; only it has less singularity in merit than T and G.

The remaining MSS are singly assigned preeminence in the following places:

F: by all in 272 *ut*, 461 *Cassandreus*, 615 *obstructus*, 631 *Rutulo*; by most in 190 *manibus* and 551 *derepta*.

H: by all in 200 *cylissa*, 470 *ypponoo*, 539 *conditor...tardae*, 525 *utque*, 555 *Potniadum*; by most in 515 *decisa*.

V: by all in 199 *nascantur*, 256 *uulnus*, 270 *thelemus*, 511 *aleue*, 531 *licophrona*; by most in 444 *fati* and 478 *Thaso*.

X: by all in 99 *ades* and 391 *sexus ut*.

They are single in somewhat conspicuous errors, or readings deemed erroneous by the editors, as follows: F in 12 places, H in 18, V in 23, X in 16.

The upshot of these investigations is that T emerges as the best MS on the whole, while the next best is P or G, according as general correctness or singularity in merit is the more esteemed. I was trusting too much to memory and impression when I said in J. P. xxxiv p. 223 that the order was roughly TGXPVFH. This puts X a good deal too high: in spite of its affinity to P and G it is much less correct than the one and much less important than the other.

## II.

Consideration of a question which concerns the poem as a whole, and affects the criticism or interpretation of several verses, may take its start from the couplet 291 sq.

utque parum  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{mitis} \text{ GHPTVX} \\ \textit{fidus} \text{ F} \end{array} \right\}$ , sed non inpune, Prometheus

aerias uolucres  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{sanguine} \text{ GPTX} \\ \textit{corpore} \text{ FHV} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{fixus alas} \text{ PT} \\ \textit{pasce tuo} \text{ FGHV} \end{array} \right\}^1$ .

¹ The reading of X is not given by Ellis and cannot be inferred from his silence; he told me he had 'no entry.'



The same thing is said over again in 543 sq.

fixus et in duris carparis uiscera saxis  
ut cui Pyrrha sui filia fratris erat;

and the earlier distich was condemned by Saluagnius and Bentley. Schrader in lib. emend. c. XIII, approving its deletion, takes occasion to say on p. 230 'in his Diris poeta bis idem non dicit,' and again on p. 233 'Ovidius iisdem exemplis in breui carmine non utitur.' Merkel on the other hand, professing to contradict him, says on p. IX of his edition of 1884 'fabularum argumenta aliquot mutata paulum elocutione iterata esse a poeta nemo dubitat.' Assertion and counter-assertion are equally wanting in precision: I will show what Ovid's practice actually was; and it will prove to be just what might have been expected, the practice of a reasonable man.

He would not have been reasonable if, after saying at 347 'may you run mad like Hercules,' he had scrupled to say at 605 'may you be consumed by venom like Hercules,' or if anywhere he had shrunk from mentioning one person twice in connexion with two of his misfortunes. But he would have been unreasonable and indeed ridiculous if he had twice imprecated on his enemy the same misfortune of the same person; and he has not done so.

The persons whom he twice mentions or unmistakably signifies are the following. Adonis: 503 as killed by a boar, 565 as expiating by death an incestuous origin. Astyanax: 496 as hurled from a height, 563 as witnessing the fall of his city. Hercules: 347 as plagued with madness, 605 as consumed by venom. Lycaon: 431 as setting human flesh before Jove, 473 as struck by lightning. Macareus: 357 as having an incestuous sister, 562 as bereft of his love. Orestes: 348 as plagued with madness, 527 as killed by a serpent. Thyestes: 359 as having an incestuous daughter, 429 as frightening away the Sun. Ulysses: 277 as shipwrecked, 567 as killed with the sting of a ray. There is no repetition, not even in the case of Adonis; for the stain of his birth might have been expiated by many other deaths than the death which he actually died.

But the two imprecations in 291 sq. and 543 sq. are identical:

not only is the same person mentioned but he is mentioned for the same reason. This is not merely absurd but unique in its absurdity, and is therefore to be got rid of. Which of the two couplets is spurious nobody can doubt, and the cause of its interpolation is not obscure. In this long catalogue of pains and penalties the interpolator could find no reference, such as anyone would expect, to the famous sufferings of Prometheus, whom he did not recognise under the title of 'Pyrrha's paternal uncle.' He therefore wrote 291 sq. somewhere in the margin: in most of our MSS the couplet stands after 290, but in H after 288, and it was absent from Saluagnius' 'membranae San-Victorianae'.¹

At any rate repetitions ought not to be imported by conjecture; and Ellis's conjecture at 327 will import one. The MSS have

quaque in *Adimantum Phillesia* (*Phylesia* sim.) regna tenentem  
a Ioue uenerunt te quoque tela petant.

Nothing is known of *Adimantus*² or his kingdom, but that is no reason for altering a verse in this poem, much less for altering it into '*Aphidantum Phylacesia* (or *Phyllesia* or *Phialesia*) regna tenentem' and explaining it of Lycaon; for Lycaon is instanced as struck by lightning in 473 sq.

ut ferus Aeolides, ut sanguine natus eodem,  
quo genita est liquidis quae caret Arctos aquis.

I at least cannot interpret this couplet otherwise than Sanctius and Desselius did, 'like Salmoneus, and like his cousin, who was Callisto's father' (the genealogy is Zeus, Hellen, Aeolus, Salmoneus; Zeus, Pelasgus, Lycaon). I do not see how *quo* can be referred to *eodem* and *natus* made to signify a brother of Callisto's, for all her brothers, or all with one exception, were struck by

¹ In what form the verses were written by their author, and whether in any of the various forms which they wear in the MSS, is another and a minor question. *sanguine* (*corpore*) *fixus alas* in the pentameter is not so bad as *sanguine* (*corpore*) *pasce tuo* with its impossible imperative; and in the hexameter *fidus* is evidently no

more than an attempt to amend *mitis*. I suppose that *parum mitis* is a rendering of Aesch. Prom. 944 τὸν πικρῶς ὑπέρπικρον.

² The fiction of Mr C. Zipfel must be sought on pp. 51 sq. of his dissertation 'quatenus Ovidius in Ibide Callimachum...secutus sit,' Lips. 1910: I will give it no further publicity.



lightning, and it will be necessary to write *eodem sanguine nati* with MSS of no authority.

That there is no repetition involved in the mention of Lycaon at 431 for one reason and at 473 for another I have already said; and bearing this in mind let us approach the verses 617 sq.

illius exemplo uiolens simulacra Mineruae

Aulidis a portu qui leue uertit iter.

Of the three who sailed from Aulis and profaned an image of Athena, neither Ulysses nor Diomed could be indicated by '*leue iter*': this is Ajax Oilei, who tore Cassandra from the goddess's statue, and who appears in Homer's catalogue of the ships as small and nimble and lightly armed, 'Οἰλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας, | μείων, οὐ τι τόσος γε ὅσος Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, | ἀλλὰ πολὺν μείων· ὀλίγος μὲν ἔην, λινοθώρηξ. And it is no hindrance to this interpretation that Ajax recurs at 341

utque ferox periit et fulmine et aequore raptor,

since punishment for the violation of the statue might take many other forms than death by thunderstroke and drowning.

The same holds good of 447 sq., upon which there is more to be said.

et quae *Penthides* fecit *de fratre* Medusae

eueniant capiti uota sinistra tuo.

*penthides* FV, *pentides* GHPX, *pentelides* T.

*de fratre* FHTV, *fraterque* GPX.

Saluagnius, apparently in ignorance of the variant *de fratre*, explained *frater Medusae* as Eurystheus; but his statement that Eurystheus '*multa uota sinistra in Herculis exitium fecit*' is an impudent and comical fiction: antiquity never heard of these vows, and would have laughed at the notion; Eurystheus himself would have laughed at it. Even if we had to abandon the distich without hope of explaining it, *de fratre* would be preferable to *fraterque*, because it is more likely that Ovid defined the vows of one person than that he left the vows of two persons undefined. Nothing has ever been made of *Penthides*; but in a scholium on 577 (Ellis p. 97) *ponthei* appears as a corruption of *Pitthei*, and here Saluagnius '*cum aliquibus editionibus*' proposed *Pitthides* (though he spelt it *Pittheides* because he knew no better, like

the modern editors who give *Tereides* in 434). This conjecture will draw support from *de fratre Medusae*, and in its turn will confirm that reading against *fraterque*. We know at least of one imprecation uttered by Theseus with terrible consequences: its object was Hippolytus, and Hippolytus by one account was *frater Medusae*. Medusa was daughter of Phorcus, and Phorcus according to Servius at Verg. Aen. v 824 was 'Thoosae nymphae et Neptuni filius'; Neptune therefore was the common grandfather of Medusa and Hippolytus, and Hippolytus was her *frater patruelis*, in which sense the simple *frater* is used at met. XIII 31 and her. VIII 28. The far-fetched description is quite in the manner of this poem, and it has its purpose, since the curse of Theseus on Hippolytus was fulfilled by Neptune, the ancestor whom he shared with Medusa; and Theseus, in keeping with this allusion, is called *Pitthides* and not *Aegides*. This reading and interpretation meet with no obstacle in 577 sq.

utque nepos Aethrae Veneris moriturus ob iram  
exul ab attonitis excutiaris equis;

for the imprecation of Theseus on Hippolytus was not that he might be thrown from his chariot, and it could have been fulfilled in many other ways: there is no more repetition here than in the two introductions of Ajax Oilei at 341 and 617 or of Adonis at 503 and 565.

This is also the place to consider two distichs on which much light has fallen since 1894.

469 sq.

aut Iouis infesti telo feriare trisulco

ut satus Hipponoo  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Dexithoes} \\ \textit{Dexiones} \end{array} \right\}$  que pater

*dexithoes* HT, *dexitoes* P, *desithoes* X, *dexithoos* F, *desithoos* V, *dexiones* G.

475 sq.

ut  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Macelo} \\ \textit{Macedon} \end{array} \right\}$  rapidis  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{iacta est} \\ \textit{ictus} \end{array} \right\}$  cum coniuge flammis

sic precor aetherii uindictis igne cadas.

*macelo* FT, *machelo* G, *macedo* HPV, *macedon* X.

*iacta est* FGHPV, *ictus* TX, *icta est* 5.



To clear the way, I had better begin with the *Dexiones* of G in 470, adopted, though doubtfully, by Ellis and all succeeding editors. *Dexiones pater* is supposed to be Aesculapius, a notable example of death by lightning, and not elsewhere mentioned in the Ibis. But the statement in Ellis's note 'Dectionen siue Dexionen nomen tertiae Aesculapii filiae esse recte intellexit Kinkel Lycophr. p. iv' is false¹, and 'sicut coni. Kinkel' in my note is an expansion of the falsehood. Kinkel is there commenting on etym. magn. 434 15 sqq., where Aesculapius is said to have had a wife named Ἡπιόνην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Ἰάσωνα, Πανάκειαν· Δεκτίων ἐν ὑπομνήμασι Λυκόφρονος, and what he says is simply 'Dectionem hunc nullum esse uocabulumque hoc nomen tertiae Aesculapii filiae expulisse, inter uiros doctos iamdudum constat': that is, the true reading may be something like Ἰασὼν, Πανάκειαν, Ἀκεσώ (or Αἴγλην)· ὥς Θέων ἐν ὑπ. Λυκ. All that can be said for *Dexiones* in Ib. 470 is that the name of a daughter of Aesculapius would be appropriate, and that in etym. magn. 434 15 sq., where we expect the name of a daughter of Aesculapius, we find a word beginning with Δεκ.

The scholia on the Ibis, which are much more fabulous than the poem itself, inform us that *satus Hipponoo* (in whom they do not recognise Capaneus) was named Demeus or Procrustes. This does not prepare us to believe them when they proceed to say that *Dexithoes* or *Dexiones pater* was one Pantacrita (or Acrita or Pactama or Pauacurta), struck by lightning for no fewer than three reasons, (1) 'pro nequitia sua,' (2) as 'contemptor deorum,' (3) 'quia filiam suam interfecerat quia Iouem cum ea concubuisse audierat.' But two of them agree on another story: P 'Telchinum princeps fulmine periit cum tota sua domo excepta filia cuius erat Iupiter usus hospitio,' Conradus de Mure 'Telchinon princeps periit cum tota familia eius fulminatus excepta *Dexithoe*, a qua Iupiter quadam uice fuerat hospitatus.'

This legend reappears in a scholium cited at 475 sq. by

¹ Equally false in his statement 'Sophocles, teste eodem Etymologo 256 6, cum Aesculapium hospitio excepisset, post mortem ἡρώφῃ sub nomine Dexionis colebatur, quasi filius ac

*Dexiones frater.*' The words of the etym. magn. are ὠνόμασαν αὐτὸν Δεξιῶνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου δεξιώσεως· καὶ γὰρ ὑπεδέξατο τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ.

Saluagnius in his edition of 1661: 'Nicander dicit *Macelon* filiam Damonis cum sororibus fuisse. harum hospitio Iupiter susceptus, cum Thelonios (i.e. Telchinas), quorum hic Damo princeps erat, corrumpentes uenenis successus omnium fructuum, fulmine interficeret, seruauit eas. sed *Macelo* cum uiro propter uiri nequitiam periit. ad alias seruatas cum uenisset Minos, cum *Desitone* concubuit, ex qua creauit Eusantium, unde Eusantiae fuerunt.' Otto Schneider at Nicand. fr. 116 in 1856 and at Callim. fr. 504 in 1873 corrected *Desitone* to *Dexitheia*, *Eusantium* to *Euxantium*, and *Eusantiae* to *Euxantiadae*, comparing Apollod. bibl. III 1 2 Μίνως...παῖδας μὲν ἐτέκνωσεν...ἐκ δὲ Δεξιθέας Εὐξάνθιον and schol. Apoll. Rhod. I 185 Εὐξαντίου τοῦ Μίνως, passages which make it clear that the scholium is no mere figment. Next, in 1876, Rohde on p. 506 of his Griechische Roman brought this Macelo into relation with Nonn. Dion. XVIII 35-8 Ζῆνα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα μὴ ξείνισσε Μακελλῶ | (here there is a verse or more wanting) καὶ Φλεγύας ὅτε πάντας ἀνερρίζωσε θαλάσση | νῆσον ὅλην τριόδοντι διαρρήξας Ἐνοσίχθων | ἀμφοτέρας ἐφύλαξε καὶ οὐ πρήνιξε τριαίνη. Ellis in 1881 printed scholia resembling that of Saluagnius from P (which corrects *Thelonios* to *Telchinas*, as Rohde had conjectured) and from Conr. de Mure: the former has *Macedo filia Damonis*, the latter *Macedon Dānethis filia*; the former *Dexione*, the latter *Dexithoe*; the former does not say that 'Macedo' was destroyed, the latter says that 'Macedon' was destroyed because 'successus omnium fructuum inuidia corrumpit.'

At this stage the question stood as follows. There was no evidence, except some MSS and scholia at this verse 475, that any person named Macelo had ever been struck by lightning, nor even that Macelo was the name of any person. A person with the similar name of Macello was mentioned by Nonnus, but mentioned, as was pretty clear despite the mutilation of the passage, not as incurring punishment but as exempted from punishment incurred by her folk. On the other hand Macedon was at any rate a Greek name, and death by thunderstroke might conceivably have befallen either the Μακεδόνα γηγενῇ of anon. descr. orb. 620 in Muell. geogr. Gr. min. I p. 220 or τὸν εἰκημάχον Μακεδόνα cited from Caesarius Mign. bibl. Gr. patr.



nol. 38 p. 993 by Lobeck Agl. p. 575 and Ellis p. 181. It therefore seemed to Guethling and me that the safest course was to accept provisionally the lections *Macedon*¹ (or *Macedo*) from HPVX and *ictus* from TX.

But then came the successive publication of Bacchylides in 1897, Pindar's Paean in 1907, and, more important than either for these verses of the Ibis, some 90 lines of the aetia of Callimachus in 1910. These furnished the following evidence.

Bacchyl. I (for Argius of Ceos) 3-17 Μίνως...βαθύζωνον κόραν Δεξιθέαν δάμασεν...δεκάτῳ δ' Εὐξ[άντι]ον [μηνὶ τέ] κ' εὐπλόκ[αμος νύμφα], 73 [Μακ]ελῶ δὲ...[φιλ]αλάκατος (Blass).

Pind. Paean. (Oxyrh. pap. v 841) IV (for the Ceans) 40-5 (Euxantius speaks) τρέω τοι πόλεμον Διὸς Ἐννοσίδαν τε βαρύκτυπον· χθόνα τοί ποτε καὶ στρατὸν ἀθρόον πέμψαν κεραυνῶ τριόδοντί τε ἐς τὸν βαθὺν Τάρταρον, ἐμὰν ματέρα λιπόντες καὶ ὅλον οἶκον εὐεργέα.

Callim. aet. (Oxyrh. pap. VII 1011) 64-9 (Xenomedes wrote the history of Ceos) ἐν δ' ὕβριν θανατόν τε κεραύνιον, ἐν δὲ γόητας | Τελχίνας μακάρων τ' οὐκ ἀλέγοντα θεῶν | ἡλεᾷ Δημόνακτα γέρων ἐνεθήκατο δέλτοις | καὶ γρηῦν Μακελῶ μητέρα Δεξιθέης, | ἃς μούνας, ὅτε νῆσον ἀνέτρεπον εἵνεκ' ἀλιτρῆς | ὕβριος, ἀσκηθεῖς ἔλλιπον ἀθάνατοι.

This settles the reference and reading of Ib. 470. The man there signified as struck by lightning is the father of Dexitheia of Ceos, whose name, it appears from Callimachus, was Demonax; and the *dexithoes* etc. of the MSS should be corrected, as Jurenka at Bacchyl. I 5, following Otto Schneider's hint, proposes, to *Dexitheae*. Δεξιθέα is evidently ἡ δεξαμένη θεοῦς (Ζῆνα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Nonn.), and Δεξιθόη would be meaningless. That the error is not Ovid's but the scribes' I infer from what happens to the similar name Λευκοθέα in Latin MSS. Ouid. fast. VI 501 and 545 *Leucothea* codd. opt. aliique, -oe dett., Ciris 396 *Leucothea* A¹R, -toa H, -thoe A² dett., Stat. Theb. VI 12 *Leucothea* P

¹ The form *Macedon* derives no strong support from X, in which the words are transposed *ut Macedon ictus rapidis*; but *Macedo* is a form which Ovid would not use. Horace used it,

though not as a proper name, and Seneca might have used it; but in Ovid there are 40 examples certified by metre of Greek nominatives in -ον, and not one of the Latin form.

(saec. ix) ceterique, ix 402 *Leucothean* idem, -oan man. rec. in P, Cic. n. d. iii 39 *Leucotheam* V (saec. x) aliiue, -toe Harl. (saec. xv), 48 *Leucothea* omnes: I omit writers like Seruius and Hyginus. On the other hand the mss of Propertius, being late and bad, give *Leucothoe* ii 26 10 and *Leucothoen* 28 20, and so do the earlier if not better mss of Ovid met. iv 542, but there the scribes were fresh from the *Leucothoe* of verses 196, 208, 220, who is a different person, like the Aurelia *Leucothoe* of C. I. L. ii 1694: *Leucothoe* in Claud. nupt. Hon. 156 may be Claudian's own mistake. Such forms as *Leucothee* and *Dexitheae* in Latin have neither authority nor probability.

But at 475 sq. increase of knowledge has brought no diminution of perplexity. Macelo is now a person, not a mere name, but the more we learn about her the less does she fit this place. Far from being struck by lightning, with or without her husband, she escaped the stroke which slew him and all her people excepting only her daughter *Dexitheia*. Perhaps the best way out of the trouble is to trust yet further those scholia which have been shown to deserve at least some trust. Nicander, whom they give as their authority, may have told the tale otherwise than Callimachus and Nonnus: to him Macelo may have been, as the scholiasts call her, the daughter and not the wife of Damon (or Demonax), and she may have perished 'cum uiro propter uiri nequitiam,' whoever her husband was.

Either way, there is no repetition in 469 sq. and 475 sq.: *Dexitheae pater* and *Macelonis coniunx* are not the same person. If we believe Callimachus, the Macelo whose husband was *Dexitheia*'s father did not perish with him by lightning: if we believe the Nicander of the scholia, the husband with whom Macelo perished by lightning was not *Dexitheia*'s father but her brother-in-law.

### III.

My correction of *uiro* to *Iouis* in 512, and my transposition of the verses 135-140, 181 sq., 203 sq., 409 sq., and 459 sq., as I said on p. 287, are defended elsewhere; so I will now proceed to the other verses on which I have remarks to make, and I will take them in their numerical order.



11, 12.

ille relegatum gelidos Aquilonis ad ortus  
non sinit exilio delituisse meo.

This couplet is cited by Eutyches G. L. K. v p. 475 in the following form :

ille relegatum *gelidas* Aquilonis ad *oras*  
non sinit exilio delituisse *suo*.

Although Eutyches and even his MSS are much older than the MSS of the Ibis, these divergencies from our text are of little weight, because his sole concern is with the conjugation of *relēgo*, and grammarians do not trouble to be exact in such particulars as are foreign to the matter they have in hand. *oras* is less exquisite than *ortus*, and as two of Eutyches' best MSS give *legidos* and *agelidos*, it may be that *ortus* is what Eutyches himself had written. But the *suo* of Eutyches is the reading also of P and several inferior MSS in the Ibis; and this agreement between two independent authorities is noteworthy and may be significant. Though Ovid speaks of himself, the pronoun of the 3rd person in this sentence is not impossible nor even incorrect.

25—28.

huic igitur meritas grates, ubicumque licebit,  
pro tam mansueto pectore semper agam.  
audiet hoc Pontus. faciet quoque forsitan idem  
terra sit ut propior testificanda mihi.

In this text of most MSS and editions the sense of *audiet hoc Pontus* is 'audiet me grates Augusto agentem'; and quite good sense it is if you read no further. But if you do, Ovid is found hoping for the day when he will 'call to witness' some region less remote than Pontus; and what is the point or meaning of that? he has said nothing of calling Pontus to witness anything, nothing of any *testificatio*. The missing notion is supplied by the jussive *audiat hoc Pontus* of G and two inferior MSS: that is 'audiat hoc quod modo dixi, grates me semper acturum esse.' In these words he 'testificatur Pontum'; and he hopes that some day Augustus will transfer him to a region nearer home,

and enable him to say, for instance, 'audiat hoc Phrygia,' when he repeats his declaration.

*audiat* was first adopted by Guethling and Merkel in 1884, but I doubt if they understood its necessity or were moved by anything but the same heedless partiality for G with which they accepted its highly inappropriate *uiui* for *miseri* in 16. There is no similar doubt about Mr Ehwald: when he writes in Burs. Jahresb. vol. 43 p. 262 'ich halte den Conjunctiv hier für ebenso unpassend wie *sentiat* trist. I 1 14 und *experiare* Ibis 250 (248),' he shows that he has no apprehension of the problem.

131, 132.

et prius hanc animam, nimium tibi saepe petitam,  
auferet illa dies quae mihi sera uenit.

*saepe*, still more *nimum saepe*, is at variance with Ovid's account of the circumstances. Ibis had shown him no enmity before his banishment, and since his banishment he can hardly have found opportunity for *frequent* attacks: what he did, according to verses 11—22, was to bring a lawsuit against Ovid laying claim to some of his property. I have therefore accepted Heinsius' conjecture *saeue*, so that *nimum* belongs to *petitam*. The two words are confused at Mart. xiv 211 2, Stat. Theb. xi 379, and elsewhere; and the vocative is like 29 *uiolente*, 40 *improbe*, 130 *perfide*.

187—190.

noxia mille modis lacerabitur umbra, tuasque  
Aeacus in poenas ingeniosus erit.  
in te transcribet ueterum tormenta uirorum:  
omnibus antiquis causa quietis eris.

*uirorum* in 189 is not merely a vague but an inappropriate word; the *reorum* of Heinsius is accepted by Merkel and Riese and supported by the following parallels: Sen. H. f. 579—81 'qui fronte nimis crimina tetrica | quaerunt ac *ueteres* excutiant *reos* | deflent iuridici Threiciam nurum,' Claud. in Ruf. ii 494 sq. 'dum lites Stygiique negotia soluit | dura fori *ueteresque reos* ex ordine quaerit,' Drac. Orest. 499 'non sat erunt quaecumque *reis tormenta* paratis.' It may have shrunk to *rorum* and then have been expanded to *ui-rorum*, or perhaps *deorum* was the



corruption and *uirorum* its correction. At Prop. III 5 39 'sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta gigantum,' where the last word is hardly apposite and the Neapolitanus omits it, I proposed *tormenta reorum* in J. P. XXI pp. 165 sq.

In 190 almost all MSS have *omnibus* and almost all editors *manibus*, the reading of F. This is not, like *uirorum*, inappropriate, but it is still somewhat vague, and we have no assurance that it is more than a conjecture. Heinsius' conjecture *sontibus* is nearer to *omnibus*, and *ueterum...reorum* supports and is supported by *sontibus antiquis*. Perhaps it is worth while to quote Sen. H. f. 1222 sq. 'inferorum carcer et *sonti* plaga | decreta turbæ' and Claud. in Ruf. II 478 '(Minos) iustis dirimit *sontes*.'

It may not sound credible, but it is true, that Mr Owen defends *uirorum* by citing ex Pont. I 3 61 sq. 'i nunc et ueterum nobis exempla uirorum, | qui forti casum mente tulere, refer,' and *omnibus* by citing Rutil. Nam. II 57 'omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis.' The former of these citations helps to show that the *uirorum* of Ib. 189 is corrupt, and the latter lends support to *sontibus* in 190.

#### 217—220.

lux quoque natalis, nequid nisi triste uideres,  
turpis et inductis nubibus atra fuit.  
haec est, in fastis cui dat grauīs Allia nomen,  
quæque dies Ibin, publica damna, tulit.

The last couplet is thus punctuated by most editors, and is interpreted accordingly by such commentators as do interpret it. It means then 'this (the birthday of Ibis) is the dies Alliensis and the birthday of Ibis' This nonsense would be converted into sense if *haec est* were changed to *est eadem*; but there would remain the absurdity of *publica damna* in apposition with Ibis, who was nothing of the sort: the meaning of the phrase may be seen from cons. Liu. 200 cited by Ellis, 'consulis erepti publica damna.'

That Heinsius punctuated the distich otherwise,  
haec est, in fastis cui dat grauīs Allia nomen;  
quæque dies Ibin publica damna tulit,

is probably a fact of no significance; for he often used the semicolon instead of the comma (as in 579 sq. 'propter opes magnas ut perdidit hospes alumnum; | perdat ob exiguas te tuus hospes opes'), and omitted the commas which serve to indicate apposition (as in 81 'uos quoque plebs superum Fauni'). But his punctuation nevertheless is right, and answers to the true construction. The pentameter means 'eaeque dies, quae Ibin tulit, publica damna tulit' and repeats in another form what has been said in the hexameter, that the birthday of Ibis and the dies Alliensis are the same: compare rem. 220 'damnis Allia nota suis.' The *haec est* of the hexameter resembles trist. IV 10 11-4 'Lucifer amborum natalibus affuit idem; | una celebrata est per duo liba dies. | *haec est* armiferae festis de quinque Mineruae | quae fieri pugna prima cruenta solet.'

## 221—226.

qui simul impura matris prolapsus ab aluo  
 Cinyphiam foedo corpore pressit humum,  
 sedit in aduerso nocturnus culmine bubo  
 funereoque graues edidit ore sonos.  
 protinus Eumenides lauere palustribus undis  
 qua caua de Stygiis fluxerat unda uadis.

Ovid causes Ibis to be born in Africa, the native continent of savage beasts and venomous reptiles, and in the region most infested by serpents, *Cinyphiam humum*, the neighbourhood of the Syrtes. The exact spot is near a *palus*¹ and a river which issues from the world below; and this spot can be identified by comparing the following passages. Apoll. Sid. carm. 15 6 *Cinyphio Tritone*. Strab. XVII p. 836 ἔστι δὲ ἄκρα λεγομένη Ψευδοπενιάς, ἐφ' ἧς ἡ Βερενίκη τὴν θέσιν ἔχει παρὰ λίμνην τινὰ Τριτωνιάδα, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα νησίον ἐστὶ καὶ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν αὐτῷ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ λιμὴν Ἑσπερίδων, καὶ ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλει Λάθων. Luc. IX 347-56 'torpentem Tritonos...paludem...quam iuxta Lethon tacitus praelabatur amnis | *infernīs*, ut fama, trahens obliuia uenis.' Solin. 27 54 'circa extimum Syrtium cornum Bernicen ciuitatem adluit

¹ The *palus* is recognised as lake Tritonis by Mr A. Rostagni, Contr. al. sc. dell' antich. vol. III. pp. 21 sq.



*Lethon* (*Leton* Plin. n. h. v 31) *amnis inferna*, ut putant, *exundatione* prorumpens.'

'illa uerborum constructio, *Eumenides lauere palustribus undis qua caua unda de Stygiis uadis fluxerat*, plane est inelegans' says Saluagnius. The repetition is hardly worse than 627 sq. *agebat...acta* and others which can be cited from Ovid or at least from Ovid's MSS; but if any change were to be made I should think Saluagnius' *paludibus udis* less likely than *palustribus antris*. The MSS of Claudian 12 35 are divided between *antris* and *undis*, and some of Ovid's have *undis* for *antris* at met. II 269 and *antris* for *undis* at v 48; *antra* means valleys in Prop. I 1 11, 2 11, IV 4 3, and perhaps also in Sil. II 59 sq. 'Phorcynidos *antra* Medusae | *Cinyphiumque* Macen,' since the Gorgons are not usually represented as dwelling in a cave.

282.

a duce Puniceo.

Here I said '*Puniceo* non Ouidianum.' *punicus* is used in both senses, 'red' and 'Carthaginian'; but the only other example of *puniceus* in the latter which Lachmann could produce at Lucr. II 829 was from the lex Thoria; and though Georges cites *Punicea religio* from 'Liv.', what I find in Liu. XXII 6 12 is *Punica religione*. There is however one other place in Ovid where this form seems to have this meaning, met. v 536 '*puniceum* curua decerpserat arbore pomum'; for although the adjective might describe the colour of the pulp of the pomegranate, it cannot easily be dissociated from the name *punica malus*, which indicates the country whence the fruit came to Italy. But the *Cinyphio* (*cinifeo*, *cinyphis*, *cenifeas*, *cinisso*) of a few late MSS, though probably no more than a conjecture, may yet be a true one; for this epithet is extended to things Carthaginian in Stat. silu. IV 3 90 sq. 'qualis *Cinyphius* tacente ripa | *Poenos* Bagrada serpit inter agros,' and to Iuba, who has less right to it, by Ovid himself in met. xv 755.

365, 366.

ut iuuenes pereas, quorum fastigia uultus  
membraque Pisaeae sustinuere fores.

365 *fastigia* FHPTX et corr. in *uestigia* G, *proiecta cadauera quorum* V.

366 *membraque* T, *brachia* FGH, *oraeque* V, *quorum* PX, *olim* 5.

*fores* FGHPTVX, *foris* 5.

Saluagnius Heinsius and Burman printed *fastigia...olim...foris*, Merkel and Riese *proiecta cadauera quorum | oraeque...fores*, both of which may be set aside as disregarding the best MSS: Ellis's '*quorum uestigia, uultus, | brachia...fores*,' though accepted by Guethling, may be set aside for another reason, that Oenomaus was not at all likely to nail up the *feet* of his victims; and Ellis himself in his note is evidently repentant. That *fastigia* should be kept is certain: the chief question is what should be read at the beginning of the pentameter. *quorum* is impossible and seems to be only an accidental repetition from above, but either *brachia* (with asyndeton) or *membraque* would satisfy the sense. I have preferred *membraque* because both *brachia* and *oraeque* would arise much more easily from (*mem*)*braque* than it could arise from either of them, or than either of them could arise from the other. *membra* may be compared with Luc. II 162-5 '*scelerum non Thracia tantum | uidit Bistonii stabulis pendere tyranni, | postibus Antaei Libye, nec Graecia maerens | tot laceros artus Pisaea fleuit in aula.*' I doubt however if this completes the restoration of the couplet: Ellis indeed says '*ut ad fores brachia (membra), ita uultus in fastigiis merito proponendi erant,*' but to me this separation is artificial and surprising, especially in view of fast. I 557 '*ora super postes affixaque brachia pendent*' and Verg. Aen. VIII 196 sq. '*foribusque adfixa superbis | ora uirum...pendebant,*' and I think that *foris* is a true correction. Ovid has half-a-dozen examples of the singular in the sense of the plural, such as fast. II 738 '*custos in fore nullus erat.*'

379, 380.

ut qui Bistoniae templo cecidere Mineruae,  
propter quod facies nunc quoque tecta deaest.

380 *quod*] *quos* T, Conr. de Mure. *tecta*] *tōrta* HT.



This couplet alludes, it is generally agreed, to the history told in Iust. xx 2 3—5 'Metapontini cum Sybaritanis et Crotoniensibus pellere ceteros Graecos Italia statuerunt. cum primum urbem Sirim cepissent, in expugnatione eius *L iuuenes amplexos Mineruae simulacrum* sacerdotemque deae uelatum ornamentis *inter ipsa altaria trucidauerunt.*' The Minerva of Siris, according to Strabo VI p. 264, had been brought from Troy: if Ovid calls her *Biston* or Thracian it may be because of some story connecting Siris in Italy with Siris in Paeonia, which lay on the Thracian side of the Strymon and not very far from the Bistones, or with the Σίρες (Σίρες Lobeck) ἔθνος Θράκης ὑπὲρ τοὺς Βυζαντίους of Stephanus Byzantius. But this goddess did not veil her face at the murder and sacrilege; she closed her eyes: Lycophr. 988 γλήναις δ' ἄγαλμα ταῖς ἀναιμάκτοις μύσει, schol. διὸ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ὀργισθεῖσα ἔμυσεν, Strab. VI p. 264 τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος ξόανον..., ὅπερ καταμῦσαι μυθεύουσιν ἀποσπωμένων τῶν ἱκετῶν...δείκνυσθαι δὲ καὶ νῦν καταμῦον τὸ ξόανον. I believe therefore that the *quod facies* and *quos facies* of Ovid's MSS arise from *quofacies*, that is

propter quos acies nunc quoque tecta deaest.

Compare Gratt. 97 *caecas aciem* A, *caeca faciem* B, Ouid. met. IV 464 *omnes acie* meliores libri, *omnes facie* deteriores, Val. Fl. III 502 *Perses faciem* V for *Perses aciem*; Cic. n. d. II 142 '*acies ipsa, qua cernimus, quae pupula uocatur, ...palpebrae, quae sunt tegumenta oculorum,*' Ouid. her. XXI 199 '*tecto simulatur lumine somnus.*' And this, *quos acies*, appears to have been read by the scholiast of P, who is the best scholiast: '*quos ne Minerua uideret, fecit sua lumina operiri*' (see Iuu. VI 433 '*oculis bilem substringit opertis*')¹.

395—398.

ut quos Antaei fortes pressere lacerti  
 quosque ferae morti Lemnia turba dedit,  
 ut qui post longum, sacri monstrator iniqui,  
 elicuit pluuias uictima caesus aquas.

¹ Some of the other scholiasts seem to have had before them the *torta* of HT, which they try to interpret with 'οὐλος suos retorsit,' 'uultu retorto,'

'facie uersa.' *torta* is not capable of these senses: it might mean, as Ellis says, 'distorta,'

The principal verb of the sentence, which extends from 365 to 412, is *pereas* in its first verse. At 396 Ellis was unusually attentive, and enquired 'unde hic Lemniades?' The victims of Antaeus go before, the first victim of Busiris follows after; the context is full of deaths inflicted by violent oppressors and suffered in turn by themselves; and the wives of Lemnos, as they steal in on tip-toe to murder their husbands in their beds, are incongruous intruders. The epithet *Lemnia* carries my mind to a person who would be more at home in this verse and who actually appears in a couplet not far away, 405 sq., 'ut pronepos, Saturne, tuus, quem reddere uitam | urbe Coronides uidit ab ipse sua.' This is Periphetes the son of Hephaestus, called Corynetes from his club: Apollod. bibl. iii 16 2 (Θησεύς) Περιφήτην τὸν Ἑφαίστου καὶ Ἀντικλείας, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς κορύνης ἦν ἐφόρει Κορυνήτης ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἔκτεινεν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ. πόδας δὲ ἀσθενεῖς ἔχων οὗτος ἐφόρει κορύνην σιδηρᾶν, δι' ἧς τοὺς παριόντας ἔκτεινε. ταύτην ἀφελόμενος Θησεὺς ἐφόρει, Plut. Thes. 8 1 ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ Περιφήτην ὄπλῳ χρώμενον κορύνη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Κορυνήτην ἐπικαλούμενον, ἀπτόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ κωλύοντα προάγειν συμβαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἡσθεῖς δὲ τῇ κορύνῃ λαβὼν ὄπλον ἐποίησατο καὶ διετέλει χρώμενος...τὴν κορύνην ἐπεδείκνυεν ἡττημένην μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀήττητον οὔσαν, Diod. iv 59 2 ἀνεῖλε τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κορυνήτην, χρώμενον τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ κορύνῃ, ὅπερ ἦν ὄπλον ἀμυντήριον, καὶ τοὺς παριόντας ἀποκτείνοντα, Paus. ii 1 4 Περιφήτην Ἑφαίστου νομιζόμενον κορύνη χαλκῇ χρώμενον ἐς τὰς μάχας, Ouid. met. vii 436 sq. 'tellus Epidauria per te | clauigeram uidit Vulcani occumbere prolem.' That his victims should be first mentioned in 396 and then he himself in 405 sq. is like the mention of Diomed's victims in 381 sq. and Diomed in 401 sq., or the Minotaur's in 373 sq. and the Minotaur in 408. *turba* then I take to be a corruption of *claua*. The change could be traced through changes of letters from *claua* to *truba* and so to *turba*; but I should rather suppose that *turba* is due to the frequency of this noun with an attendant epithet at this place in the pentameter: *noxia turba* 174, *Cresia turba* 510, *ebria turba* 612, *barbara turba* her. viii 12, rem. 594, fast. vi 374, trist. v 10 28, and so forth. *Lemnius* is Vulcan in met. iv 185, and here *Lemnia* is *Vulcania* as



*Amphraysia* is *Apollinea* in Verg. Aen. vi 398 *Amphraysia uates* and as *Paphia* is *Veneria* in Stat. silu. v 4 8 sq. *Paphia lampas*.

407.

ut Sinis et Sciron et cum Polypemone natus.

That this verse must contain a mention of Procrustes was always pretty clear from the similar passages her. ii 69 sq. and met. vii 433-45; and a comparison of Paus. i 38 5 *ληστήν Πολυπήμονα ὄνομα, Προκρούστην δὲ ἐπὶ κλῆσιν*, Plut. Thes. 11 1 *Δαμάστην τὸν Προκρούστην*, Apollod. epit. 1 4 *Δαμάστην, ὃν ἔνιοι Πολυπήμονα λέγουσιν*, appeared to show that Procrustes was the person here called Polypemon. But then arose the question, who could be meant by Polypemon's son. Sinis is his son in Apollod. bibl. iii 16 2 and Sciron in Prob. ad Verg. georg. i 399, but nothing was known of any other. This difficulty however is now removed, and the verse is elucidated by Bacchyl. xviii 27-30, with which I compared it in the Athenaeum of Dec. 25, 1897: *Πολυπήμονός τε καρτερὰν σφύραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκόπτας, ἀρείονος τυχὼν φωτός*. *cum Polypemone natus* means 'Procrustes and his father Polypemon.' Although Pausanias regards the two as one, and although Procrustes (whom Bacchylides calls Procoptes and others Damastes) is said by Hyginus fab. 38 to have been the son of Neptune, it is evident that Bacchylides and Ovid followed another story.

415-418.

qualis Achaemenides Sicula desertus in Aetna,

Troica cum uidit uela uenire, fuit.

qualis erat nec non fortuna binominis Iri,

quique tenent pontem, quae tibi maior erit.

In editions earlier than mine these four verses have no construction. The punctuation here given, which is that of Saluagnius, Heinsius, Burman, and Ellis, is not improved nor even really altered by Merkel and Riese and Guethling when they place a colon instead of a full stop at the end of 416. For the two distichs are simply a pair of relative clauses dangling

from the sky: when the apodosis ought to arrive, there arrives in its stead a third and subordinate relative clause, *quae tibi maior erit*. This was perceived by Schrader, who proposed to delete 417 sq. and assume the loss of a couplet before 415, and after him by Merkel, who marked 418 as corrupt. Ellis, who marked as corrupt the single and probably genuine word *maior*, perceived nothing of the sort, and it would have been strange if he had, for in his text of the Ibis there are some 40 passages with no more construction than this; passages not ungrammatical in themselves, but rendered so by his punctuation.

Corruption however is not here confined to verse 418, and before I approach the main difficulty I will deal with another. The construction, so far as it goes, is 'qualis fuit Achaemenides, nec non qualis erat fortuna Iri (qualis)que (est¹ fortuna eorum²) qui tenent pontem.' But the destitution foretold to Ibis, if it resembles the destitution of Irus and of beggars on the bridge, will resemble the destitution of Achaemenides, not Achaemenides himself. *Achaemenides* therefore should be a genitive depending on *fortuna*, which should be supplied from below as the subject of *fuit*; and the words should be written and punctuated thus:

qualis Achaemenidis³, Sicola desertus in Aetna

Troica cum uidit uela uenire, fuit,

qualis erat nec non fortuna binominis Iri etc.

Such alterations by copyists who cannot stay an instant to learn the construction of a word are very frequent: in Catull. 64 136 sq. 'nullane res potuit *crudelis* flectere *mentis* | consilium?' the scribe has written *crudeles...mentes* without even waiting for the next line.

¹ For *est* thus supplied from *erat* compare e.g. trist. i 5 78 'illum Neptuni (premebat ira), me Iouis ira premit.'

² For the omission of *eorum* compare e.g. Nep. x 95 'quam...sit...miseranda uita (eorum) qui se metui quam amari malunt.'

³ As I said in J. P. xxxi pp. 249 sq., there is no metrical evidence to determine with certainty whether a poet

would write *Achaemenidis* or *Achaemenidae*. In my edition I printed *Achaemenidae*, and that is the gen. of the patronymic; but as to the proper name the mss of the poets, Hor. epist. ii 2 184 and Pers. v 180 *Herodis*, Phaed. iv 23 20 *Simonidis*, bear out, so far as they can, the statement of Priscian G. L. K. ii p. 246 that the termination *-is* was usual.



In 418 the MS reading is *que*, for the *qui* of G is merely an accommodation to the gender of *pontem*. This is the one word which must be altered; there is no other word which need. To restore a construction and a sense without regard for likelihood is easy enough: for example, '*uel tibi peior*¹ erit,' that is 'talīs, uel peior, tibi fortuna erit'; or '*uae, tibi talīs erit*².' But *maior*, since *fortuna* in this passage means *opes*, possessions³, is too appropriate an adjective to be altered without necessity; and change should be confined if possible to the one word which neither sense nor construction admits. These would be satisfied by '*nec tibi maior erit*,' that is 'talīs, nec maior, tibi erit fortuna'; but a much lighter alteration, considering how often *p* and *qu* are confused, is '*spe tibi maior erit*': 'such beggary as that of Achaemenides, of Irus, of mendicants on the bridge, shall be more wealth than you can hope for.' The scruple which I feel about this is that *spe maior*, to judge from the general use of *spe* with comparatives (met. VII 648 *spe...maiora*, trist. I 11 36 *inferiora*, fast. IV 606 *citius*, Sall. Iug. 75 8 *amplior*, hist. II fr. 79 Maur. *celerius*, Liu. I 53 4 *lentius*, II 3 1 and XXVI 26 4 *serius*, III 38 13 *frequentior*, XXI 6 5 and XXXV 45 7 and XLIV 28 16 *celerius*), should mean 'greater than expectation' rather than 'too great for hope.' But as Ovid himself often says *res fide maior* (met. III 106, 660, IV 394, VII 648, XII 545, XIII 651, fast. II 113) in the sense of 'maior quam ut ei fidem habeas,' there seems to be no reason why he should not say *spe maior* in the sense of 'maior quam ut eam speres.' Still one would perhaps expect *quae* rather than *qualis* in 415 and 417.

539, 540.

conditor ut tardae, laesus cognomine, Myrrhae,  
orbis in innumeris inueniāre locis.

In 1883, in J. P. XII p. 167, I explained this couplet as an

¹ *peior* Heinsius; and this word is corrupted to *maior* in most MSS at trist. I 1 26.

² This improbable conjecture has also occurred to Mr Owen, who has put it straight into his text.

³ That Ellis should explain *fortuna*

*Iri* as 'ut mendices et a fortiore aliquo pugnīs caesus humi inpingaris' is quite in the natural order of things. It was easier for him to write these words, or any number of words, than to consider the context for one instant of time.

allusion to the fate of the poet C. Helvius Cinna. This appeared to involve an error on Ovid's part, since it was then believed that the poet lived on later than 44 B.C. and ought not to be identified with the tribune torn to pieces at Caesar's funeral. But Kiessling in 1887, in comment. Mommsen. p. 353, showed that this belief had no sufficient ground; and Schanz and the successors of Teuffel in their histories of Latin literature agree in regarding the poet and the tribune (ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ Plut. vit. Brut. 20 4) as one.

When in my recension I suggested *urbis* for *orbis*, I had not observed that it was cited from two MSS by Heinsius and Merkel. I do not think it necessary, but it is favoured by parallels in the neighbourhood, 533 '*lacer in silua manibus spargare tuorum*' and 535 '*perque feros montes tauro rapiente traharis*.'

#### IV.

Who was Ibis? Nobody. He is much too good to be true. If one's enemies are of flesh and blood, they do not carry complaisance so far as to choose the dies Alliensis for their birthday and the most ineligible spot in Africa for their birthplace. Such order and harmony exist only in worlds of our own creation, not in the jerry-built edifice of the demiurge. Nor does man assail a real enemy, the object of his sincere and lively hatred, with an interminable and inconsistent series of execrations which can neither be read nor written seriously. To be starved to death and killed by lightning, to be brayed in a mortar as you plunge into a gulf on horseback, to be devoured by dogs, serpents, a lioness, and your own father in the brazen bull of Phalaris, are calamities too awful to be probable and too improbable to be awful. And when I say that Ibis was nobody I am repeating Ovid's own words. In the last book that he wrote, several years after the Ibis¹, he said, ex Pont. IV 14 44, '*extat adhuc nemo saucius ore meo*.'

It appears from trist. I 6, III 11, IV 9, and V 8, that Ovid had, or pretended to have, more enemies than one. In IV 9 the

¹ The Ibis, with its '*lustris bis iam* than A.D. 12, and is not likely to be *mihi quinque peractis*,' cannot be later so late.



enemy's offence is left unknown, 'nomen facinusque tacebo,' and probably neither it nor he existed; in v 8 it is vaguely described by the phrases 'casibus insultas' and 'nostra laetere ruina.' The two other passages are more precise. In i 6 some person or persons have tried to lay hands on Ovid's property and have been defeated by his wife and friends: 7 sq. 'tu facis ut spolium non sim nec nuder ab illis | naufragii tabulas qui petiere mei,' 13 sq. 'mea nescioquis, rebus male fidus acerbis, | in bona uenturus, si paterere, fuit.' In iii 11 the enemy is an orator and his offence is speech: 19 sq. 'est aliquis qui uulnera cruda retractet | soluat et in mores ora diserta meos.' These two characters are put together to make Ibis: 13 sq. 'uulneraque inmitis requiem quaerentia uexat | iactat et in toto nomina nostra foro' (232 'latrat et in toto uerba canina foro'), 18 'naufragii tabulas pugnat habere mei,' 20 sq. 'praedam medio raptor ab igne petit. | nititur ut profugae desint alimenta senectae.' But they do not make him black enough; and therefore, whereas one of them is 'nescioquis,' i 6 13, and Ovid says of the other, iii 11 69 sq., 'feri quod numquam posse putauī, | est tibi de rebus maxima cura meis,' Ibis is represented as a person bound to Ovid by ties of duty, 19 'qui debuerat subitas extinguere flammās.'

The two halves of the poem, 1—250 and 251—644, derive their origin from two quite different motives. In the poems of his exile Ovid often laments the monotony of his theme. But in iii 11 and iv 9 and v 8 he hit on a new subject, remonstrance with a persecutor; and it proved no bad variation, for iv 9 contains some of his best lines. A longer effort, treating the same matter in another vein, was a promising enterprise; for the vein itself, though new to Ovid, was congenial to the Roman fibre, and Roman poets had excelled in it. The 91st poem of Catullus and the 5th and 17th epodes of Horace, however little accordant with modern fashions, are masterpieces without which no anthology of Latin poetry is complete or representative. And the first 250 lines of the Ibis are another masterpiece: Ovid has written no passage of equal length which has equal merit.

From that point onward the poem is merely a display of

erudition. Ovid, at the date of his exile, was bursting with information rather recently acquired. In his young days he had been by no means a learned poet; and Propertius, in the season of their sodality, must often have exhorted him to lay in a larger stock of those examples from mythology with which his own elegies are so much embellished or encumbered. But by the time he was fifty he had at his disposal more examples from mythology than he knew what to do with. His studies for the metamorphoses and some of his studies for the fasti (notably in the aetia of Callimachus) had furnished him with a far greater number of stories and histories than could be crowded into those two poems; and he felt the craving of the *ὀψιμαθήs* to let everyone know how learned he had become. Here was his chance: history and mythology alike are largely composed of misfortunes as bad as one could wish for one's worst enemy; and he could discharge a great part of his load of knowledge through the channel of imprecation.

There is no reason to think that he took any of these examples from the Ibis of Callimachus, and there is some reason to think that he took none. All he says about imitating that poem is this, 55—60 'nunc quo Battiades inimicum deuouet Ibin | hoc ego deuoueo teque tuosque modo. | utque ille historiis inuoluam carmina caecis, | non soleam quamuis hoc genus ipse sequi. | illius ambages imitatus in Ibide dicar | oblitus moris iudiciiue mei.' The new Ibis, like the old one, is to be an imprecation wrapped in obscurely worded allusions to history or legend: no further likeness is professed. And when in 448—50 he says 'eueniant capiti uota sinistra tuo...quibus exiguo uolucris deuota libello est | corpora proiecta quae sua purgat aqua,'—that is 'may Callimachus' imprecations on his Ibis fall upon you,'—this will constitute a tautology if he has translated those imprecations in other verses of his poem; and so Otto Schneider has remarked in his *Callimachus* vol. II p. 274.

A. E. HOUSMAN.



## ON THE *HIPPIAS MAJOR*.

The position of the dialogue *Hippias Major* is clearly matter for debate. The more recent editors have tended to reject it from the Platonic canon, though Apelt (*Platonische Aufsätze*, 1912) argues for retaining it along with the *Hippias Minor*, and insists on grouping the two closely together. If genuine, the dialogue would on grounds of style and atmosphere be most naturally placed within the early "Socratic" group; yet it stands apart even from these, both in manner and in matter. On the other hand, if spurious, it is a remarkably good piece of imitation or parody; and it contains elements which appear to forbid placing it later than Plato's own later work.

Bosanquet has pointed out (*History of Aesthetic*, p. 52) that the way in which the problem of pleasure is here treated, implying an elementary recognition of "aesthetic" pleasure (τὸ δι' ὀψέως καὶ ἀκοῆς ἡδὺν) as distinguished from "non-aesthetic," shows an advance on the position taken in the *Gorgias*, but comes short of the full analysis given in the *Philebus*. He remarks that the dialogue, "if spurious, is interesting as showing a growth of definite ideas on this point." F. W. Röllig (in *Wiener Studien*, 1900, p. 18 ff., reviewing E. Horneffer's treatise on the dialogue) also concentrates attention on the ethical position, and suggests that the *Hippias Major* belongs to the Platonic period, coming later than the *Gorgias* but earlier than the *Philebus*, and is the work of a pupil of Plato.

This seems to me probable, but from a different point of view. The ethical element in the dialogue is slight; there is another element, stronger and of special interest, which has been somewhat overlooked. Alone among the rejected or debatable dialogues, the *Hippias Major* seems to have distinct metaphysical implications. Editors have either ignored its metaphysical statements or dismissed them as merely absurd in themselves, though useful to disprove its authenticity. I suggest that on the most tenable theory of its origin the *Hippias Major* can be given an

intelligible position in relation to the development of Plato's ontology.

The ostensible subject of the dialogue is τὸ καλόν. The search for a definition carries us beyond the usual Socratic limits, and brings in an obvious reference to the theory of Ideas, with some phrases which appear to be copied from the *Phaedo*. On the other hand, mystical feeling and the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις are entirely absent; moreover on grounds of style and treatment (to be considered presently) the dialogue can hardly be supposed a genuine work written by Plato later than the *Phaedo*.

At the outset of the search for τὸ καλόν (286 E ff.) the formula αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν is introduced and accepted; and Socrates, speaking for his alleged questioner, puts Hippias through a catechism on the analogy of δικαιοσύνη δίκαιοί εἰσιν οἱ δίκαιοι, arriving (by way of σοφία and ἀγαθόν) at the statement τὰ καλὰ πάντα τῷ καλῷ ἐστὶ καλὰ (287 C). (The formula recurs with τὸ ὑπερέχον (τῷ πάντα μεγάλα) at 294 B.) This is clearly the language of *Phaedo* 100 D, E. A significant phrase is presently added (289 D)—αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, ᾧ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα κοσμεῖται καὶ καλὰ φαίνεται, ἐπειδὰν προσγένηται ἐκείνο τὸ εἶδος. Here, as soon as the safely-ambiguous instrumental dative is supplemented by a more precise statement, confusion begins. The material sense of προσγενέσθαι is at once taken up by Hippias, who declares that gold is τὸ καλόν, because it when "added" makes all things beautiful. This closely resembles the passage in *Euthydemus* 301 A ff. where παραγενέσθαι is played with: πάρεστι...ἐκάστω αὐτῶν κάλλος τι. Ἐὰν οὖν, ἔφη, παραγένηται σοι βούς, βούς εἶ; The ambiguity of παρῆναι is also recognised in *Lysis* 217 C ff., where the distinction is made between παρουσία of a concomitant and παρουνσία of a quality.

Socrates presently (292 D) makes another attempt with προσγενέσθαι—τὸ καλόν αὐτὸ..., ὃ παντὶ ᾧ ἂν προσγένηται, ὑπάρχει ἐκείνῳ καλῷ εἶναι—followed by a list of examples, culminating in πρᾶξις and μάθημα (cf. *Symposium* 211 B), with which χρυσός can have no possible relation. (We may note, by the way, that ἐκείνο is here made to refer to the particular, in spite of general Platonic usage—surely a bit of careless writing.) This time προσγενέσθαι is passed over without remark; and the



same is true of *παραγενέσθαι* and *παρεῖναι*, introduced (294 A, C) in reference to *τὸ πρόπον*, which is shown not to be *τὸ καλόν*.

Later in the dialogue a fresh set of phrases appears (300 A ff.). The definition *τὸ δι' ἀκοῆς τε καὶ ὄψεως ἡδύ* having been suggested, we begin a search for the *κοινόν*, the common element implied under this compound expression. The terms used here are first those of predication; 300 A, *τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο...ὃ καὶ ἀμφοτέραις αὐταῖς ἔπεστι κοινῇ καὶ ἑκάτερα ἰδίᾳ*. But confusion soon appears; 302 C, *τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῇ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπομένῃ...ταύτῃ δεῖν αὐτὰ καλὰ εἶναι, τῇ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ἕτερα ἀπολειπομένη μῆ... ἄρα ὃ ποιεῖ αὐτὰς καλὰς οὐχὶ καὶ ἀμφοτέραις γε αὐταῖς ἔπεται καὶ ἑκάτερα; 302 E, ...τοῦτό γε τὸ πάθος ἀμφοτέραις μὲν ἔπεται ἑκάτερα δ' οὐ. Other phrases follow: 302 E, ἔπεται ἑκατέρῳ, 303 A, τὰ...οὕτως ἐπιγιγνόμενα ἑκάστοις, 303 E, τὸ καλὸν τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἡδοναῖς.*

Here in one passage we have *κοινόν*, *οὐσία* and *πάθος* (cf. a confused phrase, *πάθος ἢ οὐσίαν*, at 301 B) applied to the essential characteristic which is being sought for; the favourite preposition is the "predicative" *ἐπί*, which however is followed variably by the accusative or dative; the verbs used are *ἐπεῖναι*, *ἐπιγίγνεσθαι* and *ἔπεσθαι*. The instrumental dative (as in *Phaedo* 100 D) also reappears. The use of *ἐπὶ* with a dative to convey a general definition may be paralleled from *Sophist* 218 C and *Parmenides* 174 D; Aristotle's formula is *ἐν ἐπὶ πολλῶν*. I cannot find a parallel for the accusative as used here.

It seems impossible to evolve order and consistency out of the confusion of this passage. Taken along with the earlier section examined (286 E ff.) it appears to me to convey strikingly the difficulties of an attempt to combine metaphysical with logical values—which is precisely the attempt made by the theory of Ideas as it is applied in *Phaedo* 100 B ff.

Another point arises at 300 A ff. The difficulty connected with epithets applicable to "each" and "both" proves a puzzle to Hippias, and is seriously attacked and disposed of. In *Theaetetus* 184 E ff., on the other hand, the problem is referred to (occurring in relation to these same terms *ἀκοή* and *ὄψις*), and is passed over as presenting no trouble.

It is generally agreed that the opening chapters of the *Par-*

*menides* contain a criticism of the theory of Ideas in its earlier form. (The view that the earlier theory belongs to Socrates and not to Plato has, I think, been sufficiently answered by Mrs Adam in the *Classical Quarterly*, July 1918¹.) Professor Stewart, following Natorp, argues strongly (*Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*) that the "young Socrates" represents "someone, probably a pupil of the Academy, who took up the doctrine of Ideas exactly as Aristotle took it up," and whose misconceptions demanded a reply and led to a re-statement. Now if we regard Socrates as hitherto Plato's spokesman, he may quite consistently here represent Plato's earlier theory, now to be superseded; but it is hardly conceivable that a "Socrates" should at any stage stand for *somebody else's erroneous views* about Plato's meaning. Further, it is extremely difficult to regard the "later" theory of Ideas as merely an amplification of principles that are to be accepted as implicit and fundamental all the time in the "earlier"; and it is, in Professor Stewart's treatment, made possible only by setting aside altogether the view that the Ideas are *οὐσίαι*, and regarding the whole theory as a study in methodology. It seems reasonable to adhere to Professor Jackson's view that the opening chapters of the *Parmenides* contain Plato's own criticism of his theory of Ideas in its earlier form, and prepare the way for the restatement which he gives in the later dialogues.

But a point which seems interesting is the resemblance between some phrases used in the early chapters of the *Parmenides* and some of these crudities of expression which have been noted in the *Hippias Major*. At *Parmenides* 131 B, while the vague *μετέχειν* and *μεταλαμβάνειν* are kept to express the relation between particular and Idea, the use of *ἐπί* is introduced in the comparison with a sail covering several men, and becoming *ἐν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς... ὅλον*. The use recurs at 132 C, in a more obviously logical and less material sense—(*νόημα*) *ένός τινος, ὃ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνο τὸ νόημα ἐπὸν νοεῖ, μίαν τινὰ οὔσαν ιδέαν... αἰεὶ ὃν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*. At 132 A, B the instrumental dative recurs as in *Phaedo* and *Hippias Major*—*ὅ ταῦτα πάντα μεγάλα ἔσται*. The conclusion that none of the Ideal *οὐσίαι* is *ἐν ἡμῖν*

¹ See also L. Robin in *Rev. Études Grecques*, 1916.



is the result of a series of ἀπορίαι rising out of the crudely material view of the αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό. The whole of the argument which follows about relativity between several Ideas and between several particulars, but *not* between Idea and particular, seems designed again to combat a too concrete interpretation of the εἶδος. It is, in fact, exactly the sort of absurdity found in the *Hippias Major*, and due apparently to the over-literalising of phrases and conceptions found in the *Phaedo*, that is here in the *Parmenides* seriously taken up and applied to a revision of the whole theory of Ideas.

I suggest that we have in the *Hippias Major* an exercise upon various of the logico-metaphysical terms of the *Phaedo*, bringing its ontology to a *reductio ad absurdum*. The dialogue appears to have been written soon after the *Phaedo* and earlier than any of the "later" dialogues, and to be at least partly responsible for Plato's reconsideration of his metaphysical theory, and perhaps also for his restatement of the doctrine of pleasure in the *Philebus*.

If we feel that the author has not done his work with perfect success, an examination of the dialogue on the literary and linguistic side may be useful. I believe that internal evidence tends to prove it the work of a young student of the Academy.

The little work is distinctly clever, lively and interesting; the style is uneven in merit; the vocabulary is unusual, and, I think, significant. The chief feature of the dialogue as a work of art is the characterisation of Hippias. He is here given his head in the argument (contrast his subordinate position in the *Hippias Minor*); and his portrait comes out pretty clearly, and in much more lively colours than in *Protagoras* 337 c—338 b. The language assigned to him in the *Protagoras* is undistinguished, except for two metaphors in rapid succession towards the end of his speech—338 A, χαλάσαι τὰς ἡνίας τοῖς λόγοις, and πάντα κάλων ἐκτείναντα, οὐρία ἐφέντα, φεύγειν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῶν λόγων, ἀποκρύψαντα γῆν. Both these figures are Platonic (cf. for the former *Laws* 701 c, and for the latter *Symposium* 210 D, also the τρικυμία figure in *Euthydemus* 293 A and *Republic* 472 A). The language of Hippias in the *Hippias*

*Minor* (whether authentic or not) is quite ordinary. Here, on the other hand, Hippias uses a number of curious expressions; several appear to be mock-tragic, others colloquial. Since there seems to be no reason for crediting the real Hippias with very exuberant diction, and especially since the same kind of language is here given to Socrates also, we may suppose that the writer himself is responsible for choosing it.

The conceit and the stupidity of Hippias are drawn in equally broad line. He enters with a flourish of trumpets, and continues to boast without shame—e.g. 282 E, 284 C. He is openly rude at least twice: 285 D, *περὶ ποίων, ὦγαθέ, ἀρμονιῶν καὶ γραμμάτων*; and 293 A, *βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν*—a quite unplatonic fervour of abuse. He is no dialectician when confronted with Socrates; see at the outset (287 D, E) his failure to distinguish between *καλόν* and *τὸ καλόν*: his absurdly-overdone perplexity about the “each” and “both” question (300–301): and again (289 D) his readiness to apply *προσγίγνομαι* in a literal and material sense. Like Simmias in *Phaedo* 63 A, he is apt to seize on the last point, and to narrow down a general argument to a particular case; 289 C, *καὶ δὴ πρὸς γε θεοὺς ὅτι οὐ καλὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ἀληθῆ ἔρεϊ*. He is unphilosophically ready to support any point in his favour, and naïve enough to confess the fact; 285 B, *συγχωρῶ ταῦτα· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι τὸν λόγον πρὸς ἐμοῦ λέγειν, καὶ οὐδέν με δεῖ αὐτῷ ἐναντιοῦσθαι*. This kind of broad caricature seems to go beyond even the earlier manner of Plato; and he had certainly modified his methods of satire before the period of the *Phaedo*.

*Style.* The style, at its best, markedly resembles that of Platonic work; but on examination it proves very uneven. At 302 B, C there is a passage which opens well, making a logical point with some skill and maintaining its good style in spite of confused thought and terminology. 299 D, E, 303 B, C and the conclusion, from 304 E, are also good pieces of writing. Those phrases which closely recall passages in the genuine dialogues all suggest imitations by another writer rather than cross-references within Plato's own work. Some points of style may be looked at in detail.



(1) *Echoes of Platonic Phrases.* 286 A. ἔστι γάρ μοι περὶ αὐτῶν παγκάλως λόγος συγκειμένος. Cf. *Protagoras* 347 A (Hippias speaks), ἔστι μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ εὖ ἔχων. Here is either a copying of Plato's phrase, or possibly a slightly varied repetition of what was known as a favourite phrase of Hippias' own. So he is made to use *παγκάλως* again, 296 B.

287 cff. This passage has been already mentioned as recalling *Phaedo* 100 D, E. The writer seems to be well drilled in his *Phaedo*, and brings out plenty of examples on the analogy of τῷ καλῷ τὰ καλὰ καλὰ.

297 B. ...τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἔκγονον σπουδαστόν ἐστιν, τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ κινδυνεύει ἐξ ὧν εὐρίσκομεν ἐν πατρός τινος ἰδέα εἶναι τὸ καλὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. This looks like a rather perfunctory borrowing from two passages in the *Republic*, 506 E and 508 B, C.

(2) *Plays on Words.* Another affinity with Plato's work is found in several assonances and plays on words; but here again the manipulation is sometimes faulty.

286 C, E. καὶ γάρ με εἰς καλὸν ὑπέμνησας. ...νῦν οὖν, ὃ λέγω, εἰς καλὸν ἤκεις, καί με δίδαξον αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ὃ τι ἔστιν. The repeated *εἰς καλόν* is clearly meant to bring in the *αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν* which at once follows. Compare 281 A, Ἰππίας ὁ καλός τε καὶ σοφός. The use of *καλός* here at the very outset of the dialogue seems intentional. Again at the end, 304 E, Plato's favourite phrase *χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ* is neatly brought in.

281 D. εἰ ὁ Βίας ἀναβιόη. This is in Plato's manner; compare his play with the name of Polus, *Gorgias* 463 A, and (in a different mood) *Phaedo* 80 D, τὸ αἰιδές...εἰς...τόπον...οἰχόμενον αἰιδῇ, εἰς Ἀιδου ὡς ἀληθῶς.

292 C. διθύραμβον τοσουτονὶ ᾄσας οὕτως ἀμούσως πολὺ ἀπῆσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρωτήματος. Not simply "you have sung out of tune with our question," but rather "in your singing you have wandered away from our question." I cannot find a parallel instance with *ἀπάδω*, but cf. Hdt. 6. 129, ἀπωρχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον.

(3) *Peculiarities in Style and Syntax.* Certain passages may be here mentioned as unworthy of Plato, and as suggesting immaturity in the writer.

286 C. Socrates' alleged questioner is a bit of stage machinery employed to introduce the problem of τὸ καλόν, which could easily have been worked in by reference to the words παγκάλως, πάγκαλα used by Hippias just before.

298 B. The reference to Socrates in the third person is effective in its way, but is not like Plato. Both this passage and 286 C suggest an attempt at dramatic effect.

294 D, E. οὐκ ἄν, εἴ γε τὸ φαίνεσθαι.... The style of this paragraph is laboured in its effort after clearness. The argument emerges well, but at the expense of ease and grace. The same is true of some other passages, e.g. 302 C—E.

295 C—E. οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ ὅλον σῶμα.... A curious sentence, in which repeated asyndeta produce a very jerky effect.

299 A. ἂν ἴσως φαίη—a strange inversion of the usual order, with no obvious reason.

290 E. οὐκ ἂν... τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐστιᾶσθαι ἄνευ ὄψου πάνυ γενναίου ποιήσειεν. This seems an unparalleled extension of the use of ποιῶ with certain prepositions (ἐν, ἐπὶ, ὑπὸ, ἐς) in the sense of putting into a position. Is it due to a careless reading of *Republic* 372 C?

*Vocabulary.* The unusual words here found come under three main classes, not always easily distinguished:—

- (1) Epic or tragic, producing here a burlesque effect.
- (2) Otherwise strained or violent, suggesting slang, either made or in the making. Several of these words do not recur in literature except in late authors; we may perhaps infer that at this period they were part of the spoken, but not yet of the written, vocabulary.
- (3) Terms suggesting the philosophic slang or jargon of a school.

All these sorts of words—burlesque, slang, lecture-room phrases—would seem to indicate the young student.

(1) *Poetic (or burlesque) words and phrases.* 293 A. δύσφημον. Poetic—not in Plato.

295 A. ὀχληρός, “troublesome, vexatious.” Plato uses the word once (*Republic* 569 A, μετὰ ὀχληρῶν συμποτῶν), but in its other sense of “turbulent.” For the present meaning, cf. Eur. *Hel.* 452, ὀχληρὸς ἴσθ' ὦν.



295 A.  $\alpha$  μὴ μέγα, ὦ Ἰππία, λέγε. The whole phrase suggests burlesque.  $\alpha$  is epic and tragic; this is the only prose instance given by L. and S. For μὴ μέγα λέγε cf. *Phaedo* 95 B, where it is used playfully with reference to βασκανία.

296 D. τοῦτ' ἦν ἐκείνο...ὃ ἐβούλετο ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχῇ εἰπεῖν—“This it was that our soul was fain to utter.” This seems a reminiscence of tragedy. Cf. 300 C, πολλά γέ μοι προφαίνεται τοιαῦτα πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς. προφαίνομαι also (cf. 303 C) is chiefly epic and tragic.

290 E. μέρμερος πάνυ ἐστίν—“a fearsome fellow.” μέρμερος is found in epic, in Eur. *Rhes.* 509 (μέρμερον κακόν) and in late prose; not in Plato.

292 D. οὐδέν σοι μᾶλλον γεγωνεῖν δύναμαι ἢ εἴ μοι παρεκάθησο λίθος, καὶ οὗτος μυλίας. γεγωνεῖν is epic and tragic, with one or two instances in late prose. The meaning here is clearly “make myself heard.” (Cf. O. Apelt, *Platonische Aufsätze*, p. 231 n.)

291 E. τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ τυγχάνομεν. (Cf. 287 A, εὖ...λέγεις... εἰ χειρωσόμεθα τὸν ἄνδρα.) τυγχάνω in this literal sense of hitting a mark is chiefly Homeric, though in Homer it usually has an accusative of the personal object.

292 A. ἂν τύχῃ βακτηρίαν ἔχων...εὖ μάλα μου ἐφικέσθαι πειράσεται. This looks like slang, and tempts to the translation “He'll jolly well try to come down upon my back”; but the language seems to have a poetic origin. ἐφικνοῦμαι occurs chiefly in Homer, orators and late prose; not in Plato. With the meaning here cf. Soph. *O. T.* 809. The introduction of the βακτηρία is violent and unlike Plato.

The two last examples suggest a burlesque use of Homeric words, passing over into slang.

287 A. μή τι κωλύω μιμούμενος ἐγὼ ἐκείνον; This may be added here as a clearly affected variant (apparently unique) on the ordinary impersonal use of κωλύω.

(2) *Colloquial words and phrases.* 285 E. ἀληθῇ λέγεις. The sense seems to be “No doubt, if you say so”—a polite, but not hearty, acquiescence by Socrates.

286 E. φαῦλον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐμὸν πρᾶγμα καὶ ἰδιωτικόν. This use of πρᾶγμα is not quite like any other instance of the

sense "profession"; here it is rather "my show," "my turn-out." Cf. 301 C, τοιαῦτα, ὃ Ἰππία, τὰ ἡμέτερά ἐστιν.

287 D. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί μέλλει;—"What is he after?"

287 E. εὐδόξως ἀπεκρίνω—"You have answered famously." This is the only instance of the adverb given by L. and S.

288 D. οὐ κομψὸς ἀλλὰ συρφετός—"a vulgar person." The common use of συρφετός is collective; cf. *Gorgias* 489 C, συρφετὸς δούλων. For this application to an individual cf. perhaps *Iliad* 12. 212, οὐδὲ ἔοικεν | δῆμον ἔοντα παρέξ ἀγορευέμεν, and Hor. *Ep.* 1. 1, 59, plebs eris. Compare also the dialect use (see Wright's *Dictionary of Dialect*) of "trash" (Yorkshire) and "rubbish" (Cheshire) with reference to an individual.

290 A. ὦ τετυφωμένε. The perfect passive in this sense ("blown out with pride"—cf. ἵπποτυφία) is used by Demosthenes and later writers; not by Plato. If this dialogue is of Plato's period, we have here perhaps a bit of slang not yet adopted into the literary language.

291 A. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα φύρεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον—"to mix with the fellow." Plato uses φύρεσθαι at *Laws* 950 A in the reciprocal sense—"to be mixed together"; but this seems to be the only instance with πρὸς.

300 C. πάνυ ἐτοίμως παρορᾶς—"Plainly enough you don't see straight." ἐτοίμως in this sense is without parallel. (Cf. ἀσφαλέως in the slang sense of "easily"—Theocr. 24. 137, ἀσφαλέως κε φυτοσκάφον ἄνδρα κορέσσαι, and *Anth. Pal.* 5. 183, χοῦς γὰρ ἔνεισι δὺ' ἀσφαλέως.)

293 A. βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν. Aristophanes has βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας, and once ἅπαγ' ἐς μακαρίαν, *Eq.* 1151. But this particular phrase seems to be unique, and nothing like the imprecation is found in Plato.

304 A. κνίσματα and περιτμήματα. Both otherwise late words; perhaps at this time part of the colloquial spoken language.

(3) *Philosophic slang or jargon.* 296 D. ἀπλῶς.—ἐκείνο μὲν τοίνυν οἴχεται, τὸ δυνατόν τε καὶ χρήσιμον ἀπλῶς εἶναι καλόν. In this sense of "without qualification" Plato normally uses ἀπλῶς οὕτως or οὕτως ἀπλῶς. His only instance of ἀπλῶς alone, *Parmenides* 163 C, corresponds to Aristotle's use; cf. the



definition in *Top.* B. 11. 115^b 29, τὸ δ' ἀπλῶς ἐστίν, ὃ μηδενὸς προστεθέντος ἐρεῖς ὅτι καλόν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ ἐναντίον. Note that Aristotle there takes καλόν as his example.

300 C. λέξις.—πολλή γὰρ ἂν μ' ἔχοι ἀπειρία...τῆς τῶν παρόντων λέξεως λόγων. This seems to mean either "manner of speaking" or "signification"—a purely verbal noun from λέγω in either of its meanings. This use, with a genitive, does not occur in Plato, and is not cited by L. and S.

301 B. κρούετε δὲ ἀπολαμβάνοντες τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κατατέμνοντες. With κατατέμνω here compare Plato's frequent use of κατακερματίζω, but the combination with κρούω mixes the metaphor. Plato uses κρούω literally, e.g. *Protagoras* 310 B, of knocking at a door; *Lysis* 209 B, of playing an instrument. This sense of tapping in order to sound is not found in Plato, but suggests a philosophic slang.

301 B. οὕτω μεγάλα ὑμᾶς λανθάνει καὶ διανεκῇ σώματα τῆς οὐσίας πεφυκότα. (Cf. 301 E, διανεκεῖ λόγῳ τῆς οὐσίας.) Several points arise in this perplexing sentence.

Grote (who assumes the dialogue to be genuine) has made the chief attempt to deal with the meaning of the passage (see his *Plato*, I. 384). He sees here a conflict between the Rhetor and the Dialectician; and he makes διανεκῇ σώματα τῆς οὐσίας πεφυκότα correspond to "the logical term *Concrete*, opposite to *Abstract*." Even supposing that we could plausibly attribute such a distinction to Plato or his circle, what is the point of μεγάλα, and how are the words quoted to be actually construed?

σώματα, τῆς οὐσίας can hardly be "objects as they exist in nature" (G. Smith). This would in any case need the article with σώματα, and such a use of οὐσία is surely not only unplatonic but quite unphilosophic.

I would suggest reading σώματα <τὰ> τῆς οὐσίας (assuming τὰ easily lost in this position), and construing τὰ τῆς οὐσίας λανθάνει ὑμᾶς οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ διανεκῇ σώματα πεφυκότα. τὰ τῆς οὐσίας may then mean something like "the sum of all that exists"; cf. 301 E, where Socrates parodies Hippias with διανεκεῖ λόγῳ τῆς οὐσίας, "a continuous account of being in general."

We are still left with *σώματα*. Plato uses *σῶμα* in the obvious material sense, as correlative with *ψυχή*. *σῶμα τῆς πίστεως*, Ar. *Rhet.* A. 1. 1354^a 15, seems to be a figurative use of the same meaning, "substantial, material body." The general meaning "mass," "body," clearly came in later; cf. Cic. *Att.* 2. 13, hoc totum *σῶμα* (sc. collection of speeches) curabo ut habeas. Apelt (*Plat. Aufsätze*, p. 231) considers *σώματα* impossible here, and proposes to read *σχήματα*, comparing Ar. *Pol.* 1322^a 31, *τετάχθαι ἐν μείζονι σχήματι*.

*διηνεκής* and its adverb are found in epic, tragedy and late prose; once in Plato, *νόμοι διηνεκεῖς*, *Laws* 839 A. Its use here accords with the tendency, already illustrated, to bring in poetic words. The Doric form *διανεκῆ* is given by every MS except Cod. Vindob. 55. If the general reading is to be accepted, we may possibly have here a word preserved by tradition as a favourite with Hippias himself, put in his mouth as he would use it in his own Doric, and parodied in the same form by Socrates at 301 E.

303 B, C. *ἄρρητα* )( *ῥητά*—"irrational" )( "rational." These are mathematical terms, used by Plato only at *Republic* 546 C, in the passage on the Nuptial Number. Hippias is a mathematician (cf. 285 C ff.); but his mathematics are faulty here, for a number of *ἄρρητα* can *not*, on the strict use of the words, become *ῥητά* by addition. Is this illustration reminiscent of an ill-understood lecture?

303 D. *τῶν ἀδυνάτων τι παρέχεται*—"It gives an impossible result." This is another mathematical phrase (cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 6. 1. 28), and may have a similar origin.

If I have fairly interpreted the above instances of style and language, it seems a possible theory that we have in the *Hippias Major* a bit of work, clever in spite of its limitations, from the pen of a young student of the Academy. He was, as the substance of the dialogue shows, interested in the earlier theory of Ideas (as expounded by Plato in the *Phaedo*) on its logical side, without caring about its mystical or transcendental elements. He developed, starting from certain phrases used in the *Phaedo*, some of the difficulties involved in the confusion of logic with meta-



physic. In the style of his work he naturally conformed mainly to Plato's manner and the formulae of the school; but he also let himself go in his caricature of Hippias, and in committing to writing many pleasing examples of his own student slang and jargon. The human interest of the dialogue is obvious, if the Platonic student, εὐστοχος νεανίας τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας τις, here stands self-portrayed. Its philosophic interest is also worth considering, if we take the view that Plato was prompted partly by this, and perhaps by other similar exercises of his students, to make that revision of his earlier theory of Ideas which is begun in the *Parmenides*.

DOROTHY TARRANT.

BEDFORD COLLEGE,  
LONDON.

33² Persae 425. φυγῇ δ' ἀκόσμως πᾶσα ναῦς ἡρέσσετο,  
 ὅσαιπερ ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος·  
 τοὶ δ' ὥστε θύννους ἢ τιν' ἰχθύων βόλον  
 ἀγαῖσι κωπῶν θραύμασιν τ' ἐρειπίων  
 ἔπαιον ἐρράχιζον.

It is worth while to picture clearly to the mind this statement. The Persian ships broke and fled in disorder; the Greeks pursued smiting and cleaving asunder—what? the ships or the men?—with broken oars and fragments of wrecks. If they struck the ships with these weapons it was a futile operation; they ought to have rammed them with their beaks. If they struck the Persian soldiers and sailors with them the proceeding is just as silly; fancy trying to kill the men on another ship by lunging at them with broken oars instead of either boarding the ship or running her down! And why did they use broken oars and bits of wreckage? Why not spears or *whole* oars? Were *all* their own oars broken or did they pick up those of the enemy for the purpose? And bits of wreck!!

Aeschylus wrote something like this:

ὅσαιπερ ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος·  
 (ᾧ)χουντο δ' ἄνδρες ἐν σάλῳ στροβούμενοι  
 ἀγαῖσι κωπῶν θραύμασιν τ' ἐρειπίων·  
 τοὶ δ' ὥστε θύννους κτλ.

But perhaps several lines have been lost, of which 428 is a fragment.

Ag. 1079. ματεύει δ' ὧν ἀνευρήσει φόνον.

ἀναζητεῖ, says the scholiast, εἰ γέγονεν ἐνθάδε παλαιὸς φόνος. This is apparently an explanation of the Medicean reading ἀν (= ἐὰν) εὐρήσῃ! But where does ἐνθάδε come from? And what does ὧν mean in the text? If it means "seeks *whose* blood she may find," it ought to be ὅτων, and besides she does not seek *whose* blood she may find, but whether she can find *any* blood. The text can only fairly be construed "seeks those whose blood she will find," and that is absurd. I conclude that the scholiast's ἐνθάδε is a relic of a time when the text read ἐνθ' for ὧν.

ARTHUR PLATT.















AN INDEX  
TO  
THE JOURNAL  
OF PHILOLOGY  
1868-1920

*pp. 1-32  
no plates*

*Added at end of vol. 34-25*

179019.

23. 3. 23.

PRINTED FOR  
THE CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL SOCIETY  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE

1923

## PREFACE

IT may not be out of place to sketch briefly the history of the *Journal of Philology*, an index to which is here for the first time issued, and to explain why it appears under the auspices, and at the expense, of the Cambridge Classical Society.

In 1868 the *Journal of Philology* was founded by leading Cambridge scholars, and the first number appeared in the same year. The first seven volumes were edited by Mr W. G. Clark, Public Orator, Mr J. E. B. Mayor, later Professor of Latin, and Mr W. Aldis Wright, later Vice-Master of Trinity College. In 1874 Mr Clark resigned through ill-health, and Mr Mayor, finding himself too much occupied with other work, also retired. Mr Aldis Wright, however, continued the work, in association with Mr Ingram Bywater, later Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, and Mr Henry Jackson, later Regius Professor of Greek¹.

The *Journal* was, and remained to the end, the property of its publishers, Messrs Macmillan, and was printed for them at the Cambridge University Press.

In 1872 the Cambridge Philological Society, which this year celebrates its jubilee, was founded by the energy of Mr (later Sir) R. C. Jebb, Public Orator and later Regius Professor of Greek, and of Mr E. B. Cowell, Professor of Sanskrit: the former being the first Secretary, the latter the first President. On Oct. 17th in the same year, the Council of the Society resolved "that until further notice a copy of each future number of the *Journal of Philology* be sent to every member of the Cambridge Philological Society whose subscription is not in arrear." Henceforward the *Journal* chiefly depended for its existence on the Cambridge Philological Society, but the latter had no control over the *Journal*, and simply purchased at a reduced price from Messrs Macmillan copies of it for its members. Two numbers, making one volume, appeared each year, and for a long time these were issued with tolerable regularity. As the volumes multiplied, scholars complained of the lack of an index, and with the lapse of time the grievance grew, as a student might have to search through a score of volumes before finding the paper of which he was in quest. As the Cambridge Philological Society was the chief supporter of the *Journal*,

¹ See Mr Aldis Wright's Prefatory Note to Vol. VIII.



not unnaturally its members thought themselves justified in making representations to the editors and publishers, and it was more than once proposed that the Society should undertake the cost of making an index to the *Journal* for the benefit of its members. But nothing was done.

Meantime the issue of the *Journal* became more and more irregular, often one part only appearing in a year and not always even that. But as the *Journal* was the chief return that the non-resident members of the Philological Society received for their guinea subscriptions, not a few of these from time to time expressed their feelings in no uncertain terms to the officers of the Society. The latter could only make the unsatisfactory reply that the Society had no control over the editors and publishers of the *Journal*, and resignations ensued from time to time.

When the War came, Messrs Macmillan raised the price of each number to the Society to eight shillings. Now, if things were normal, and two numbers were issued each year, their cost would have absorbed nearly the full subscription of each member, and little would have been left for the publication of Proceedings and Transactions, and for grants in aid of research. Owing to the irregularity of the issue of the *Journal*, as already mentioned, there had been for some time a feeling in the Society that it would be better to supply its members with the *Classical Quarterly*, which appears with laudable punctuality and which covers much of the same field as the *Journal*. Accordingly the Society (Feb. 24th, 1921) agreed to notify Messrs Macmillan that it would cease to purchase copies of the *Journal* after the appearance of its next number—the 70th—which would complete Vol. xxxv. This last number appeared under the date 1920, and with it, to the regret of many, ceased the publication of that *Journal* which for more than half a century had performed such signal service to Classical learning.

The time then seemed to have come when a proper index to the whole thirty-five volumes of the *Journal* should be published, in order that its great stores of learning might be rescued from oblivion and made accessible to scholars. The Cambridge Philological Society, which had so long been the mainstay of the *Journal*, would have been the proper body to carry out a work which it had so often contemplated. But as it had helped with liberal grants to keep alive the *Classical Review* and the *Classical Quarterly* during the evil days of war, it had no money available for the cost of such an Index. On the other hand, its younger sister, the Cambridge Classical Society, had a considerable sum at its disposal, and as its members form about 80 per cent. of the Philological Society, the Committee of the former with the hearty approval of its sister

body proposed to devote a portion of its funds to the preparation and publication of a proper Index. The first step was to ask Messrs Macmillan whether they intended to crown the fine series of the *Journal* with an index volume. But Mr George A. Macmillan replied in the negative, at the same time intimating that his firm had no objection to such a work being done by others. The Committee at once secured the services of Miss W. M. L. Hutchinson, well known for her admirable indexing of the *Classical Review* and of the *Classical Quarterly*. The Cambridge University Press kindly undertook the printing and issuing of the Index here presented to scholars.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY,  
President of the Cambridge Classical Society.

FLENDYSHE,  
FEN DITTON,  
CAMBRIDGE.



# JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

INDEX 1868-1920

## I

### CONTRIBUTORS

- Abbott (Evelyn)**, the *Antigone* of Sophocles: two criticisms, viii. 96  
the cases, ii. 206  
on the date of the composition of the History of Herodotus, xv. 86  
note on the use of the word *πῶλις* in Herodotus, xv. 97  
notice of Westphal's *Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, iii. 282
- Agar (Thomas Leyden)**, emendationes Homericae (*Il.* I-XII), xxiv. 272  
emendationes Homericae (*Il.* XIII-XVIII), xxv. 32  
emendationes Homericae (*Il.* XIX-XXIV), xxv. 299  
emendationes Homericae (*Od.* I-V), xxvi. 113  
emendationes Homericae (*Od.* VI-IX), xxvi. 243  
emendationes Homericae (*Od.* X-XII), xxvii. 1  
emendationes Homericae (*Od.* XIII-XVI), xxvii. 165  
emendationes Homericae (*Od.* XVII-XIX), xxviii. 39  
emendationes Homericae (*Od.* XX-XXIV), xxix. 202
- Ainslie (Gilbert)**, note on *I. Cor.* I. (26), i. (No. 2) 158  
*Romans* v. (12), ii. 139
- Allen (P. S.)**, obituary notice of Ingram Bywater, xxxiv. 7
- Allen (Thomas W.)**, on the composition of some Greek mss., xxii. 157  
on the composition of some Greek mss., xxiv. 300  
on the composition of some Greek mss., xxvi. 161  
Dictys of Crete and Homer, xxxi. 207  
notes on the Homeric Hymns by J. P. D'Orville, xxv. 250  
Palaeographica (I, II), xix. 62  
Palaeographica (III), xxi. 48
- Arblaster (Edmund)**, note on a passage of Plato (*Soph.* 262 D), vi. 160
- Archer-Hind (R. D.)**, metempsychosis and variation of species in Plato, xxxi. 84  
note on Plato, *Philebus* (15 A, B), xxvii. 229  
Plato, *Theaetetus* (158 E-160 A), xv. 149  
Plato, *Theaetetus* (179 E-180 A), xxviii. 15  
Plato, *Theaetetus* 190 C, note on, xii. 297  
Plato, *Timaeus* (51 B), xxiv. 49  
on some difficulties in the Platonic psychology, x. 120  
some remarks on the later Platonism, xxix. 266  
note on the Fourth Pythian, xxii. 267
- Ashby (Thomas)**, Alba Longa, xxvii. 37  
the battle of Lake Trasimene, xxxi. 117
- Bell (H. I.)**, the British Museum papyrus of Isocrates, *Περὶ Εὐφρονης*, xxx. 1
- Bendall (Cecil)**, notes on the pronunciation of Greek, as deduced from Graeco-Indian bilingual coins (B.C. 180-20), xxix. 119
- Bevan (A. A.)**, the Hebrew verb בָּרַא "to create," xxix. 263  
Hebrew words בָּרַא, בָּרַא and בָּרַא, xxvi. 300  
notes on certain passages in Deutero-Isaiah, xvii. 125  
notes on *Job* v. (3, 5), xxvi. 303  
note on *Proverbs* VII. (22), xxviii. 287  
*Psalms* XLIX. 15; L. 20; LXXX. 7; LXXXV. (14), xviii. 143  
notes on *Zechariah* X. (11), xviii. 88
- Bidder (G. P.)**, 'arcus,' xxxv. 113
- Bigg (C.)**, notes upon the *Poetics* of Aristotle, xii. 103
- Billig (L.)**, clausulae and Platonic chronology, xxxv. 225
- Brennan (Chr.)**, on the mss. of Aeschylus, xxii. 49

- Burn (R.)**, archaeological interpretations, x. 1  
the excavations on the Palatine Hill, ii. 82  
the original configuration of the Palatine Hill, and the Pomœrium of Romulus, i. (No. 1) 146  
the Roman Capitol, iv. 126  
on the stone used in the construction of the Cloaca Maxima, i. (No. 2) 121
- Bury (John B.)**, caesura in the iambic trimeters of Aeschylus, xv. 76  
questions connected with Plato's *Phaidros*, xv. 80
- Bury (R. G.)**, the later Platonism, xxiii. 161
- Butcher (S. H.)**, the geometrical problem of the *Meno*, xvii. 219
- Bywater (I.)**, Aristotelia, v. 115  
Aristotelia (II), xiv. 40  
Aristotelia (III), xvii. 53  
Aristotelia (IV), xxviii. 241  
Aristotelia (V), xxxii. 107  
a lost dialogue of Aristotle, ii. 55  
Aristotle's dialogue "On Philosophy," vii. 64  
a passage in Aristotle's *Ethics*, iv. 218  
ATAKTA, x. 67  
ATAKTA (II), xxxi. 197  
critical notes on Clement of Alexandria, iv. 203  
the Cleophons in Aristotle, xii. 17  
on Diog. Laert. ix. 1 (7), xiii. 105  
note on the so-called "Gnomica Basileensia," xxxiv. 160  
Heraclitus and Ammianus Marcellinus, vi. 88  
Heraclitus and Albertus Magnus, ix. 230  
the latinizations of the modern surname, xxxiii. 76  
Milton and the Aristotelian definition of Tragedy, xxvii. 267  
Miscellanea, xvii. 75  
Palaeographica, xxxii. 222  
on the fragments attributed to Philolaus the Epicurean, i. (No. 1) 21  
two passages in Plato's *Republic*, v. 122
- Campbell (Colin E.)**, Plato, *Phaedo* (ch. 48), xxiii. 76
- Campbell (Lewis)**, Aeschylea, xiii. 213  
Dr Kennedy on Sophocles, v. 1  
a neglected ms. of Plato, xi. 195  
note on Plato, *Soph.* (262 D), vi. 286  
Plato, *Theaetetus* (190 c), xiii. 104  
note on Plato's *Theaetetus* (142, 143), vii. 124
- Campbell (Lewis)** (*continued*)  
on the interpretation of Plato, *Timaeus* (p. 40 c), v. 206  
the interpretation of Tragedy—with notes on the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, xiii. 182  
on the ms. of Sophocles in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, viii. 87  
the mss. of Sophocles, v. 125  
the topography of the *Oedipus Coloneus*, vii. 116
- Cannan (C.)**, obituary notice of Ingram Bywater, xxxiv. 1
- Cary (M.)**, the early Roman treaties with Tarentum and Rhodes, xxxv. 165  
the land legislation of Caesar's first consulship, xxxv. 174
- Clark (A. C.)**, excerpts from the Verrines in the Harleian ms. 2682 in relation to the Erfurt ms. and the Regius Parisiensis (7744 A), xviii. 69
- Clark (W. G.)**, notes on Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, viii. 177  
notes on Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (I-578), ix. 1  
notes on Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (I-578), ix. 165  
on Aristophanes' *Equites*, ii. 311  
on English pronunciation of Greek, i. (No. 2) 98  
the history of the Ravenna ms. of Aristophanes, iii. 153
- Cockayne (Oswald)**, on some passages of the Saxon Laws, i. (No. 2) 109
- Colvin (Sidney)**, William Aldis Wright: a personal appreciation, xxxiii. 299
- Conington (J.)**, Mr Paley and Mr Stone's *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata Selecta*, ii. 104  
Ribbeck's *Prolegomena* to Virgil, i. (No. 1) 4  
on Ribbeck's *Prolegomena* to Virgil (II), i. (No. 2) 124  
Sophocles, *Electra* (1288 sqq.), i. (No. 2) 156
- Conybeare (Fred. C.)**, on the Codex Pamphili and date of Euthalius, xxiii. 241  
note on *Odyssey* xvii (486), xx. 182  
note on the Philonean reading of two passages in the *Timaeus* (38 B and 28 B), xxi. 71  
on the sources of the text of S. Athanasius, xxiv. 284  
a collation of the History of Socrates Scholasticus, Books iv-vii, with the Old Armenian Ver-



- sion and with the Latin Version of Epiphanius Scholasticus as preserved in Cassiodorus, xxxiv. 47
- emendations of the text of Socrates Scholasticus, xxxiii. 208
- Cook (Stanley A.)**, the articles of dress in *Dan.* III. (21), xxvi. 306
- Cope (E. M.)**, on γίγνεσθαι, γιγνώσκειν, i. (No. 1) 79
- on an irregular formation of the Greek passive verb, i. (No. 1) 93
- on στοργή, ἔρως, φιλεῖν, ἀγαπᾶν, i. (No. 1) 88
- Cotterill (Jos. M.)**, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians and the Homilies of Antiochus Palæstinensis, xix. 241
- Cotterill (Jos. M.)** and **C. Taylor**, Plutarch Cebes and Hermas, xxxi. 14
- Cowell (E. B.)**, fragments of Greek Comedy, iv. 319
- on the word 'glamour' and the legend of Glam, vi. 85
- the Hastámalaka, vi. 161
- a Hindu version of the story of Rhampsinitus, i. (No. 1) 67
- the legend of the Chapman of Swaffham Church, vi. 189
- the Northern Buddhist legend of Avalokiteśvara's descent into the hell Aváchi, vi. 222
- Thought, Word, and Deed, iii. 215
- Cowell (E. B.)** and **Palmer (E. H.)**, two Kasidahs of the Persian poet Anwarí, iv. 1
- Currey (W. E.)**, a Theban inscription at the fountain of Dirce, iii. 189
- Currey (W. E.)** and **Jackson (H.)**, Tacitus, *Annals* xi (27), ii. 331
- Dahlmann (R.)**, some remarks on the Gothic particle -h, -ah, vi. 256
- Darbishire (H. D.)**, the *Numasios* inscription, xvi. 196
- Davies (J. Llewelyn)**, Plato's later Theory of Ideas, xxv. 4
- Dickinson (G. Lowes)**, Plato's later Theory of Ideas, xx. 121
- Driver (S. R.)**, *Genesis* XLX. 10; an exegetical study, xiv. 1
- on some alleged linguistic affinities of the Elohist, xi. 201
- Duff (J. D.)**, Cicero's commission and movements at the beginning of the Civil War, xxxiii. 154
- three passages of Cicero's Letters, xxxiii. 139
- some notes on Lucan VIII, xxxii. 125
- Duff (J. D.)** (*continued*)
- Lucretiana, xx. 315
- Suetonius, xxxiii. 161
- Dyer (Thos. H.)**, on the Enneakrunos at Athens, iii. 81
- the Roman Capitol, as laid down in Mr Burn's *Rome and the Campagna*, iii. 236
- the treaty between Rome and Carthage in the First Consulate, ix. 238
- Ellis (Robinson)**, *Adversaria* (I), xiv. 78
- Adversaria* (II), xv. 1
- Adversaria* (III), xvii. 128
- Adversaria* (IV), xix. 173
- Adversaria* (V), xxviii. 16
- Adversaria* (VI), xxxi. 44, (VII) 155
- on the *Aegritudo Perdicae*, viii. 226
- on the fragments of Aeschylus, i. (No. 1) 71
- on some fragments of Aeschylus and on the *Supplices*, xxi. 25
- on the *Aetna* of Lucilius, xvi. 292
- Aetna*, 171, 2 (Munro), xxvi. 111
- further suggestions on the *Aetna*, xxiii. 5
- on the *Anthologia Latina*, ix. 186
- on the *Aratea* of Germanicus, vi. 272
- on the *Aratea* of Germanicus (II), vii. 256
- Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (1093, 1095), xxx. 223
- notes of a fortnight's research in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, xv. 241
- notes on Bücheler's *Carmina Epigraphica*, xxv. 261
- Cic. Acad. Prior.* xxv. (79 sq.), xvi. 320
- on the *Dirae*, viii. 72
- on the newly edited poems of Dracontius, v. 252
- Ennius, *Ann.* (307 sqq.), xxii. 73
- the Escorial excerpts from *Aetna*, xxii. 314
- Euripides, xxvii. 204
- excerpts from *Culex* in the Escorial MS., xxiii. 1
- on Fronto, i. (No. 1) 15
- on Fronto, xxix. 181
- Fulgentiana, xxix. 61
- a contribution to the history of the Greek Anthology, xxiv. 161
- on a Greek epigram, vii. 259
- on some epigrams of the Greek Anthology, xi. 23
- on some epigrams of the Greek Anthology, xviii. 211
- on three Greek epigrams in Vitruvius, vi. 273

**Ellis (Robinson)** (*continued*)

on the new *Hecale* fragments and other Callimachea, xxiv. 148

Heinsius' Codex Moreti, xviii. 272

on Herodas, xxiii. 19

on a passage of Hesychius, i. (No. 1) 77

on the *Hisperica Famina*, xxviii. 209

on the *Ibis* of Ovid, vii. 244

new remarks on the *Ibis* of Ovid, xxiv. 178

new suggestions on the *Ibis*, xiv. 93

on an inscription found at Sérancourt, i. (No. 2) 160

two suggestions on the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, xxii. 22

some new Latin fragments, viii. 122

on a recently discovered Latin poem of the fourth century, i. (No. 2) 66

on the fragments of a Latin hexameter poem in the Herculanean papyri, xvi. 82

a word on Lucilius, viii. 67

Lucretianum, xx. 159

Lucretius II. (1162), vii. 259

addendum to note on Lucretius IV (1130), xvii. 142

on Lucretius (Bk VI), ii. 219

Lucretius, Book VI, iii. 260

two emendations of Lucretius, xviii. 271

on the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, xi. 161

on some fragments of the New Comedy and some passages of Aeschylus, Theognis, Alcaeus and Ibycus, x. 18

on the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix and Firmicus *de Errore Profanarum Religionum*, xxvi. 197

on some passages of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xii. 62

an Oxford ms. of Statius' *Silvae*, xx. 17

Petronianum, ix. 61

on Petronius, xi. 237

note on Petronius (c. 43), xii. 266

Professor Bücheler on the Petronianum of Phillippus MS. (9672), xiii. 86

Propertianum, xi. 174

on Propertius, ix. 235

on Propertius, xv. 12

a suggestion on Prop. II. 34 (29 sq.), xxii. 24

Propertius III. 18 (3 sqq.), xix. 56

Propertius IV. 3 (35 sqq.), xxii. 72

note on Propertius IV. 5 (61 sq.), xii. 267

**Ellis (Robinson)** (*continued*)

the prosody of Mico the Levite, xxii. 9

the Rehdiger MS. of *Aetna*, xx. 207

the riddle in Verg. *Ecl.* III. (104 sq.), xvii. 143

a Roman MS. of the *Culex*, xvi. 153

on the fragments of Sophocles and Euripides, iv. 251

two notes on Sophocles, xxi. 37

the new sotadei discovered by Sayce and Mahaffy, xxiv. 163

on some passages of Statius' *Silvae*, xiii. 88

on two passages of Statius' *Silvae*, v. 262

Sulpiciae *Satira*, v. 265

on the *Truculentus*, xii. 256

on some passages of Valerius Flaccus, ix. 52

was *hoc* nominative and accusative invariably long? vi. 263

**Ellis (R.)** and **Munro (H. A. J.)**, last words on Lucilius, ix. 287

**E(vans) (T. S.)**, *Veteri vetus hospes amico*, v. 307

**Everett (W.)**, Aeneas' voyage round Sicily, iii. 103

**Farquharson (A. S. L.)**; emendations of Marcus Aurelius' Commentaries, xxxv. 133

**Farrar (Frederic W.)**, on the growth and development of language, i. (No. 2) 1

**Fennell (C. A. M.)**, on the iambic trimeter, xix. 14

notes on certain derivations, vi. 81

**Field (F.)**, biology and social science, x. 178

note on Aristotle's Dialogue on Philosophy, vii. 315 (*see* VII. 66)

note on *Gen.* VI. (16), iii. 327

note on Eusebius, *H.E.* I. (13), vii. 262

notes on inscriptions at Alexandria, vii. 88

note on *Jeremiah* VIII. (22), xiii. 114

**Fotheringham (J. K.)**, the date of the Crucifixion, xxix. 100

the formation of the Julian Calendar, with reference to the astronomical year, xxix. 87

**Fowler (W. Warde)**, on a passage in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, x. 197

**Frazer (J. G.)**, note on the Early Italian huts, xv. 145

the Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, perpetual fires, xiv. 145



- Gardner (Percy)**, on an inscribed Greek vase with subjects from Homer and Hesiod, vii. **215**
- Gardner (Robert)**, the siege of Praeneste, xxxv. **1**
- Garnett (R.)**, on the date of the Ἀποτελεσματικά of Manetho, xxiii. **238**  
on the date of Calpurnius Siculus, xvi. **216**
- Garrod (H. W.)**, elision in hendecasyllables, xxx. **90**  
notes on Catullus and Lucretius, xxxi. **57**  
notes on the *Poetae Latini Minores*, xxxii. **73**  
some emendations of Propertius, xxx. **84**  
metrical stopgaps in Statius' *Thebaid*, xxix. **253**
- Gaye (R. K.)**, on Aristotle, *Physics* Z IX (239b 33-240a 18), xxxi. **95**
- Geldart (E. M.)**, the origin and development of Modern Greek, ii. **161**  
remarks on Mr W. G. Clark's article entitled "English pronunciation of Greek," ii. **157**
- Gillespie (C. M.)**, notes on Aristotle, *Metaphysics* A (6), xxxiv. **151**
- Gillet (Joseph E.)**, the Catharsis-clause in German criticism before Lessing, xxxv. **95**
- Ginsburg (Christian D.)**, the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek Codex (No. I), xxix. **126**  
the text of the Hebrew Bible in abbreviations, xxviii. **241**
- Goodrick (A. T. S.)**, on certain difficulties with regard to the Greek tetralogy, xiv. **133**
- Goodwin (W. W.)**, on conditional sentences in Greek syntax, v. **186**  
'shall' and 'should' in protasis, and their Greek equivalents, viii. **18**  
on the text and interpretation of certain passages in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, x. **214**
- Gow (A. S. F.)**, Hesiod's Wagon, xxxiii. **145**  
the Σδρογξ technopaegnum, xxxiii. **128**
- Gow (James)**, notes on gender, especially in the Indo-European languages, x. **39**  
the Greek numerical alphabet, xii. **278**  
the Nuptial Number (Plato, *Rep.* viii. p. 246), xii. **91**
- Green (W. C.)**, on some passages in the *Medea* of Euripides, viii. **75**
- Green (W. C.)** (*continued*)  
notes on Thucydides and the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, iii. **161**
- Grenfell (B. P.)**, some new papyri from Apollonopolis, xxii. **208**
- Grote (J.)**, on Glossology, iv. **55**, **157**, v. **153**
- Grundy (G. B.)**, Trasimene, xxv. **273**  
the Trebbia and Lake Trasimene, xxiv. **83**
- Hager (Herman)**, army surgeons in ancient Greek warfare, viii. **14**  
on the disposal of the bodies of criminals at Athens, viii. **1**  
on the *Eisangelia*, iv. **74**  
on Hyperides, v. **44**  
note on Plato, *Apol. Socr.* (26 D, E), x. **37**  
Theophrastus, *Περὶ Νόμων*, vi. **1**  
note on Xenophon, *de Vect.* iv. (14), x. **34**
- Haigh (A. E.)**, the trilogy and tetralogy in the Greek Drama, xv. **257**
- Haines (C. R.)**, the composition and chronology of the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius, xxxiii. **278**
- Hardie (W. R.)**, the doom of the Argonauts (Seneca, *Medea*, 607 sq.), xxxiii. **95**  
on some non-metrical arguments bearing on the date of the *Ciris*, xxx. **288**  
note on the history of the Latin hexameter, xxx. **266**  
notes on Manil. iv. 590, and Lucr. v. (1009 sq.), xxxiii. **102**
- Hardy (E. G.)**, did Augustus create eight new legions during the Pannonian rising of 6-9 A.D.? xxxiii. **29**  
the Bodleian ms. of Jerome's Eusebian Chronicle, xviii. **277**  
a Bodleian ms. of Pliny's Letters, xvii. **95**  
the evidence as to Caesar's legal position in Gaul, xxxiv. **161**  
the speech of Claudius on the adlection of Gallic senators, xxxii. **79**  
*imperium consulare* and *proconsulare*, xxi. **56**  
notes on the Lex Judiciaria of G. Gracchus, the Lex Servilia of Caepio, and the Lex Thoria, xxxii. **96**  
on the Lex Julia Municipalis, xxxv. **19**  
were the Lex Thoria of 118 B.C. and the Lex Agraria of 111 B.C. reactionary laws? xxxi. **268**

- Hardy (E. G.)** (*continued*)  
 political and legal aspects of the trial of Rabirius, xxxiv. 12  
 the policy of the Rullan proposal in 63 B.C., xxxii. 228  
 Tacitus as a military historian in the *Histories*, xxxi. 123  
 the Transpadani and the colony of Novum Comum, xxxiii. 103
- Haskins (C. E.)**, on Homeric fishing-tackle, xix. 238  
 note on Horace *I. Sat.* III. (120 sq.), vii. 263  
 Lucan III. (558 sqq.), xvii. 80
- Haverfield (F.)**, on Aurelius Victor, xv. 161  
 notes from Krain, Croatia, and Serbia, xvii. 274  
 Latin inscription from Nicopolis, xii. 292  
 notes on Latin lexicography, xiii. 81  
 lexicographical notes, xiii. 299  
 lexicographical notes, xiv. 287  
 lexicographical notes, xvi. 193  
 miscellanea, xiv. 132  
 miscellanea, xvii. 268  
 Tacitus, *Germania* (13), xxvii. 228
- Hayman (Henry)**, early Greek written literature, xvii. 133  
 on the place occupied by Odysseus in *Od.* (xxi), xxv. 106
- Headlam (Walter)**, emendations and explanations, xxx. 290  
 emendations and explanations, xxxi. 1  
 notes on the scholia of Aeschylus, xix. 236  
 notes on Euripides, xxvi. 233  
 various conjectures (i), xx. 294  
 various conjectures (ii), xxi. 75  
 various conjectures (iii), xxiii. 260  
 various conjectures (iv), xxvi. 92
- Heath (D. D.)**, on the so-called *Arabicus Mons*, vi. 181  
 some misconceptions of Aristotle's doctrine of causation and τὸ αὐτόματον, vii. 97  
 further observations on ancient theories of causation, viii. 154  
 Herodotus in Egypt, xv. 215  
 on Plato's *Cratylus*, xvii. 192
- Heath (T. L.)**, on a point of notation in the *Arithmetics* of Diofantos, xiii. 107  
 on the probable order of composition of certain parts of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, xiii. 41  
 on the Salinon of Archimedes, xxv. 161
- Heitland (W. E.)**, the 'great lacuna' in Silius Italicus (VIII), xxiv. 188
- Heitland (W. E.)** (*continued*)  
 the strong hephthemimeral pause in Latin hexameter poetry, xxvi. 1  
 Thucydides and the Sicilian expedition, xxiii. 45  
 various notes on Thucydides VI, VII, xxiv. 1
- Hellems (F. B. R.)**, the Lex de imperio Vespasiani, xxviii. 122
- Henderson (Bernard W.)**, the battle of Lake Trasimene (II), xxvi. 203  
 on the site of the battle of Lake Trasimene, xxv. 112  
 the Carthaginian councils, xxiv. 119  
 controversies in Armenian topography, xxviii. 99  
 controversies in Armenian topography (II), xxviii. 271
- Hicks (E. L.)**, on the Athenian Proedri, iii. 169  
 on a passage of Theocritus (xviii. 26 sqq.), xiii. 101
- Hogarth (D. G.)**, the army of Alexander, xvii. 1  
 the Gerousia of Hierapolis, xix. 69
- Hort (F. J. A.)**, two Ephesian inscriptions, vii. 140  
 on the end of the Epistle to the Romans, iii. 51
- Horton-Smith (L.)**, notes on Rigveda I. 48 (Hymn to the Dawn, 15), xxv. 1
- Housman (A. E.)**, the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, xvi. 244  
 -aios and -eios in Latin poetry, xxxiii. 54  
 Ciceroniana, xxxii. 261  
 Greek nouns in Latin poetry from Lucretius to Juvenal, xxxi. 236  
 Horatiana, x. 187  
 Horatiana, xvii. 303  
 Horatiana, xviii. 1  
 the *Ibis* of Ovid, xxxv. 287  
 transpositions in the *Ibis* of Ovid, xxxiv. 222  
*Ibis* (539), xii. 167  
 Juvenal and two of his editors, xxxiv. 40  
 Lucretiana, xxv. 226  
 emendations in the First Book of Manilius, xxvi. 60  
 emendations in the Fifth Book of Manilius, xxvii. 162  
 on Martial VII. 79, and XII. (55), xxxi. 42  
 corrections and explanations of Martial, xxx. 229  
 emendationes Propertianae, xvi. 1  
 note on emendations of Propertius, xvi. 291



**Housman (A. E.)** (*continued*)

the mss. of Propertius, xxi. 101, 161  
the mss. of Propertius, xxii. 84  
Sophoclea, xx. 25  
*triste profundum imperium*, xxxv. 201  
remarks on the Vatican glossary  
(3321), xx. 49

**Howard (N. P.)**, letter to H. A. J. Munro on Lucretius, i. (No. 1) 113**Huleatt (C. B.)**, on Catull. LXI. 227, Prop. v. 2. 39, and 4 (47), xiii. 303**Hunt (Arthur S.)**, a new Homeric papyrus, xxvi. 25**H(urry) (C. B.)** and **J(ackson) (H.)**, on Porson's emendation of *Persae* (321), xxxv. 161**Jackson (Henry)**, Aristotle, *E.E.* B VIII, 1225 A 14; *H.A.* Δ VIII, 533 B (15), xxxii. 302

Aristotle, *Metaph.* I. I (§ 6), vi. 206  
on some passages in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* A, xxix. 139

Aristotle, *Politics* IV. (VII), 13, §§ 5-7 (1332 A 7 *sqq.*), x. 311

Aristotle, *Polit.* I. 3; *Anthol.* IX. (482), vii. 236

Aristotle's lecture-room and lectures, xxxv. 191

Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromateis*, IV. v. (23), xxxi. 236

notes on Clement of Alexandria, xxiv. 263

notes on Clement of Alexandria (II), xxvii. 136

notes on Clement of Alexandria (III), xxviii. 131

the *δαίμονιον σημεῖον* of Socrates, v. 232

on *Eudemian Ethics* III. v (vi), xxxv. 147

on *Eudemian Ethics* 1215 a 29; 1215 b 20; 1224 b (2), xxxiii. 298

*Eudemian Ethics* 1229 a 14; 1235 a 35; 1244 a (1), xxxiv. 159

*Eudemian Ethics* Θ i, ii (H xiii, xiv, 1246 a 26-1248 b 7), xxxii. 170

on some passages in the *Eudemian Ethics*, xxvi. 149

further notes on passages in the Seventh Book of the *Eudemian Ethics*, xxvii. 136

*Nicomachean Ethics* III. i. § 17, IIII a 8, and *Republic* VIII. (563 c), xxvii. 159

on a ms. of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, vi. 208

on some passages of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, iv. 308

on dislocations in the text of the Fifth Book of the [Nicomachean] *Ethics*, vi. 100

**Jackson (Henry)** (*continued*)

on an oracle in Procopius, *de Bello Gothico* I. (7), xxx. 225

on an oracle in Procopius, *de Bello Gothico* I. (xxiv), xxxiii. 144

on Parmenides 52 (60), xxi. 73

on some passages of Plato, iv. 146

Plato, *Phaedo* (95 A), xiii. 121

Plato, *Philebus* (66 B), xxiv. 48

on passages in Plato's *Philebus*, xxv. 290

on Plato's *Republic* VI. (509 D *sqq.*), x. 132

on some passages in Plato's *Sophist*, xxxii. 136

Plato, *Theaetetus* (190 c), xiii. 59

Platonica, xiii. 218

Platonica, xxviii. 185

Plato's later Theory of Ideas (I), x. 253

Plato's later Theory of Ideas (II), xi. 287

Plato's later Theory of Ideas (III), xiii. 1

Plato's later Theory of Ideas (IV), xiii. 242

Plato's later Theory of Ideas (V), xiv. 173

Plato's later Theory of Ideas (VI), xv. 280

Plato's later Theory of Ideas (VII), xxv. 65

Plutarch, *de Pythiae oraculis* 25 (407 A), xxviii. 160

on Themistius II. *eis Κωνσταντινον* (32 c), xxvii. 161

on Thucydides II. (90), ii. 332

Xenophon, *Cyngeticus* XII. (6), xxviii. 136

**Jackson (H.)** and **Currey (W. E.)**, Tacitus, *Annals* XI. (27), ii. 331**J(ackson) (H.)** and **H(urry) (C. B.)**, on Porson's emendation of *Persae* (321), xxxv. 161**Jacobs (Friedrich)**, in *Petronii Satyricon* I. [ms. notes, purchased and published by J. E. B. Mayor], vii. 206**Jebb (R. C.)**, on a passage of Andocides, i. (No. 1) 155

on a passage of Andocides, ii. 48

on the sixth Letter of Isokrates, v. 266

notes on the *Philoctetes*, ii. 70

on a fragment of Solon, xxv. 98

**Jevons (F. B.)**, Kin and Custom, xvi. 87

an uncollated ms. of the *ad Herennium*, xii. 209

**Joachim (Harold H.)**, Aristotle's conception of chemical combination, xxix. 72

- Johnson (W.)**, a supposed financial operation of Julius Caesar's, ii. 135
- Kay (W.)**, on the derivation and the meaning of *ἐπιούσιος*, v. 48
- Kennedy (B. H.)**, on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus (904 sqq.), vii. 14  
Richard Shilleto, vii. 163  
on σκοποῦμαι as a passive as well as middle verb, v. 84  
*de Verg. Geo.* III. (400-403), vii. 19  
Vindiciae Sophocleae, iv. 182
- Kenyon (F. G.)**, Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXVIII. (*Il.* XXIII, XXIV), xxi. 296  
two new mss. in the British Museum, xxii. 238
- Key (T. Hewitt)**, notes, (1) *lusciniā*; (2) *locus*; (3) ? *redantruare*, vi. 212
- King (Edward G.)**, ὅς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρον, vii. 134
- Kirkpatrick (A. F.)**, I Maccabees III. (48), xiv. 111
- Knight (Clara M.)**, the change from the ancient to the modern Greek accent, xxxv. 51  
contamination in morphology, xxxv. 152
- Lang (Andrew)**, Dictys Cretensis and Homer, xxxii. 1
- Laurence (Perceval M.)**, the agnatic guardianship of minors and women, ix. 24  
Judges and Litigants (*Il.* XVIII. 506 sqq.), viii. 125
- Lawlor (H. J.)**, early citations from the Book of Enoch, xxv. 164
- Leaf (Walter)**, Aristarchos' reading and interpretation of *Il.* iv. (358 sq.), xvi. 157  
the British Museum papyrus CXXVIII, xxi. 17  
the 'Codex Mori' of the *Iliad*, xiii. 215  
*ἔπειν* and *ἔπεσθαι*, xiv. 231  
Horace, *Carm.* I. (14), xxxiv. 283  
on the mss. of the *Iliad*, xviii. 181  
on the mss. of the *Iliad*, xx. 237  
miscellanea Homérica, xii. 285
- Lewis (S. S.)**, on a bronze ram in the Museum at Palermo, iv. 67  
(figured, plate, p. 157)  
on two Greek inscriptions found at York, vii. 126
- Lightfoot (J. B.)**, Caius or Hippolytus?, i. (No. 1) 98  
the Epistle to the Romans, iii. 193  
two neglected facts bearing on the Ignatian controversy, i. (No. 2) 47
- Lightfoot (J. B.)** (*continued*)  
the heading of the Paris ms. of the Ignatian Epistle to the Romans, ii. 157  
M. Renan's theory of the Epistle to the Romans, ii. 264
- Lindsay (W. M.)**, the 'Abolita' glossary (Vat. Lat. 3321), xxxiv. 267  
the shorter glosses of Placidus, xxxiv. 255  
hiatus in Plautus, xxvii. 208  
the orthography of Martial's Epigrams, xxix. 24  
some Plautine emendations, xxvi. 279  
on Plautine metre, xx. 135  
the shortening of long syllables in Plautus, xxi. 198  
the shortening of long syllables in Plautus, xxii. 1
- Mackail (J. W.)**, the *Pervigilium Veneris*, xvii. 179
- MacMichael (J. F.)**, on the sites of Sittake and Opis, iv. 136
- Macnaghten (Hugh)**, Aeschylea, xvi. 205  
*Antigone* (891 sqq.), xxiv. 171  
Catulliana, xxv. 146  
some passages of the *Helene* of Euripides, xx. 202  
on some passages from the *Poetae Scenici*, xxii. 262  
some passages of the *Silvae* of Statius, xix. 129
- Madan (F.)**, Old German glosses from a Bodleian ms., x. 92
- Magnússon (Eiríkr)**, on the etymology of certain words in English terminating in *sk* and *sh*, v. 277  
Love *Amor*, Love Nought, v. 298
- Maguire (Thomas)**, Professor Munro's Notes on Juvenal I. 13, and on *Aetna* (590), iii. 232  
a passage in *Oedipus Rex*, iii. 277  
the Sixth Satire of Persius, iii. 183  
two passages in Virgil, iii. 278
- Malden (Henry Elliott)**, Alexander in Afghanistan, xii. 271  
the battle at the Colline Gate, xv. 103  
Caesar's expeditions to Britain, xvii. 163  
Caesar's expeditions to Britain, xix. 193  
Caesar's invasion of Britain, xx. 63  
note on *Odyssey* v. (368), viii. 112  
Pyrrhus in Italy, x. 172  
note on Xenophon's *Hellenics* I. vii. (2), viii. 114
- Masson (John)**, M. Guyau on the Epicurean doctrine of Free-will and Atomic declination, xi. 34



**Masson (John)** (*continued*)

Lucretius' argument for free-will, xii. 127

Lucretius' Proœmium and Epicurean theology, viii. 39

a lost edition of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, xvi. 114

new details from Suetonius' life of Lucretius, xxiii. 220

**Mayor (John E. B.)**, ἀπρακτος—ἀπρατος, xv. 171

the Merton Codex of Cicero's *de Natura Deorum*, xii. 248

notes on the text of Cicero's *de Natura Deorum* (Book II), xii. 1

note on Cic. *Orat.* c. 48 (160), vii. 176

Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 62, p. 592 Potter, xv. 180

*condicio* and *conditio*, viii. 265

corruption of the text of Seneca, xxx. 208

Darkness the privation of Light, Night the absence of Day, xxviii. 289

'Decadence,' iii. 347

notes on Diogenes Laertius, xxix. 1

Eunapius, *Vit. Soph.* p. 477, 35 and p. 480, 14 (Didot), xv. 176

ἡ ἐνεγκοῦσα in Heliodorus, xv. 174

*frangere toros*, vii. 52

note on Gal. III. (28), xii. 269

a Greek comic fragment, iv. 320

Greek Lexicography, vi. 288

Greek Lexicography (II), vii. 20

Greek Lexicography (III), vii. 177

on *hemina sanguinis* in Seneca and Jerome, viii. 263

Herodotus II. 121 (II-17), xxi. 70

Hydros, Diabolus, vii. 314

*in puris naturalibus*, xiii. 223

*inhabile* in Seneca, *de Otio* (3, § 4), vii. 51

Juvenal x. (54 sq.), viii. 272

notes on Juvenal, xvi. 220

notes on Juvenal (VIII), xx. 252

note on Juvenal XII (129 sq.), xii. 269

on *licentia poetica*, viii. 260

notes on Martial (Book III), xvi. 229

note on Matt. XXVII. (27 sqq.), xiv. 129

Ovid, *Met.* iv. (139 sqq.), xvi. 113

Pausan. VIII. 16 (§ 5), xvi. 111

Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* I. 22 (2), v. 100

notes on Pliny, *Ep.* I. 5. 3, and Juvenal I. (144 sqq.), xiii. 230

notes on Quintilian (Book x), xxix. 145

*alloquimur* in Seneca, *Ep.* (121), xiii. 227

Seneca in Alan of Lille, xx. 1

**Mayor (John E. B.)** (*continued*)

Seneca, *de Beneficiis* VI. 16 (2), xv. 177

Seneca, *Ep.* 19 (3), xvi. 112

Suetonius, *Augustus* (92), xv. 173

Tertullian's *Apology*, xxi. 259

(I) 'to save appearances,' vi. 171

(II) *in puris naturalibus*, vi. 174

notes on Virgil, vi. 302

notes on Virgil (II), vii. 1

notes on Virgil (III), vii. 260

Visio Pauli, xxii. 184

notes on Mr Paley's *Agamemnon*, ii. 235

notes on *Select Private Oration*s of Demosthenes, Part I (Paley and Sandys), vi. 240

notice of Peile's Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology, iii. 328

on G. A. Simcox's edition of Thucydides III-IV, vii. 226

**Merivale (G.)**, obituary notice of William Hepworth Thompson, xv. 306**Monro (C. J.)**, Latin metres in English, after Sidney, Tennyson, and Mr Ellis, iv. 223**Monro (D. B.)**, on Aristotle's *Problems* (19. 12), i. (No. 2), 81

on *Eth.* Nic. II. (7), vi. 185

Herod. II. 116 and Thucyd. I. (11), ii. 214

note on Homeric geography, xiii. 288

further notes on Homeric subjects, xi. 56

notes on *νηγάρεος* etc., xi. 61

notes on Roman history, ii. 197

notes on the Second Book of the *Iliad*, xi. 125

the Number of Plato (*Rep.* p. 546), viii. 275

on the Pedarii in the Roman Senate, iv. 113

traces of different dialects in the language of Homer, ix. 252

**Morice (F. D.)**, on two passages of Aeschylus, and a note of Lobeck, iv. 199**M(oule) (C. W.)**, obituary notice of E. B. Cowell, xxix. 119**Moule (G. E.)**, the Chinese signs of case and number, ii. 120

tone and other characteristics of Chinese, viii. 249

**Mowat (J.)**, a lacuna in Arrian, vii. 60

on three corrupt passages in Catullus, xiv. 252

**Mulvany (C. M.)**, colours in Greek, xxvii. 51

ἱερός, ἱερός, ἱερός, xxv. 131

**Munro (H. A. J.)**, on Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1227 sqq. (Dindorf), xi. 130

Catullus' Second Poem, iv. 241

Catullus' Fourth Poem, iv. 231

Catullus' 29th Poem, ii. 1

Catullus' 54th Poem, v. 301

Catullus 63 (18), xi. 141

Catullus 64 (276), xi. 124

Catullus' 68th Poem, viii. 333

Catullus 107 (7), ix. 185

Euripidea, xi. 267

on the fragments of Euripides, x. 233

Horace, *Carm.* I. 12 (41 sqq.), xi. 286

Horace, *Carm.* I. 13 (1 sqq.), xi. 336

Horace, *Carm.* I. (20), iii. 349

Horatiana, ix. 211

Luciliana, vii. 293

another word on Lucilius, viii. 201

Lucretiana, iv. 243

Lucretius, Book III, iii. 115

note on a letter on Lucretius, i. (No. 1), 113

on some passages in Lucretius, iv. 120

obituary notice of William George Clark, viii. 173

obituary notice of John Conington, ii. 334

the last Elegy of the third or second book of Propertius, vi. 28

Propertius III. (II), 34 (61 sqq.), ii. 142

Seneca's Tragedies, vi. 70

Virgil and Seneca, etc., ii. 144

**Munro (H. A. J.)** and **Ellis (R.)**, last words on Lucilius, ix. 287

**Neil (R. A.)**, notes on 'Liddell and Scott,' vii. 200

**Nettleship (H.)**, *adfectus* and *adfectus*, viii. 273

*Adversaria*, xvi. 189

*Adversaria*, xviii. 140

*Adversaria*, xix. 109

notes on the *Aeneid*, viii. 50

the *de Arte Poetica* of Horace, xii. 43

on the word *βουγάδιος*, v. 189

Cicero, *pro Murena* (42), vii. 175

on the *pro Cluentio* of Cicero, viii. 233

Cicero's opinion of Lucretius, xiii. 85

coniectanea, xv. 21

coniectanea, xvii. 117

*dierectus*, xv. 186

*dissignare*, x. 206

*duumviri* and *triumviri*; *saeculum*; *superstes*, *superstitio*, *superstitiosus*, vi. 97

**Nettleship (H.)** (*continued*)

the earliest Italian literature, xi. 175

the Epinal glossary, xvii. 120

notes on the Epinal glossary, xiv. 34

on the etymology of *consul*, *exsul*, *insula*, and *praesul*, iv. 272

part of the *Excerpta Charisii* and the fragment *de Idiomatibus Gennerum* etc., xv. 27

*Georgic* I. (263), xviii. 328

notes on glosses quoted in Hagen's *Gradus ad Criticem*, xi. 116, xiii. 168

note on the Graeci annales of Fabius Pictor, ix. 51

*grandis*; *laetus*; *aura*; remarks on passages in Varro, Cicero and Vergil, vii. 169

the historical development of classical Latin prose, xv. 35

Horace, *A.P.* (90), xix. 296

*ius gentium*, xiii. 169

*laedere numen*, xvii. 157

notes in Latin lexicography, xii. 191

notes in Latin lexicography, xiii. 67

notes in Latin lexicography, xiii. 164

notes in Latin lexicography, xiv. 29

notes in Latin lexicography, xv. 24

notes in Latin lexicography, xvi. 67

notes in Latin lexicography, xix. 102

notes in Latin lexicography, xx. 175

notes in Latin lexicography, xxi. 235

on the lengthening of short final syllables in Vergil, iii. 95

lexicographical notes, xi. 99

life and poems of Juvenal, xvi. 41

literary criticism in Latin antiquity, xviii. 225

Lucan III. (559 sq.), xvii. 155

the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, ii. 229

notes on Nonius (Book I), xxi. 233

notes on Nonius, xxiv. 212

the printed editions of Nonius Marcellus, xxi. 211

the title of the Second Book of Nonius, xvi. 70

Ovid, *Fasti* II. (676), v. 27

on the *Pervigilium Veneris*, and

Tiberianus I. (7), xviii. 142

Scaliger's unpublished emendations in Nonius (*continued*), xxii. 74

Servius on *Aen.* IX. (289), xxvi. 160



**Nettleship (H.)** (*continued*)

the story of Aeneas' wanderings,  
ix. 29

the study of Latin grammar among  
Romans in the first century A.D.,  
xv. 189

Thilo's *Servius*, x. 153

*tonitralis* in Lucretius II. (1105),  
xxi. 181

on some passages in Varro's *Res  
rustica*, vii. 172

the Vatican glossary (No. 3321),  
xx. 183

notes on the Vatican glossary  
(3321), xix. 113, 184, 290

notes on the Vatican glossary  
(3321), xx. 53, 185

notes on Vergil, xv. 29

Vergil, *Aen.* ix. (731), vii. 175

Virgiliana, v. 23

on *vis* (2nd pers. of *volo*), *invitus*  
and *invitare*, v. 20

**Neubauer (M.)**, on the Phoenician  
passage in Plautus, *Poenulus*,  
Act v (sc. 1), ii. 324

**Newman (F. W.)**, Aeschyli Choe-  
phori, xv. 98

**Nicholson (E. W. B.)**, the Bod-  
leian ms. of Eusebius' Chronicle,  
xx. 134

**Nicklin (T.)**, Alexandrian evidence  
for the chronology of the Gos-  
pels, xxvii. 232

the Attic civil and sacred years,  
xxiv. 54

the date and origin of Pseudo-  
Anatolius, *de Ratione Paschali*,  
xxviii. 137

**Nixon (J. E.)**, on the meaning of  
Cicero, *Orator*, c. 48, compared  
with Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii.  
10 (27), vi. 253

on the Latin negatives *ne* and *non*,  
vii. 54

**Norris (J. P.)**, on the chronology  
of S. John v and vi, iii. 107

**Onions (J. H.)**, *Adversaria Noniana*  
(Books I-III), xviii. 89

critical notes, chiefly on the *Men-  
aechmi* of Plautus, xiv. 53

Noniana quaedam, xvi. 161

Placidiana (ed. Deuerling), xv.  
167

notes on Placidus (ed. Deuerling),  
xi. 75

notes on Placidus, Nonius, etc.,  
xii. 77

notes on Plautus, *Mercator*, Prol.  
54 and III. 1, 26 (524), xv. 165

note on Propertius, I. 21 (1 sqq.),  
xv. 152

Tacitus, *Histories*, xvii. 289

**Owen (S. G.)**, Juvenal and two of  
his editors; a rejoinder, xxxv.  
142

the Philipps mss. of Juvenal,  
xxxiii. 238

**Paley (F. A.)**, on ἀναιρεῖν and  
ἐναιρεῖν, "to slay"; on the  
word ἀδάμας, Adamant; and on  
passages in Pindar and Tacitus,  
ii. 147

on certain engineering difficulties  
in Thucydides' account of the  
escape from Plataea, x. 8

*Choephoroe* (472 sq.), viii. 83

on Chthonian worship, i. (No.  
1), 1

on Davies' *Agamemnon* of *Aeschy-  
lus*, i. (No. 2), 34

emendations on two passages of  
Aeschylus, i. (No. 1), 78

on the existence of written his-  
tories in the time of Thucydides,  
v. 223

on the first seven verses of the  
*Antigone*, x. 16

Dr Hayman's *Odyssey of Homer*, v.  
101

on the Homeric words ἀταρτηρός,  
ἐπιτάρροθος, προθέλυμος, v. 269

on an uncollated ms. of Demo-  
sthenes, v. 28

on peculiarities in the use of future  
participles of Greek verbs, viii.  
79

notes on Propertius, xvi. 183

on pseudo-archaic words and in-  
flexions in the Homeric vocabu-  
lary, and their relation to the  
antiquity of the Homeric poems,  
vi. 114

verse epitaphs on Roman monu-  
ments, iv. 281

**Palmer (A.)**, two emendations in  
Cicero, xi. 242

Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. (104), vii. 95

emendation of a passage in Pro-  
pertius, vi. 80

miscellanea critica, xv. 132

miscellanea critica, xvii. 36

**Palmer (E. H.)**, the Eastern origin  
of the Christian pseudepigraphic  
writings, iii. 223

explanation of a difficult passage  
in Firdausi, ii. 247

verse translations from the Persian  
of Anwari, iv. 5

**Palmer (E. H.)** and **Cowell (E. B.)**,  
two Kasidahs of the Persian poet  
Anwari, iv. 1

**Palmer (E. H.)** and **Sandys (J. E.)**,  
an Athenian bilingual inscrip-  
tion, iv. 48

- Paton (W. R.)**, the New College ms. in the *Cum principibus philosophandum esse*, xxi. 16  
notes on Plutarch's 'Ethica,' xxi. 1  
notes on Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, xx. 162
- Pearson (A. C.)**, *Stoica Frustula*, xxx. 211
- Pelham (H. F.)**, the chronology of the Jugurthine War, vii. 91  
on some disputed points connected with the 'imperium' of Augustus and his successors, xvii. 27  
*princeps* or *princeps senatus*? viii. 323  
the Roman Curiae, ix. 266
- Perkins (G.)**, rhythm *versus* metre, ii. 253
- Peskett (A. G.)**, note on Caesar's invasions of Britain, xx. 191
- Peterson (W.)**, the mss. of the Verrines, xxx. 161
- Phillips (Geo.)**, Syriac accents, ix. 221
- Platt (Arthur)**, *Aeschylea*, xxxii. 270  
*Aeschylea*, xxxv. 86  
*Aeschylea*, xxxv. 332  
notes on *Agamemnon*, xxxii. 43  
*Alexandra* and *Lithica*, notes on, xx. 113  
on Apollonius Rhodius, xxxiii. 1  
Apollonius again, xxxiv. 129  
Apollonius (III), xxxv. 72  
*Aristophanica*, xxxiv. 239  
on Aristotle, *de Animalium Incessu*, xxxii. 37  
notes on Aristotle, xxxii. 274  
notes on Aristotle's *Politics* (Bk I), xxv. 26  
the augment in Homer, xix. 211  
Bentley's notes on the *Odyssey*, xxii. 26  
Bentley's notes on the *Odyssey* (*continued*), xxii. 198  
*Bucolica*, xxxiv. 142  
Catullus xi, Horace, *Odes* II. (vi), xxi. 46  
duals in Homer, xxiii. 205  
notes on Empedocles, xxiv. 246  
Homer's similes, xxiv. 28  
some Homeric aorist participles, xxxv. 128  
a Homericidiom defended, xxvi. 81  
note on Homeric scansion, xviii. 120  
*Homerica*, xix. 19  
*Homerica*, xxiii. 211  
*Homerica*, xxxii. 19  
notes on the text of the *Iliad*, xviii. 126  
on the iambic trimeter, xviii. 161  
the iambic, a reply, xix. 146
- Platt (Arthur)** (*continued*)  
*Iphigenia* and *ἐκατόμβη*, xxii. 43  
*Μέλλω*, xxi. 39  
notes on the *Odyssey*, xx. 7  
notes on the text of the *Odyssey*, xviii. 154  
*Orphica* (I), xxvi. 69  
*Orphica* (II-IV), xxvi. 224  
*Orphica*, xxxiii. 265  
Plato and geology, xviii. 134  
notes on Plato's *Phaedrus*, xxxv. 162  
emendations of Quintus Smyrnaeus, xxvii. 103  
notes on Quintus Smyrnaeus, xxxi. 287  
the slaying of the suitors, xxiv. 39  
notes on Solon, xxiv. 248  
on a fragment of Solon, xxvi. 64  
spondees in the fourth book in Homer, xviii. 150  
Thucydidea, xxxiii. 270  
on a Virgilian idiom, xxiv. 46  
*ῶραν* in Aeschylus, etc., xxxi. 234
- Postgate (J. P.)**, on the word *βουγάριος* and the prefix *βου-*, viii. 116  
*Catulliana*, xvii. 226  
addendum to *Catulliana*, xviii. 145  
emendations of Catullus LXIII. 54 and LXV. (402), xxi. 240  
emendations of Catullus and Martial, xx. 312  
Cicero, *pro Cluentio* (§§ 115, 116), xxvi. 89  
a supplement to the apparatus criticus of Claudian, xxiii. 202  
the use and meaning of *liceo* and *liceor*, xi. 332  
some notes on the text of Lucan, xxvi. 194  
*Lucretiana*, xvi. 124  
*Lucretiana*, xxiv. 131  
Lucretius v. 703 and the verb *desurgere*, xix. 288  
on *ne* prohibitive with the 2nd person of the present subjunctive in classical Latin, xviii. 326  
observations on the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, x. 87  
*operatus* and *operari*, xxvi. 314  
on Book xv of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, xxii. 144  
a philological examination of the myth of the Sirens, ix. 109  
*Platonica*, xv. 111  
a Propertian use of *unus*, xxi. 66  
*Propertiana*, ix. 62  
Propertius I (XXI), xiv. 289  
a last word on Propertius I. 21 (I sqq.), xv. 158  
*Silvae Manilianae* Appendix, xxv. 266  
*Tibulliana*, xxv. 50  
*Tibulliana*, xxvi. 182



- Postgate (J. P.)** (*continued*)  
 Tibulliana, xxviii. 152  
 on the genuineness of Tibullus iv.  
 (13), ix. 280  
 annotations of Valerius Flaccus,  
 xxii. 307  
 critical notes on Valerius Flaccus,  
 xxvii. 100  
 emendations of Valerius Flaccus,  
 xxvii. 253
- Powell (J. U.)**, a fragment of Corinna, xxxiii. 296  
 fragments of Greek poetry from papyri in the library of the University of Chicago, xxxiv. 106
- Poynton (A. B.)**, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *de Compositione Verborum*, Oxford mss. of, xxvii. 70  
 Oxford mss. of the 'Opuscula' of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, xxviii. 161
- Ramsay (W. M.)**, inscriptions of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, xi. 142
- Rawlinson (G.)**, remarks on Mr Jebb's article on a passage of Andocides, i. (No. 2) 24
- Reid (J. S.)**, the Merton Codex of Cicero, xvii. 294
- Rendall (Gerald H.)**, on the text of M. Aur. Antoninus τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, xxiii. 116
- Richards (Herbert)**, notes on the *Aeneid*, v. 134  
*Aristotelica*, xxiv. 247  
 notes on Aristotle's *Ethics*, iv. 150  
 emendations, xiii. 98  
 note on Herodotus, v. (28), iv. 307  
 passages in the *Poetae Lyrici*, xxv. 83  
 notes on the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, xxxiii. 172  
 on the history of the words τετραλογία and τριλογία, xi. 64  
 some doubts as to the performance of trilogies or tetralogies at Athens, vii. 279
- Richmond (Olfiffe Legh)**, towards a recension of Propertius, xxxi. 162
- Ridgeway (William)**, Aristotle, *Politics* III. 2. 2 (Congreve); (1275 b, 26), xv. 164  
 Caesar's invasions of Britain, xix. 138, 200  
 δειπνον and δόρπον, xvii. 159  
 ἔρρειν in Homer and in an Olympian inscription, xii. 32  
 the Homeric trial-scene (*Il.* XVIII. 507 sq.), x. 30  
 Homerica, xvii. 109  
 note on Tacitus, *Hist.* v. (5), xii. 31  
 ὡς as a preposition, xvii. 113
- Roberts (E. S.)**, Plato, *Theaetetus* (207 E), vi. 180
- Robinson (J. Armitage)**, on the text of Origen, *Against Celsus*, xviii. 288  
 on the text of the *Philocalia* of Origen, xviii. 36
- Roby (Henry J.)**, Cicero, *de Oratore* I. (41, 42, 56, 173, 175, 179), xv. 57  
 Horace, *Sat.* I. 9 (39, 75), xiii. 233
- Ross (W. D.)**, emendations on the Eudemian *Ethics*, xxxiv. 155
- Sanday (W.)**, the mss. of Irenaeus, xvii. 81
- Sandys (J. E.)**, suggestions for addenda and corrigenda to Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, vii. 46
- Sandys (J. E.) and Palmer (E. H.)**, an Athenian bilingual inscription, iv. 50
- Sayce (A. H.)**, on an Accadian seal, iii. 1  
 the age of Homer, xii. 36  
 traces of different dialects in the language of Homer, x. 110  
 the season and extent of the travels of Herodotus in Egypt, xiv. 257
- Schiller-Szinessy (S. M.)**, the *Pugio Fidei*, xvi. 131
- Schulhof (J. M.)**, notes on the ontology of the Philebus, xxviii. 1
- Scott (W.)**, a newly identified fragment of Epicurus *Περὶ Φύσεως*, xiii. 289  
 the physical constitution of the Epicurean gods, xii. 212
- Seaton (R. C.)**, on the imitation of Homer by Apollonius Rhodius, xix. 1
- Selwyn (William)**, emendations of certain passages of Eusebii *Eclogae Propheticae*, iv. 275  
 proposed emendations of the text of Origen, *Against Celsus*, v. 248
- Shilleto (R.)**, emendations in Euripides and Euphron, vii. 152  
 on Greek deponent verbs with aorist in -θην, vii. 148  
 investigation of some Greek verbs which form or seem to form a parathetic compound with the negative prefix δ (άν), etc., vii. 157  
 conjectures on Thucydides, i. (No. 1) 167
- Shipley (A. E.)**, the 'Bugonia' myth, xxxiv. 97
- Sidgwick (H.)**, a passage in Plato, *Republic* (Book VI), ii. 96  
 on a passage in Plato's *Republic*, v. 274  
 the Sophists, iv. 288

- Simcox (W. H.)**, a collation of mss. of the Revelation of S. John, xxii. 285
- Simpson (F. P.)**, note on Propertius, ix. 251  
Vergili Trojamentum (*Aen.* v. 560 sqq.), ix. 101
- Skeat (Walter W.)**, on the prefix A- in English, v. 32  
notes upon (I) the root *ak*; (II) the root *magh*; (III) the word *are*, vi. 232  
on the words "neap" and "ebb," v. 81  
on the signification of the monster Grendel in the poem of Beowulf, xv. 120
- Slater (D. A.)**, conjectural emendations in the *Silvae* of Statius, xxx. 133
- Smith (G. C. Moore)**, fragment of a Latin-German glossary in the library of University College, Sheffield, xxvi. 238
- Smith (Richard Horton)**, on Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* (1337 sqq.), ix. 71
- Smith (W. Robertson)**, animal worship and animal tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament, ix. 75  
the chronology of the Books of Kings, x. 209  
on the forms of divination and magic enumerated in *Deut.* xviii. 10 sq., xiii. 273  
on the forms of divination and magic enumerated in *Deut.* xviii. 10 sq., xiv. 113  
note on *Exodus* ix. (31 sq.), xii. 299  
on the Hebrew root *קצץ* and the word *קצץ*, xvi. 71  
Old Testament notes, xiii. 61
- Stanley (J.)**, Horace, *Odes* iv. 8 (15 sqq.), xxiv. 165
- Stevenson (G. H.)**, ancient historians and their sources, xxxv. 204
- Stock (St George)**, Hermas and Cebes—a Reply, xxviii. 87
- Stocks (J. L.)**, λόγος and μεσότης in the *de Anima* of Aristotle, xxxiii. 182
- Swainson (J. H.)**, Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, v. 152  
on the position of the guests at a Roman dinner-table, vi. 219
- Tarrant (Dorothy)**, on the *Hippias Major*, xxxv. 319
- Tawney (C. H.)**, the Buddhist original of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, xii. 203
- Tawney (C. H.)** (*continued*)  
Indian folklore notes from the Pali Jātakas and the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, xii. 112
- Taylor (C.)**, the Alphabet of Ben Sira, xxx. 95  
a conjectural emendation of *Colossians* II. (18), vii. 130  
the Didache compared with the Shepherd of Hermas, xviii. 297  
traces of a saying of the *Didache*, xix. 148, 161  
on some verses of Ecclesiastes, ii. 296  
Enoch and Clement, xxix. 185  
the Four Gospels and the four elements, xxi. 69  
notes on the translation of *Genesis*, iii. 291  
on the meaning of the Hebrew Root DBR, i. (No. 2) 56  
note on the Hebrew root *קצץ*, ii. 130  
Hermas and Cebes, xxvii. 276  
Hermas and Cebes, xxviii. 24  
note on *Hermas and Cebes*—a Reply, xxviii. 94  
the Homily of Pseudo-Clement, xxviii. 195  
note on *Isaiah* VIII—X, vi. 149  
an interpretation of *Isaiah* LIII. (15), viii. 62  
a theory of *Job* XIX. (25–27), iii. 128  
on some passages of the *Pentateuch*, *Judges*, and *2nd Kings*, v. 54  
S. Polycarp, *To the Philippians*, xx. 65  
the *Two Ways* in Hermas and Xenophon, xxi. 243  
Veritatis Pater, xxxi. 50
- Taylor (C.) and Cotterill (J. M.)**, Plutarch, Cebes and Hermas, xxxi. 14
- Thiselton-Dyer (W. T.)**, on some ancient plant-names, xxxiii. 195  
on some ancient plant-names, xxxiv. 78  
on some ancient plant-names, xxxiv. 290
- Thomas (F. W.)**, ἥδη and δὴ in Homer, xxiii. 81
- Thompson (W. H.)**, Babriana, xii. 268  
Euripides, xi. 243  
on the word κρουνοχυτροληραῖος in the *Equites* of Aristophanes (*v.* 89), v. 183  
on the *Nubes* of Aristophanes, xii. 169  
obituary notice of H. A. J. Munro, xiv. 107  
introductory remarks on the *Philebus*, xi. 1



- Thompson (W. H.)** (*continued*)  
Platonica, v. 217  
on the genuineness of Plato's *Sophist*, and on some of its philosophical bearings, viii. 290
- Thomson (H. J.)**, 'a new supplement to the Berne scholia on Virgil, xxxv. 257
- Tovey (D. C.)**, on the place of a fragment of Aeschylus, v. 221
- Tozer (H. F.)**, Modern Greek ballads from Corsica, vi. 196
- Underhill (G. E.)**, the chronology of the Corinthian War, xxii. 129  
the chronology of Xenophon's *Hellemica*, 387-362 B.C., xxii. 222
- Unger (Robert)**, Aetna, xvii. 152  
conjectures on the *Aetna*, *Culex* and *Ciris*, xvi. 313
- Vansittart (A. A.)**, fragments of an Old Latin Apocalypse, iv. 219  
Old Latin palimpsest fragments at Paris, ii. 240  
on two triple readings in the New Testament, iii. 357  
some various readings of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, ii. 35
- Verrall (A. W.)**, Aesch., *Agam.* (115 sqq.), x. 151  
on a chorus of the *Choephoroe*, with remarks upon the verb *παράγω* and its cognates, ix. 114  
Horace, *Odes*, iv. 8, *donarem pateras*, xvii. 145  
Horace, *Odes*, iv. (8), xxv. 151  
Korax and Tisias, ix. 197  
on a metrical canon in Greek Tragedy, xii. 136  
the simile of the treacherous hound in the *Agamemnon*, x. 299  
*stare* in Hor. *Sat.* I. 9 (39), xiii. 56
- Watson (A.)**, on the date and integrity of a letter ascribed to D. Brutus (*ad Fam.* XI. 13 a), viii. 269
- Watson (E. W.)**, lexicographical notes, xxviii. 84
- Weymouth (R. F.)**, on *ἐν μέσῳ* (*Rev.* v. 6) and *ἀνὰ μέσον* (*I Cor.* vi. 5), ii. 318
- Wilkins (A. S.)**, *arcesso* and *accerso*, vi. 278
- Wilson (J. Cook)**, Aristotle, *Metaphysics* (1048a, 30sqq.), xxxii. 300  
conjectural emendations in the text of Aristotle and Theophrastus, xi. 119  
difficulties in the text of Aristotle, xxxii. 137
- Wilson (J. Cook)** (*continued*)  
Catullus LXIII. (31), xxxii. 167  
on the geometrical problem in Plato's *Meno*, 86 E sqq.: with a note on the treatise *de Lineis inseparabilibus* (970 A, 5), xxviii. 222  
Plato, *Timaeus* (37 c), xxxii. 123  
Plato, *Timaeus* (37 c), xxxii. 166  
notes on some passages in the *Politics*, x. 80
- Winstedt (E. O.)**, notes on the mss. of Prudentius, xxix. 166
- Wood (J. S.)**, the missing fragment of the Fourth Book of Esdras, vii. 264
- Wordsworth (Christopher)**, note on Fronto, i. (No. 2), 160
- Wordsworth (Chr., junior)**, on the etymology of ΝΗΑΤΜΟΣ, v. 95
- Wratislaw (A. H.)**, Acts XXI (37, 38), iii. 254  
miscellaneous notes, vi. 91  
notes on the *Ajax* of Sophocles, vi. 176  
notes on Sophocles, v. 87  
notes on the *Supplices* of Aeschylus, iii. 164  
notes on *I Thess.* III. 3; Pind. *Isthm.* v. (VI) 66; *I Pet.* III. (21), ii. 154  
notes on *Trachiniae*, Thucydides, Propertius and Juvenal, i. (2), 151  
the origin of the word 'Gypsy,' vi. 83  
the pronunciation of ancient Greek illustrated by modern Bohemian, ii. 42
- Wright (William Aldis)**, Bentleyana, xiii. 122, 145  
conjectural emendation of the Samaritan Targum on *Gen.* XIV. (5), vi. 170  
note on the 'Arzareth' of *Esdr.* (XIII. 45), iii. 113  
note on *Exodus* xx. (4, 5), iv. 156  
note on two passages of *Exodus*, iv. 70  
French glosses in the Leipsic ms. No. 102 (13th cent.) from the commentary on *Job*, xxxi. 299  
on the inscription in *Daniel* v. (25), vii. 138  
note on *Joshua* XXII. (10 sq.), xiii. 117  
on a Persian word, xv. 101
- Yonge (J. E.)**, Aulus Persius Flaccus, v. 142  
Cicero, *Epp. ad Fam.* (4. 5. 3), v. 52  
Horace, *Carm.* II. 13 (14), iii. 353
- Young (George)**, Soph. *O.T.* 846; *οἰδῶνον* not a 'separable' epithet, xx. 111

## II

### AUTHORS AND SUBJECTS

- 'Abolita' glossary, the (Vat. Lat. 3321), xxxiv. 267
- Accadian seal, on an, iii. 1
- Achilles Tatius, conjectures on, xxiii. 265; note on, xxxi. 12
- Acts* xxi. (37 sq.), iii. 254
- ἀδάμας, 'adamant,' ii. 150
- adfectus and adfectus, viii. 273
- Adversaria (R. Ellis), xiv. 78; xv. 1; xvii. 128; xix. 173; xxviii. 16; xxxi. 44; xxxi. 153
- Adversaria (H. Nettleship), xvi. 189; xviii. 140; xix. 109
- Aegritudo Perdicae*, on the, viii. 226
- Aeneas' wanderings, the story of, ix. 29
- Aeschylea, xiii. 213; xvi. 205; xxxii. 270; xxxv. 86; xxxv. 332
- Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, xvi. 244; xxxii. 43; (115 sqq.), x. 151; (904 sqq.), vii. 14; (961), xiii. 100; 1227 sqq. (Dindorf), xi. 130; the simile of the treacherous hound in the, x. 299; on the text and interpretation of certain passages in, x. 214; notice of Davies' translation of, i. (No. 2), 34; notes on Paley's edition of, ii. 235
- Choephoroi*, xv. 98; (472 sq., 481 sq. Dind.), viii. 83; (543), xiv. 79; on a chorus of the, with remarks upon the verb *τοπάζω* and its cognates, ix. 114
- conjectures on, xx. 294; xxi. 95; xxiii. 298
- emendations in, xxx. 290
- emendations on two passages of, i. (No. 1), 78
- Eumenides* (581), vi. 92; (815 sqq.), xiv. 78
- Fragments* (Weil), notes on, x. 27
- on some fragments of, and on the *Supplices*, xxi. 25
- on the fragments of, i. (No. 1), 71
- on the place of a fragment of, (437 Dindorf, 124 Nauck), v. 221
- on the mss. of, xxii. 49
- on two passages in, and a note of Lobeck, iv. 199
- the scholia to, notes on, xix. 286; xx. 311; xxiii. 321
- Sept. c. Theb.* (429, 549), xiv. 78; (576, 705), x. 28
- Supplices*, notes on, iii. 164; x. 22; (818 sq.), xiv. 78; (909), xix. 176; (949 sq.), xxviii. 16
- See also caesura and Porson
- Aetna*, xvii. 152; 171, 2 (Munro), xxvi. 111; (394), xiv. 87
- the Escorial excerpts from, xxii. 314
- further suggestions on the, xxiii. 5
- of Lucilius, on the, xvi. 292
- the Rehdiger ms. of, xx. 207
- Aetna, Culex and Ciris*, conjectures on the, xvi. 313
- See also Munro
- agnatic guardianship of minors and women, the, ix. 24
- aios and -eios in Latin poetry, xxxiii. 54
- Alba Longa, xxvii. 37
- Alcaeus (86 Bergk), x. 27
- Alexander in Afghanistan, xii. 271
- Alexander Aetolus (Ath. 699 c.), xxx. 307
- 'Alphabet of Ben Sira,' the, xxx. 95
- Ammianus Marcellinus, notes on, xiv. 89; xv. 1, 6
- Anacreon (fr. 2), xx. 308
- ἀναυπεῖν and ἐναυπεῖν, 'to slay,' ii. 147
- ancient historians and their sources, xxxv. 204
- ancient theories of causation, further observations on, viii. 154
- Andocides, on a passage of, i. (No. 1), 155; ii. 48
- remarks on R. C. Jebb on (*J. P.* No. 1, 155), i. (No. 2), 24
- animal worship and animal tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament, ix. 75
- Anthologia Graeca*, conjectures on, xxiii. 290; xxv. 100
- epigrams of the Greek Anthology, on some, xi. 23; xviii. 211
- See also Greek Anthology
- Anthologia Latina*, on the, ix. 186
- Anth. Pal.*, conjectures on, xx. 309
- ix (482), vii. 240
- Antimachus, notes on, xxviii. 16
- Anwarī, Persian poet, two Kasīdahs of the, iv. 1
- Apollonius Rhodius, conjectures on, xxvi. 110
- imitation of Homer, xix. 1
- on, xxxiii. 1
- Apollonius again, xxxiv. 129
- Apollonius (III), xxxv. 72
- ἀπρακτος—ἀπρατος, xv. 171
- Arabicus Mons*, on the so-called, vi. 181
- Aratea* of Germanicus, on the (*Phaen.* 51, 270; *Prognost.* 77), vi. 272; vii. 256
- arcesso and accerso, vi. 278



- archaeological interpretations, x. 1  
'arcus,' xxxv. 113  
Aristides, notes on, xxxi. 11  
Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (1-578),  
viii. 177; ix. 1; ix. 165; (988),  
iii. 162; (1093, 1095), xxx. 223  
*Equites*, on, ii. 311  
history of the Ravenna ms. of, iii.  
•153  
*Nubes* of, on the, xii. 169  
the scholia to, conjectures on,  
xxiii. 323  
*Vespae* (283), xxxi. 12  
see also Thucydides  
Aristophanica, xxxiv. 239  
Aristotelia, v. 115; xxxiv. 247; (II),  
xiv. 40; (III), xvii. 53; (IV), xxviii.  
241; (V), xxxii. 107  
Aristotle, a lost dialogue of, ii. 48  
difficulties in the text of, xxxii. 137  
notes on, xxxii. 274  
*de Animalium Incessu*, on, xxxii.  
37  
*E. E.* VIII. 1225 A 14; *H. A.* Δ VIII.  
533 B (15), xxxii. 303  
*Eth. Nic.* II. (7), on, vi. 185  
*Metaphysics* (1048 a 30 sqq.),  
xxxii. 300; I. I (§ 6), vi. 206;  
A 6, notes on, xxxiv. 151; A, on  
some passages in, xxix. 139  
*Nicomachean Ethics* III. i. § 17,  
IIII a 8, and *Republic* VIII.  
(563 c), xxvii. 159  
on dislocations in the text of the  
Fifth Book of the, vi. 100  
on a ms. of the (*Cambridge Uni-*  
*versity Library*, II. v. 44), vi. 208  
on some passages of the, iv.  
308  
on the probable order of compo-  
sition of certain parts of the, xiii.  
41  
*Physics*, Z IX (239 b 33-240 a 18),  
xxxi. 95  
*Poetics*, notes on, xii. 103  
*Politics*, Book I, notes on, xxv. 26;  
I (3) and *Anthol.* IX (482), vii. 236;  
III. 2, 2 (Congreve), (1275 b 26),  
xv. 164; IV (VII), 13, §§ 5-7,  
(1332 A 7 sqq.), x. 311; notes on  
some passages in the, x. 80  
*Problem.* (19. 12), i. (No. 2), 81  
*Rhetoric*, notes on the, xxxiii. 172;  
(1416 a 21), xiii. 99  
See also catharsis, Cleophons, Eu-  
demian Ethics, λόγος and μεσότης  
Aristotle and Theophrastus, con-  
jectural emendations in the text  
of, xi. 119  
Aristotle's conception of chemical  
combination, xxix. 72  
dialogue "on Philosophy," vii.  
64, 315  
Aristotle's doctrine on causation and  
τὸ αὐτόματον, some misconceptions  
of, vii. 97  
*Ethics*, notes on, iv. 150; on a  
passage in, iv. 218  
lecture-room and lectures, xxxv.  
191  
Armenian topography, controversies  
in, xxviii. 99; (II), xxviii. 271  
army of Alexander, the, xvii. 1  
army-surgeons in ancient Greek  
warfare, viii. 14  
Arrian, a lacuna in, vii. 60  
Artemidorus, note on, xxxi. 11  
'Arzareth' of 4 *Esdr.* xiii. 45, note  
on the, iii. 113  
Atakta, x. 67; xxi. 197  
Athenaeus, conjectures on, xxvi.  
97  
Athenian bilingual inscription, an,  
iv. 48  
Athenian Proedri, on the, iii. 169  
Attic civil and sacred years, the,  
xxiv. 54  
Aurelius Victor, on, xv. 161  
Avienus, note on, xv. 4  
Babriana, xii. 268  
Babrius, XLV (7), xx. 294  
Bentleiana: notes on Homer, I-VI  
(from Bentley's MSS. in the  
*Library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge*),  
xiii. 122, 145  
Bentley's notes on the *Odyssey*, xxii.  
26; xxii. 198  
*Beowulf*, on the signification of the  
monster Grendel in the poem of,  
xv. 120  
*Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris,  
notes of a fortnight's research in  
the, xv. 241  
Biology and Social Science, x. 178  
βουγῶν, on the word, v. 18  
the word, and the prefix βου-,  
viii. 116  
British Museum papyrus CXXVIII,  
the, xxi. 17; CXXVIII (II. XXIII,  
XXIV), xxi. 296  
bronze ram at Palermo, on a, iv.  
67 (see *Plate*, end of vol.)  
Brutus (D.), on the date and in-  
tegrity of a letter ascribed to  
(*ad Fam.* xi. 13 a), viii. 269  
Bücheler's *Carmina Epigraphica*,  
notes on, xxv. 261  
Bucolica, xxxiv. 142  
'Bugonia' myth, the, xxxiv. 97  
Bywater, Ingram, obituary notices  
of, xxxiv. 1  
Caesar, B.C. III (69), xxxi. 44  
Caesar's expeditions to Britain,  
xvii. 163; xix. 193

- Caesar's invasions of Britain, xix. 138, 200; xx. 63; xx. 191  
 legal position in Gaul, the evidence as to, xxxiv. 161  
*See also* Julius Caesar and land legislation  
 caesura in the iambic trimeters of Aeschylus, xv. 76  
 Caius or Hippolytus? i. (No. 1) 98  
 Callimachus, conjectures on, xxvi. 109  
*Hecale* fragments, on the new, and other Callimachea, xxiv. 148  
 Calpurnius Siculus, on the date of, xvi. 216  
 Carthaginian councils, the, xxiv. 119  
 cases, the, ii. 206  
 catharsis-clause, the, in German criticism before Lessing, xxxv. 95  
 Cato, *Origines*, note on, xvi. 189  
 Catulliana, xvii. 226; xxv. 146  
 addendum to, xviii. 145  
 Catullus' Fourth Poem, iv. 231; Second Poem, iv. 241  
 xi, Horace, *Odes* II (vi.), xxi. 46  
 29th Poem, ii. 1; 54th poem, v. 301; 68th poem, viii. 333  
 LXI (102 sq., 149 sqq., 155 sq.), xiv. 85; LXI. 227, Propertius v. 2. 39 and 4 (47), xiii. 303; LXIII (9), xv. 7; LXIII (18), xi. 141; LXIII (31), xxxii. 167; LXIII. 54 and LXV. 402, emendations of, xxi. 240; LXIV (276), xi. 124; CVII (7), ix. 185  
 note on, xix. 179; notes on, xxxi. 57  
 on three corrupt passages in, xiv. 252  
 Chapman of Swaffham Church, the legend of the, vi. 189  
 Charito, conjectures on, xxiii. 266  
 note on, xxxi. 13  
 Chaucer, *Pardoner's Tale*, Buddhist original of, xii. 203  
 Chinese signs of case and number, the, ii. 120  
 Chinese, tone and other characteristics of, viii. 249  
 Choricus, conjectures on, xxiii. 295  
 Christian Pseudepigraphic Writings, the Eastern origin of the, iii. 223  
 Chthonian Worship, on, i. (No. 1) 1  
 Cicero, *Acad. Prior.* xxv (79 sq.), xvi. 320  
*Pro Cluentio*, viii. 233; (§§ 115, 116), xxvi. 89  
 two emendations in, xi. 242  
*Epp. ad Fam.* (4. 5. 3), v. 52  
*de Legg.* II (13, 22), xv. 5  
 the Merton Codex of, xvii. 294  
*de Natura Deorum*, ii. 152; the Merton Codex of, xii. 248; II, notes on the text of, xii. 1  
 Cicero, notes on, xviii. 140  
*Orator*, c. 48, on the meaning of, compared with Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* XII. 10 (27), vi. 253; (c. 48, § 160), vii. 176; notes on, xix. 179; I. (§§ 41, 42, 56, 173, 175, 179), xv. 57  
*pro Plancio* (95), xv. 21  
*de Rep.* I. 36 (56), xiv. 87  
 Verrines, excerpts from the, in the Harleian ms. (2682), xviii. 69  
 the mss. of the, xxx. 161  
 Cicero's commission and movements at the beginning of the Civil War, xxxiii. 154  
 Letters, three passages of, xxxiii. 139  
 opinion of Lucretius, xiii. 85  
 Ciceroniana, xxxii. 261  
*See also* Brutus  
*Ciris*, on some non-metrical arguments bearing on the date of the, xxx. 280  
 conjectures on, xvi. 313  
 Clark, William George, obituary notice of, viii. 173  
 Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp.* 2 (317), xiv. 132  
 scholia on, xvii. 271  
 a supplement to the apparatus criticus of, xxiii. 202  
 Claudius, the speech of, on the adlection of Gallic Senators, xxxii. 79  
 clausulae and Platonic chronology, xxxv. 225  
 Cledonius, note on, xv. 22  
 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromateis* IV. v. (23), xxxi. 267  
 Clement of Alexandria, critical notes on, iv. 203  
 notes on, xxiv. 263; (II), xxvii. 136; (III), xxviii. 131  
*Strom.* IV. 62, p. 592 (Potter), xv. 180  
 Cleophons, the, in Aristotle, xii. 17  
 Cloaca Maxima, on the stone used in the construction of the, i. (No. 2) 121  
 'Codex Mori' of the *Iliad*, the, xiii. 215  
 Codex Pamphili and date of Euthalius, on the, xxiii. 241  
 Colline Gate, the battle at the, xv. 103  
*Colossians* ii. 18, a conjectural emendation of, vii. 130  
 colours in Greek, xxvii. 51  
*Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, conjectures on, xxiii. 279  
*See also* Fragments, Greek Comedy, New Comedy  
*condicio* and *conditio*, viii. 265



coniectanea, xv. 21; xvii. 117

Conington, John, obituary notice of, ii. 334

*consul, exsul, insula, and praesul*, etymology of, iv. 272

contamination in morphology, xxxv. 152

Corinna, a fragment of, xxxiii. 296

Corinthian War, chronology of the, xxii. 129

*Corinthians I*, i. 26, note on, i. (No. 2) 158

Cowell (E. B.), obituary notice of, xxix. 119

criminals, disposal of bodies of, at Athens, viii. 1

Crucifixion, the date of the, xxix. 100

*Culex*, excerpts from, in the Escorial ms., xxiii. 1

a Roman ms. of the, xvi. 153

conjectures on, xvi. 313

*Daniel*, III. 21, the articles of dress in, xxvi. 306

v. 25, on the inscription in, vii. 138

Darkness the privation of Light, Night the absence of Day, xxviii. 289

'Decadence,' iii. 347

*δείπνον* and *δόπρον*, xvii. 159

Demosthenes, in *Stephanum*, emendation in, xiii. 98

on an uncollated ms. of, v. 28

*Select Private Orations of*, Part I (Paley and Sandys), notes on, vi. 240

derivations, notes on certain, vi. 81

*Deutero-Isaiah*, notes on certain passages in, xvii. 125

Dictys of Crete and Homer, xxxi. 207

Dictys Cretensis and Homer, xxxii. 1

*Didache*, the, compared with the Shepherd of Hermas, xviii. 297

traces of a saying of the, xix. 148, 161

*directus*, xv. 133, 186

*Digest*, note on, xvi. 190

Diogenes Laert. ix. 1 (7), xiii. 105

conjectures on, xxiii. 270

notes on, xxix. 1

Dion Chrysostom, notes on, xxx. 309

Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *de Compositione Verborum*, Oxford mss. of, xxvii. 70

'Opuscula,' Oxford mss. of the, xxviii. 161

Diophantos, *Arithmetics* of, on a point of notation in the, xiii. 107

*Dirae*, on the, viii. 73

*dissignare*, x. 206

divination and magic, on the forms of, enumerated in *Deut.* xviii. 10 sq. (Part I), xiii. 273; (10, 11), xiv. 113

*Donati Vita*, note on, xv. 4

Dracontius, on the newly edited poems of, v. 252

*duumviri* and *triumviri*; *saeculum*; *superstes*, *superstitio*, *superstitiosus*, vi. 97

Early Italian huts, note on the, xv. 145

*Ecclesiastes*, on some verses of, ii. 296

*Eisangelia*, on the, iv. 74

elision in hendecasyllables, xxx. 90

Elohist, on some alleged linguistic affinities of the, xi. 201

emendations, xiii. 98

and explanations (I), xxx. 290; (II), xxxi. 1

Empedocles, notes on, xxiv. 246

*ἐν μέσῳ* (*Rev.* v. 6) and *ἀνὰ μέσον* (*I Cor.* vi. 5), ii. 318

*ἐνεγκούσα*, ἡ, in Heliodorus, xv. 174

English pronunciation of Greek, i. (No. 2), 98

remarks on Mr Clark's article on (*J. P. i. No. 1*), ii. 157

Enneakrunos at Athens, on the, iii. 81

Ennius, *Ann.* (307 sqq.), xxii. 73

note on, xxxi. 46

Enoch, Book of, early citations from the, xxv. 164

Enoch and Clement, xxix. 185

*εἶπειν* and *ἐπεσθαι*, xiv. 231

*Ephesians* vi. (2), vi. 96

Epicurean gods, the physical constitution of the, xii. 112

Epicurus *Περὶ Φύσεως*, a newly identified fragment of, xiii. 289

See also Guyau

Epinal glossary, notes on the, xiv. 34

the, xvii. 120

*ἐπιούσιος*, on the derivation and the meaning of, v. 48

*εἶρειν* in Homer and in an Olympian inscription, vii. 22

*Esdras*, the missing fragment of the Fourth Book of, vii. 264

etymology of certain words in English terminating in *sk* and *sh*, v. 277

*Eudemian Ethics*, III. v. (vi), xxxv. 147; 1215 a 29: 1215 b 20:

1224 b (2), xxxiii. 298; 1229 a

14: 1235 a 35: 1244 a (1), xxxiv.

159; Θ i, ii. (H xiii, xiv, 1246 a

26-1248 b 7), xxxii. 170

emendations in the, xxxiv. 155

on some passages in the, xxvi. 149

further notes on passages in the

Seventh Book of the, xxvii. 145

- Eunapius, *Vit. Soph.* p. 477, 35 and p. 480, 14 (Didot), xv. 176
- Euripidea, xi. 267; xxvii. 204
- Euripides, xi. 243  
 conjectures on, xxiii. 286  
 on the fragments of, x. 232  
 notes on, xxvi. 233
- Androm.* (275), xx. 307; (397 sqq.), xix. 182
- Bacchae*, conjectures on, xxi. 85
- Helene*, some passages of the, xx. 202
- Iphigenia in Aulis*, two suggestions on the, xxii. 22
- Medea*, on some passages in the, viii. 75
- Medea* (297, 377, 1052), vi. 91; (886), xvi. 40
- Troad.* (745 sqq.), xxxi. 47
- and Euphron, emendations in (*Eurip. Ion* 3; *Euphron ap. Athen.* ix. p. 380 A), vii. 152
- Eusebius, *Eclogae Propheticae*, emendations of, iv. 275
- Hist. Eccl.* i. (13), vii. 262
- Chronicle, the Bodleian ms. of, xx. 134
- Excerpta Charisii*, part of the, and the fragment *de Idiomatibus Generum* in Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (iv.), xv. 27
- Exodus* ix. 31 sq., note on, xii. 299; xx. 4, 5, note on, iv. 156  
 note on two passages of, iv. 70
- ῥῶν and ὁῦ in Homer, xxiii. 81
- Fabius Pictor, note on the *Graeci Annales* of, ix. 51
- Firdausi, explanation of a difficult passage in, ii. 247
- Firmicus, note on, xxxi. 45  
 See also Octavius
- Four Gospels, the, and the four elements, xxi. 69
- Fragments of Comedy (ed. Kock), notes on, xxx. 311
- frangere toros*, vii. 52
- French glosses in the Leipsic ms. No. 102 from the commentary on *Job*, xxxi. 299
- Frontinus, note on, xviii. 141
- Fronto, on, i. (No. 1) 15; i. (No. 2) 160; ii. 160; xxix. 181
- Fulgentiana, xxix. 61
- Galatians* III. (28), xii. 269
- gender, especially in Indo-European languages, notes on, x. 39
- Genesis* vi. (16), note on, iii. 327
- XLIX. 10: an exegetical study, xiv. 1  
 notes on the translation of, iii. 291
- Germanicus (see Aratea)
- γίγνεσθαι, γιγνώσκειν, i. (No. 1) 79  
 'glamour,' on the word, and the legend of Glam, vi. 85
- Gloss. *Phillipps* s.v. *Adfricare*, xv. 11
- glosses quoted in Hagen's *Gradus ad Criticen*, notes on the, xi. 116; notes on a few of the, xiii. 168
- glossology, on, iv. 55, 157; v. 153
- 'Gnomica Basileensia,' note on the so-called, xxxiv. 160
- Gospels, Alexandrian evidence for the chronology of the, xxvii. 232
- Gothic particle -h, -uh, some remarks on the, vi. 257
- grandis*; *laetus*; *aura*; remarks on passages in Varro, Cicero and Virgil, vii. 169
- Greek accent, the change from the ancient to the modern, xxxv. 51
- Anthology, a contribution to the history of the, xxiv. 161
- Comedy, fragments of, iv. 319, 320
- deponent verbs with aorist in -θην, vii. 148
- epigram, on a (Meineke, *Anal. Alexandrina*, p. 396), vii. 259
- lexicography (I), vi. 288; (II), vii. 20; (III), vii. 177
- mss, on the composition of some, xxii. 157; xxiv. 300; xxvi. 161
- Modern, on the origin and development of, ii. 161
- nouns in Latin poetry from Lucretius to Juvenal, xxxi. 236
- numerical alphabet, the, xii. 278
- passive verb, on an irregular formation of the, i. (No. 1) 93
- poetry, fragments of, from papyri in the library of the University of Chicago, xxxiv. 106
- pronunciation of ancient, illustrated by modern Bohemian, ii. 42
- syntax, conditional sentences in, v. 186
- tetralogy, on certain difficulties with regard to the, xiv. 133
- vase, on an inscribed, with subjects from Homer and Hesiod, vii. 215
- verbs, investigation of some, which form or seem to form a parathetic compound with the negative prefix *d*, *av*; etc., vii. 157
- verbs, on peculiarities in the use of the future participles of, viii. 79
- written literature, early, viii. 133
- guardianship of minors and women, on the agnatic (note on Gaius i. 168), ix. 24
- Guyau, M., on the Epicurean doctrine of Free-will and Atomic declination, xi. 34
- 'Gypsy,' origin of the word, vi. 83



Hamburg Stadtbibliothek Codex  
No. I, the, xxix. 126  
Hastámalaka, the, vi. 161  
Hebrew Bible, the text of the, in  
abbreviations, xxviii. 254  
root DBR, on the meaning of the,  
i. (No. 2) 56  
root יקט, note on the (*Gen.* vi. 3),  
ii. 130  
root קצע and the word מקצוע, xvi.  
71  
verb ברא, the, "to create," xxix.  
263  
words, three, און, און and איר,  
xxvi. 300  
Heinsius' Codex Moreti, xviii. 272  
ἐκατομβη, xxii. 43  
Heliodorus, conjectures on, xxiii.  
263  
See also ἐνεγκούσα  
*hemina sanguinis*, in Seneca and Je-  
rome, viii. 263  
Heraclitus and Albertus Magnus, ix.  
230  
Heraclitus and Ammianus Mar-  
cellinus, vi. 88  
Hermas and Cebes, xxvii. 276;  
xxviii. 24  
a Reply, xxviii. 89; note on, xxviii.  
94  
See also Didache and Two Ways  
Hermesianax, conjectures on, xxvi.  
94  
Herodas, on, xxiii. 19  
notes on, xxviii. 17; xxxi. 47  
Herodotus II. 116 and Thucyd. I.  
(II), ii. 214; II. 121 (II-17), xxi.  
70; v. 28, note on, iv. 307  
on the date of the composition of  
the History of, xv. 86  
Hindu version of the story of  
Rhampsinitus, a, i. 67  
in Egypt, xv. 215  
travels in Egypt, the season and  
extent of, xiv. 257  
See also πόλις  
Hesiod, *Catalogi fragmenta*, note on,  
xxviii. 17  
Hesiod's Wagon, xxxiii. 145  
Hesychius, emendations of, xv. 5,  
xxxi. 1  
on a passage of, i. (No. 1) 77  
Hidros, Diabolus, vii. 314  
Hierapolis, the Gerousia of, xix. 69  
Hisperica Famina, on the, xxviii.  
209  
*hoc*, on the quantity of, vi. 263  
Homer, the age of, xii. 36  
Aristarchos' reading and interpre-  
tation of *Il.* N (358 sq.), xvi. 157  
duals in, xxiii. 205  
emendationes Homericae (*Il.* I-XII),  
xxiv. 272; (*Il.* XIII-XVIII), xxv.

32; (*Il.* XIX-XXIV), xxv. 299;  
(*Od.* I-V), xxvi. 113; (*Od.* VI-IX),  
xxvi. 243; (*Od.* X-XII), xxvii. 1;  
(*Od.* XIII-XVI), xxvii. 165; (*Od.*  
XVII-XIX), xxviii. 39; (*Od.* XX-  
XXIV), xxix. 202  
*Iliad* II, notes on, xi. 125; the  
mss. of the, xviii. 181; (II), xx.  
237; notes on the text of the,  
xviii. 126  
*Od.* XVII. 486, note on, xx. 182  
*Odyssey* of Homer, Hayman's edi-  
tion of, noticed, v. 101; notes  
on the, xx. 7; notes on the text  
of the, xviii. 154; v. (368), viii.  
112  
T 79, note on, xxvi. 92  
the augment in, xix. 211  
the slaying of the suitors, xxiv.  
39  
traces of different dialects in, ix.  
252, x. 110  
Homer's similes, xxiv. 28  
*Homeric Hymns*, notes by J. P.  
D'Orville on the, xxv. 250  
Homeric aorist participles, some,  
xxxv. 128  
fishing-tackle, xix. 238  
geography, note on, xiii. 288  
idiom, a, defended, xxvi. 81  
papyrus, a new, xxvi. 25  
scansion, note on, xviii. 120  
Homeric subjects, further notes on,  
xi. 56  
trial-scene, the (*Il.* XVIII. 507 sq.),  
x. 30  
vocabulary, on pseudo-archaic  
words and inflexions in the, and  
their relation to the antiquity  
of the Homeric poems, vi. 114  
words ἀταρτηρὸς, ἐπιτάρροθος, προθέ-  
λυμος, on the, v. 269  
Homerica, xii. 285; xvii. 109; xix. 19;  
xxiii. 211; xxxii. 19  
See also Benteleiana, Bentley, Codex  
Mori, Dictys, ἥδη, judges and  
litigants, Odysseus, spondees  
Horace, the *de Arte Poetica* of, xii. 43  
*de Arte Poetica* (90), xix. 296; (65),  
xxx. 46; (245), xviii. 141  
*Carm.* I. 12 (41 sqq.), xi. 286; I. 13  
(1 sqq.), xi. 336; I. (14), xxxiv.  
283; II. 2 (5), xvi. 189; II. 13  
(14), iii. 353; IV. (8), xxv. 151; IV.  
8, *Donarem pateras*, xvii. 145; IV.  
8 (15 sqq.), xxiv. 165  
*Sat.* I. 3 (120 sq.), vii. 263; I. 9  
(39, 75), xiii. 233; II. i. (86), vi. 91  
*stare* in *Hor. Sat.* I. 9 (39), xiii. 56  
Horatiana (*Carm.* I. 20), iii. 349  
Horatiana, ix. 211; x. 187; xvii. 303;  
xviii. 1  
Hyperides, on, v. 44

- iambic, the, a reply, xix. 146  
 trimeter, on the, xviii. 161; xix. 14  
 Ibycus (2, 29, Bergk), x. 28  
*iepós, iepós, ipós*, xxv. 131  
 Ignatian controversy, two neglected facts bearing on the, i. (No. 2) 47  
 Epistle to the Romans, heading of the, in the Paris MS, ii. 157  
 'imperium' of Augustus and his successors, some disputed points connected with the, xvii. 27  
*imperium consulare* and *proconsulare*, xxi. 56  
*in puris naturalibus*, vi. 174; xiii. 223  
 Indian folklore notes from the Pali Játakas and the Kathá Sarit Ságara, xii. 112  
*inhabile* in Seneca, *de Otio*, 3 (4), vii. 51  
 inscription found at Sérancourt, an, i. (No. 2) 160  
 a Theban, at the fountain of Dirce, iii. 189  
 inscriptions at Alexandria, notes on, vii. 88  
 of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, xi. 142  
 two Ephesian, vii. 140  
 on two Greek, found at York, vii. 126  
 Iphigenia, xxii. 43  
 Irenaeus, the mss. of, xvii. 81  
*Isaiah* VIII-X, note on, vi. 148  
 LIII. (15), an interpretation of, viii. 62  
 Isocrates, *Περὶ Ειρήνης*, the British Museum papyrus of, xxx. 1  
 on the Sixth Letter of, v. 266  
 Italian literature, the earliest, xi. 175  
*Jeremiah* VIII. 22, note on, xiii. 114  
 Jerome's Eusebian Chronicle, the Bodleian ms. of, xviii. 277  
*Job* v. 3, 5, notes on, xxvi. 303  
 XIX. 25-27, a theory of, iii. 128  
*Joshua* XXII. 10 sq., note on, xiii. 117  
 judges and litigants (*II.* XVIII. 506 sqq.), viii. 125  
 Jugurthine War, the chronology of the, vii. 91  
 Julian Calendar, the formation of the, with reference to the astronomical year, xxix. 87  
 Julius Caesar, a supposed financial operation of, ii. 135  
*ius gentium*, xiii. 169  
 Juvenal, life and poems of, xvi. 41  
 note on, i. (No. 2) 155; xvi. 220  
 the Phillipps mss. of, xxxiii. 238  
*Sat.* VIII, notes on, xx. 252  
 x. (54 sq.), viii. 272; XII. (129 sq.), xii. 269; XIII. (49 sq.), xxxv. 201; xv. (104), vii. 95  
 and two of his editors, xxxiv. 40  
 and two of his editors; a rejoinder, xxxv. 142  
 See also Munro  
 Key (T. H.), notes by, vi. 212  
 Kin and Custom, xvi. 87  
*κινδυνος*, note on, xiv. 132  
*Kings*, the chronology of the Books of, x. 209  
 Korax and Tisias, ix. 197  
 Krain, Croatia, and Serbia, notes from, xvii. 274  
*κροννοχυτροληραίος*, on the word, v. 183  
 Lactantius, *de Mort. Persecutorum* (xxx), xiv. 88  
 on Statius, *Theb.* VI. (322), xix. 174  
*laedere numen*, xvii. 157  
 land legislation of Julius Caesar's first consulship, the, xxxv. 174  
 language, the growth and development of, i. (No. 2) 1  
 Latin fragments, some new, viii. 122  
 grammar, the study of, among Romans in the first century A.D., xv. 189  
 Heptateuch, the, as reviewed by J. E. B. Mayor, xix. 111  
 hexameter, note on the history of the, xxx. 266  
 hexameter poem, on fragments of a, in the Herculanian papyri, xvi. 82  
 hexameter poetry, the strong hephthemimeral pause in, xxvi. 1  
 inscription from Nicopolis, xii. 292  
 lexicography, notes in, xii. 191; xiii. 67, 81; xiii. 164; xiv. 29; xv. 24; xvi. 67; xix. 102; xx. 175; xxi. 235  
 metres in English, after Sidney, Tennyson, and Mr Ellis, iv. 223  
 negatives *ne* and *non*, on the, vii. 55  
 poem, on a recently discovered, i. (No. 2) 66  
 prose, the historical development of classical, xv. 35  
 Latin-German glossary, fragment of a, in the library of University College, Sheffield, xxvi. 238  
 Latinizations of the modern surname, the, xxxiii. 76  
 Lex de imperio Vespasiani, the, xxviii. 122  
 Judiciaria of G. Gracchus, Lex Servilia of Caepio, and Lex Thoria, notes on the, xxxii. 96  
 Julia Municipalis, on the, xxxv. 19  
 Thoria of 118 B.C. and Lex Agraria



- of III B.C., were they reaction-ary laws? xxxi. 268
- lexicographical notes, xi. 99; (II), xiii. 299; xiv. 287; xvi. 193; xxviii. 84
- Libanius, note on, xxxi. 10
- licentia poetica*, on, viii. 260
- liceo* and *liceor*, the use and meaning of, xi. 332
- Licinianus, note on, xxxi. 48
- 'Liddell and Scott,' notes on, vii. 200
- Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, suggestions for addenda and corrigenda to, vii. 46
- literary criticism in Latin antiquity, xviii. 225
- Livy, note on, xv. 21; xvi. 190; xix. 173
- λόγος and μεσότης in the *De Anima* of Aristotle, xxxiii. 182
- Longus, conjectures on, xxiii. 265
- Love *Amor*. Love Nought, v. 298
- Lucan III. (558 *sqq.*), xvii. 80; (559 *sq.*), xvii. 155
- VIII, some notes on, xxxii. 125
- notes on, xvi. 190
- Scholia Bernensia Lucani*, xiv. 88
- some notes on the text of, xxvi. 194
- Lucian, conjectures on, xxi. 80; xxiii. 266
- note on, xxviii. 17
- Luciliana, vii. 293
- Lucilius, notes on fragments of, xiv. 81
- a word on, viii. 67
- another word on, viii. 201
- last words on, ix. 287
- Lucretiana, iv. 243; xvi. 124; xx. 315; xxiv. 131; xxv. 226
- Lucretianum, xx. 159
- Lucretius I. (551 *sqq.*), xv. 10; II. (40 *sqq.*, 533), xiv. 90; (II62), vii. 259; IV. (418), xv. 21
- IV. II30, addendum to note on, xvii. 142
- v. 703 and the verb *desurgere*, xix. 288; (277), xiv. 89; (396), xv. 10; (1009 *sq.*), xxxiii. 102
- Book VI, on, ii. 219; iii. 115; iii. 266
- two emendations of, xviii. 271
- a letter on, i. (No. 1) 113
- notes on, xxviii. 18; xxxi. 74
- on some passages in, iv. 120
- Lucretius' argument for free-will, xii. 127
- Proœmium and Epicurean theology, viii. 39
- Lycophron, notes on the *Alexandra* of, xx. 113
- Maccabees* I. iii. (48), xiv. 111
- Manetho' Ἀποτελεσματικά, on the date of, xxiii. 238
- conjectures on, xxvi. 110
- Manilius IV. 590, note on, xxxiii. 102; v. (465 *sqq.*), xv. 2
- emendations in the First Book of, xxvi. 60
- emendations in the Fifth Book of, xxvii. 162
- notes on, xxxi. 44, 159
- Silvae Manilianae Appendix, xxv. 266
- M. Aur. Antoninus Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, on the text of, xxiii. 116
- Marcus Aurelius, the composition and chronology of the *Thoughts* of, xxxiii. 278
- Marcus Aurelius' Commentaries, emendations of, xxxv. 133
- Martial, Book III, notes on, xvi. 229; VII. 79 and XII. (55), xxxi. 42; XIV. (152), xiv. 84
- Spect.* (15, 22, 23), xiv. 91
- corrections and explanations of, xxx. 229
- emendations of, xx. 313
- Paley and Stone's *Martialis Epig. Selecta*, notice of, ii. 104
- Martial's Epigrams, the orthography of, xxix. 24
- Marius Victorinus, note on, xv. 22
- Matthew* xxvii. (27 *sqq.*), xiv. 129
- Μέλλω, xxi. 39
- metempsychosis and variation of species in Plato, xxxi. 84
- metrical canon in Greek Tragedy, on a, xii. 136
- Mico the Levite, the prosody of, xxii. 9
- Milton, *Par. Regained* IV. (397 *sqq.*), xxviii. 289
- and the Aristotelian definition of Tragedy, xxvii. 267
- Minucius Felix (*see* Octavius)
- Miscellanea, xiv. 132; xvii. 75; xvii. 268
- critica, xvi. 36
- miscellaneous notes, vi. 91
- Modern Greek ballads from Corsica, vi. 194
- Moretum* (*see* Heinsius)
- mss. in the British Museum, two new, xxii. 238
- Munro (H. A. J.), obituary notice of, xiv. 107
- Munro's notes on Juvenal I. 13, and on *Aetna* (590), iii. 232
- ne* prohibitive with the 2nd person of the present subjunctive in Classical Latin, xviii. 326
- "Neap" and "Ebb," on the words, v. 81

- New College ms., the, in the *cum principibus philosophandum esse*, xxi. 16
- Comedy, on some fragments of the (Meineke, *Fr. Gr. Com.* vol. iv), etc., x. 18
- Testament, on two triple readings in the, iii. 357
- νήδυμος*, on the etymology of, v. 95
- Noniana quaedam, xvi. 161
- Nonius, notes on, xxiv. 212
- Book I, notes on, xxi. 233
- the title of the Second Book of, xvi. 70
- Marcellus, the printed editions of, xxi. 211
- Adversaria Noniana (Books I-III), xviii. 89
- See also Scaliger
- Northern Buddhist legend of Avalokiteśvara's descent into the hell Avīchi, the, vi. 222
- notes by the late Professor T. H. Key, vi. 212
- on (I) *νηγάρεος*, (2) the origin of the construction of the infinitive with *πρίν* and *πάρος*, (3) *πλέες* and *χέρηες*, xi. 61
- upon (I) the root *ak*; (II) the root *magh*; (III) the word *are*, vi. 232
- Numasios inscription, the, xvi. 196
- Nuptial Number, the (Plato, *Rep.* viii. p. 246), xii. 91
- Octavius of Minucius Felix, on the, and Firmicus, *de Errore Profanarum Religionum*, xxvi. 197
- Odysseus, on the place occupied by, in *Od.* (xxi), xxv. 106
- Old German glosses from a Bodleian ms., x. 92
- Latin Apocalypse, fragments of an, iv. 219
- Latin palimpsest fragments at Paris, ii. 240
- Testament notes, xiii. 61
- operatus* and *operari*, xxvi. 314
- Oppian, conjectures on, xxiii. 271
- Origen, *Against Celsus*, on the text of, xviii. 288; proposed emendations of the text of, v. 248
- Philocalia*, on the text of, xviii. 36
- Orphica, xx. 117; xxxiii. 265; (i), xxvi. 69; (II-IV), xxvi. 224; (Abel, p. 91), xxx. 293
- Ovid, *Fasti* II. (676), v. 27
- de Medic. Faciei*, xv. 9
- Ibis*, on the, vii. 244; xxxv. 287; (539), xii. 167; new remarks on the, xxiv. 178; new suggestions on the, xiv. 93; transpositions in the, xxxiv. 222
- Met.* IV. (139 sqq.), xvi. 113
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, on Book xv of, xxii. 144; on some passages of, xii. 62
- Pont.* II. 7 (24), xv. 8
- Pacatus, *Panegy.* (x), xv. 8
- Palaeographica, xix. 62; xxxii. 222; (III), xxi. 48
- Palatine Hill, the excavations on the, ii. 82
- the original configuration of the, and the Pomoerium of Romulus, i. (No. i), 146
- Panegy.* (IV, VII B), xv. 7
- Pannonian rising of 6-9 A.D., the, xxiii. 29
- pyryi from Apollonopolis, some new, xxii. 268
- Parmenides, 52 (60), on, xxi. 73
- Pausanias, viii. 16 (§ 5), xvi. 111
- Pedarii in the Roman Senate, on the, iv. 113
- Peile's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology*, notice of, iii. 328
- Pentateuch*, the, *Judges*, and *2 Kings*, some passages of, v. 54
- Persian word, on a, xv. 101
- Persius, the Sixth Satire of, iii. 183
- VI. (10), xiv. 86
- Aulus Persius Flaccus, v. 142
- Pervigilium Veneris*, the, xvii. 179
- on the, and Tiberianus I. (7), xviii. 142
- Petronii Satyricon, in, vii. 206
- Petronianum, ix. 61; of Phillipp's ms. 9672, Bücheler on the, xiii. 86
- Petronius, on, xi. 237; c. 43, note on, xii. 266; (37, 42), xiv. 79, 92; (29), xv. 1
- fragm.* (33), xix. 183
- Philodemus, note on, xix. 178
- Philolaus the Pythagorean, on the fragments attributed to, i. (No. i), 21
- Philostratus, conjectures on, xxiii. 260
- Vit. Soph.* I. 22 (§ 2), v. 100
- Pindar, notes on, xxx. 297
- Isthm.* v. (vi), 66, note on, ii. 154
- Pythian* IV, note on, xxii. 267
- Pyth.* VI. (10 sqq.), ii. 152
- Placidiana (ed. Deuerling), xv. 167
- Placidus (ed. Deuerling), notes on, xi. 75
- the shorter glosses of, xxxiv. 255
- Nonius, etc., notes on, xii. 77
- plant-names, on some ancient, xxxiii. 195; (II), xxxiv. 78; (III), xxxiv. 290
- Plato, *Apol. Socr.* (26 D, E), x. 37
- Cratylus*, on, xvii. 192
- Hippias Major*, on the, xxxv. 319
- Meno*, 86 E sqq., on the geometrical



- problem in, with a note on the treatise *de Lineis insecabilibus* (970 A, 5), xxviii. 222; the geometrical problem of the, xvii. 219
- Plato, *Phaedo* (ch. 48), xxiii. 76; (95 A), xiii. 121
- Phaedrus*, notes on, xxxv. 162; questions connected with, xv. 80
- Philebus*, introductory remarks on the, xi. 1; notes on the ontology of the, xxviii. 1; on passages in, xxv. 290; (66 B), xxiv. 48; 15 A, B, note on, xxvii. 229
- Rep.* VI., a passage in, ii. 96; (508 D sqq.), x. 132
- Republic*, on a passage in, v. 274; two passages in, v. 122; 424 A, emendation of, xxx. 292; note on a passage of (*Soph.* 262 D), vi. 160
- Soph.* (262 D), note on, vi. 286
- Sophist*, on the genuineness and on some of its philosophical bearings of, viii. 290; on some passages in, xxxii. 136
- Theaetetus* (179 E-180 A), xxviii. 15; (190 C), xiii. 59; (158 E-160 A), xv. 149; (207 E), vi. 180; (142, 143), vii. 124; (190 C), xiii. 104; 190 C, note on, xii. 297
- Timaeus* (51 B), xxiv. 49; (37 C), xxxii. 123; (37 C), xxxii. 166; (38 B and 28 B), xxi. 71; 40 C, on the interpretation of, v. 206; (66), xix. 180
- a neglected ms. of, xi. 195
- the Number of (*Rep.* p. 546), viii. 275
- on some passages of, iv. 146
- and geology, xviii. 134
- later theory of Ideas, x. 252; xi. 287; xx. 121; xxv. 4; xxv. 65; III, the *Timaeus*, xiii. 1; IV, the *Theaetetus*, xiii. 242; V, the *Sophist*, xiv. 173; VI, the *Politicus*, xv. 280
- See also *clausulae*, *metempsychosis*, *Nuptial Number*
- Platonic psychology, on some difficulties in the, x. 120
- Platonica, v. 217; xiii. 218; xv. 111; xxviii. 185
- Platonism, the later, xxiii. 161; some remarks on, xxix. 266
- Plautus, hiatus in, xxvii. 208
- Menaechmi*, critical notes, chiefly on, xiv. 53
- Mercator*, Prol. 54 and III. 1, 26 (524), xv. 165
- the *Mostellaria* of, ii. 229
- notes on, xi. 161; xvi. 37; xix. 109
- on Plautine metre, xx. 135
- Plautus, *Poenulus*, Act. v, sc. 1, on the Phoenician passage in, ii. 354
- some Plautine emendations, xxvi. 279
- Truculentus*, on the, xii. 256
- the shortening of long syllables in, xxi. 198; xxii. 1
- Pliny, *Ep.* I. 5, 3 and Juvenal I, 144 sqq., notes on, xiii. 230
- Letters, a Bodleian ms. of (VIII. 8, § 3-18, § 11 and *Ad Traj.* 1-40), xvii. 95
- Plutarch, Cebes and Hermas, xxxi. 14
- de Iside et Osiride*, notes on, xx. 162
- de Pythiae oraculis*, 25 (407 A), xxviii. 160
- See also New College ms
- Plutarch's "Ethica," notes on, xxi. 1
- Poetae Latini Minores*, notes on the, xxxii. 72
- Lyrici*, passages in the, xxv. 83
- Scenici*, some passages from the, xxii. 262
- πόλις, note on the use of, in Herodotus, xv. 97
- Porson's emendation of *Persae* (321), xxxv. 161
- position of guests at a Roman dinner-table, on the, vi. 219
- Praeneste, the siege of, xxxv. 1
- prefix A- in English, on the, v. 32
- princeps*, or *princeps senatus*? viii. 33
- Proclus, note on, xxxi. 13
- Procopius, *de Bello Gothico*, I. 7, on an oracle in, xxx. 225; I. xxiv, on an oracle in, xxxiii. 142
- pronunciation of Greek, notes on the, as deduced from Graeco-Indian bilingual coins (B.C. 180-20), xxix. 199
- Propertian use of *unus*, a, xxi. 66
- Propertiana, ix. 62; xv. 143
- Propertianum, xi. 174
- Propertius, on, ix. 235; xv. 12
- I. (xxi), xiv. 289; I. 21 (1 sqq.), xv. 152; I. 21, 1 sqq., a last word on, xv. 158; II. 34, 29 sq., a suggestion on, xxii. 24; III. 18 (3 sqq.), xix. 56; III. (II), 34 (61 sqq.), ii. 142; IV. 3 (35 sqq.), xxii. 72; IV. 5 (61 sq.), xii. 267; IV. 8 (58), xxxi. 45; IV. (V), 9 (35 sq.), xiv. 86
- the last Elegy of the third or second Book of, vi. 28
- emendation of a passage in, vi. 80
- emendations Propertianae, xvi. 1
- note on, ix. 251
- notes on, i. (No. 2) 152; xvi. 183; xix. 177; note on emendations of, xvi. 291

- Propertius, some emendations of, xxx. **84**  
 the mss. of, xxi. **101, 161**; xxii. **84**  
 towards a recension of, xxxi. **162**  
*Proverbs* VII. 22, note on, xxviii. **287**  
 Prudentius, notes on the mss. of, xxix. **166**  
 Prytaneum, the; the Temple of Vesta; the Vestals; perpetual fires, xiv. **145**  
*Psalms* XLIX. 15; L. 20; LXXX. 7; LXXXV. (14), xviii. **143**  
 Pseudo-Anatolius, *de Ratione Paschali*, the date and origin of, xxviii. **137**  
 Clement, the Homily of, xxviii. **195**  
*Pugio Fidei*, the, xvi. **131**  
 Pyrrhus in Italy, x. **172**
- Quintilian, notes on, xv. **22**  
 Book x, notes on, xxix. **145**  
 Quintus Smyrnaeus, emendations of, xxvii. **103**  
 notes on, xxxi. **287**
- Rabirius, political and legal aspects of the trial of, xxxiv. **12**  
 Renan's theory of the Epistle to the Romans, ii. **264**  
*Revelation*, a collation of mss. of, xxii. **285**  
*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV. (54, 68), x. **197**  
 an uncollated ms. of the, xii. **209**  
 Rhythm *versus* Metre, ii. **253**  
 Ribbeck's *Prolegomena to Virgil*, on, i. (No. 1) **54**; i. (No. 2) **124**  
 Rigveda I. 48 (Hymn to the Dawn, 15), xxv. **1**  
 Roman Capitol, the, as laid down in Mr Burn's *Rome and the Campagna*, iii. **236**  
 Capitol, the, iv. **126**  
 Curiae, the, ix. **266**  
 history, notes on, ii. **197**  
 treaties with Tarentum and Rhodes, the early, xxxv. **165**  
*Romans, Epistle to the*, iii. **193**  
 on the end of the *Epistle to the*, iii. **51**  
 v. (12), ii. **139**  
 Rome and Carthage, the treaty between, in the First Consulate, ix. **238**  
 Rullan proposal in 63 B.C., the policy of the, xxxii. **228**
- S. Athanasius, on the sources of the text of, xxiv. **284**  
 S. John v. and vi, on the chronology of, iii. **107**  
 S. Peter I. iii. (21), ii. **153**  
 S. Polycarp, *Epistle to the Philippians* and the Homilies of Antiochus Palaestinus, xix. **241**  
*To the Philippians*, xx. **65**  
 Salinon of Archimedes, on the, xxv. **161**  
 Salvian, *de Gubernatione Dei*, note on, xv. **23**  
 Samaritan Targum on *Gen.* XIV. 5, conjectural emendation of, vi. **170**  
 Saxon Laws, on some passages of the, i. (No. 2) **109**  
 Scaliger's unpublished emendations in Nonius, xxi. **212**; xxii. **74**  
*Scriptor Belli Africae*, note on, xviii. **141**  
 Seneca in Alan of Lille, xx. **1**  
*alloquimur* in *Ep.* (121), xiii. **227**  
 Argonauts, the doom of the (*Medea*, 607 sqq.), xxxiii. **95**  
*de Beneficiis* VI. 16 (2), xv. **177**  
 corruption of the text of, xxx. **208**  
*Ep.* 19 (3), xvi. **112**  
 notes on, xxviii. **19**; xxxi. **45, 46**  
 Tragedies, vi. **70**  
 Sergius, *Explan. ad Donatum*, note on, xv. **23**  
 on Donatus (p. 520 Keil), xvi. **192**  
 Servius on *Aen.* IX. (289), xvi. **160**  
 in Donatum, note on, xv. **22**  
 notes on, xvi. **190**  
*See also* Thilo  
 'shall' and 'should' in protasis, and their Greek equivalents, viii. **18**  
 Shilleto, Richard, obituary notice of, vii. **163**  
 Sidonius I. 9, III. (13), xiv. **88**  
 Silius Italicus VIII, the 'great lacuna' in, xxiv. **188**  
 Sirens, a philological examination of the myth of the, ix. **109**  
 Sittake and Opis, on the sites of, iv. **136**  
 σκοποῦμαι, on, as a passive, v. **84**  
 Socrates, the δαιμόνιον σημεῖον of, v. **232**  
 Socrates Scholasticus, a collation of the history of, Books IV-VII, with the old Armenian Version and with the Latin Version of Epiphanius Scholasticus as preserved in Cassiodorus, xxxiv. **47**  
 emendations of the text of, xxxiii. **208**  
 Solon, on a fragment of, xxv. **98**; xxvi. **64**  
 notes on, xxiv. **248**  
 Sophists, the, iv. **288**; (II), v. **66**  
 Sophoclea, xx. **25**



- Sophocles, *Ajax*, notes on, vi. 176  
*Antigone*, two criticisms, viii. 96;  
 on the first seven verses of the,  
 x. 16; (891 *sqq.*), xxiv. 171  
*Electra* (1074 *sqq.*), xxxi. 153;  
 (1288 *sqq.*), i. (No. 2) 156  
 and Euripides, on the fragments  
 of, iv. 251  
*Fragments*, conjectures on, xx.  
 304; notes on, xxxi. 8  
 Dr Kennedy on, v. 1  
 on the ms. of, in the Library of  
 Trinity College, Cambridge, viii.  
 86  
 the mss. of, v. 125  
 notes on, v. 87  
 two notes on, xxi. 37  
*Oedipus Coloneus*, observations on  
 the, x. 87; the topography of the,  
 xiii. 116  
*Oed. Tyr.*, notes on, xiii. 189; a  
 passage in, iii. 277; (1337 *sqq.*),  
 ix. 71  
*οἰδῶρον* not a 'separable' epithet,  
 xx. 111  
*Philoctetes*, a lost edition of, xvi.  
 114; notes on the, ii. 70  
*Trach.* (1012-3), i. (No. 2) 151;  
 (1160), xiv. 132  
 Vindiciae Sophocleae, iv. 182  
 sotadei, the new, discovered by  
 Sayce and Mahaffy, xxiv. 163  
 spondee in the fourth foot in  
 Homer, xviii. 150  
 Statius, notes on, xxviii. 23; xxxi.  
 47; xxxi. 153  
 Statius, *Silvae* II. 6 (12), xv. 3; v. i  
 (205), xv. 4  
*Silvae*, an Oxford ms. of, xx. 17;  
 on some passages of, xiii. 88; xix.  
 129; on two passages of, v. 262;  
 conjectural emendations in the,  
 xxx. 133  
*Thebaid*, metrical stopgaps in,  
 xxix. 253  
 Stobaeus, note on, xix. 183  
 Stoica Frustula, xxx. 211  
*στοργή, ἔρως, φιλεῖν, ἀγαπᾶν*, i. (No. 1)  
 88  
 Suetonius, xxxiii. 161  
*Augustus* (92), xv. 173  
*Gramm.* (11), xix. 181  
 life of Lucretius, new details from,  
 xxiii. 220  
*Vita Lucani*, note on, xix. 174  
 Sulpicia, *Satira*, v. 265  
 Σὺργξ technopaegium, the, xxxiii.  
 128  
 Synesius, notes on, xxx. 308  
 Syriac accents, ix. 221  
 Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. (48), xxxi. 49; xi.  
 (4), ii. 153; xi. (27), ii. 331  
 Tacitus, *Dial. de Oratoribus* (28, 31),  
 xix. 110  
*Germania* (13), xxvii. 228  
*Hist.* II. (77), xviii. 141; v. 5, note  
 on, xii. 31  
*Histories*, xvii. 289  
 as a military historian in the  
*Histories*, xxxi. 123  
 notes on, xvii. 268  
 Terence (*Eun.* 4, 4, 21, *Heauton Tim.*  
 4, 1, 32), xvi. 36  
 Tertullian's *Apology*, xxi. 259  
*τετραλογία* and *τριλογία*, on the history  
 of the words, xi. 64  
*Thebaid* (*Frag. Epic.* p. 11 Kinkel),  
 xxx. 307  
 Themistius II. *εἰς Κωνσταντῖον* (32 C),  
 xxvii. 161  
 Theocritus, on a passage of (xviii.  
 26 *sqq.*), xiii. 101  
*See also* Bucolica  
 Theognis (309, 323), xx. 309  
 notes on, x. 27; xxxi. 45  
 Theophrastus, *περὶ Νόμων*, vi. 1  
*See also* Aristotle  
 Thessalonians, some various readings  
 of the Epistles to the, ii. 35  
 i. iii (3), ii. 154  
 Thilo's Servius (vol. I. fasc. II. Lip-  
 siae, 1881), x. 153  
 Thompson, William Hepworth,  
 obituary notice of, xv. 306  
 Thought, Word and Deed, iii. 215  
 Thucydidea, xxxiii. 270  
 Thucydides I. (37), v. 22; II. (90), ii.  
 332; III. 11 (4), xiii. 99; III-IV,  
 edited by G. A. Simcox, vii. 227;  
 VI, VII, various notes on, xxiv. 1  
 account of the escape from Plataea  
 (III. 20 *sqq.*), engineering diffi-  
 culties in, x. 8  
 and the *Acharnians* of Aristo-  
 phanes, notes on, iii. 161  
 and the Sicilian expedition, xxiii. 45  
 conjectures on, i. (No. 1) 167  
 note on, i. (No. 2) 151  
 notes on, vi. 93  
 on the existence of written his-  
 tories in the time of, v. 223  
 Tiberianus I. 7 (p. 264 Baehrens),  
 xxiii. 142; *see also* xviii. 142  
 Tibulliana, xv. 142; xxv. 30; xxvi.  
 182; xxviii. 152  
 Tibullus IV. 13, on the genuineness  
 of, ix. 280  
 and Martial, emendations of, xx.  
 312  
 'to save appearances,' vi. 171  
*tonitralis* in Lucretius II. (1105), xx.  
 181  
 Tragedy, the interpretation of—  
 with notes on the *Oedipus Ty-*  
*rannus* of Sophocles, xiii. 182

- Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, conjectures on, xxiii. 271
- Transpadani, the, and the colony of Novum Comum, xxxiii. 103
- Trasimene, xxv. 273
- the battle of Lake, (II), xxvi. 203; xxxi. 117
- the site of the battle of Lake, xxv. 112
- Trebbia, the, and Lake Trasimene, xxiv. 83
- trilogies or tetralogies at Athens, some doubts as to the performance of, vii. 279
- trilogy and tetralogy, the, in the Greek Drama, xv. 257
- Two Ways*, the, in Hermas and Xenophon, xxi. 243
- ὅς λουσαμένη ἐλς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου, vii. 134
- Valerius Flaccus, annotations of, xxii. 307
- critical notes on, xxvii. 100
- emendations of, xxvii. 253
- note on, xxxi. 48
- on some passages of, ix. 52
- Various conjectures (I), xx. 294; (II), xxi. 75; (III), xxiii. 260; (IV), xxvi. 92
- Varro, note on, xv. 21
- notes on, xix. 178
- Vatican glossary No. 3321, the, xx. 183; notes on, xix. 113; (Goetz), xix. 184; xix. 290; xx. 185; remarks on the, xx. 49
- Velius Longus, notes on, xvi. 191
- Vergil (Virgil), *Aen.* II. 615, v. 25; III. 482, vi. 134; III. 525, v. 26; III. 687-706, iii. 103; v. 196, vi. 135; v. 560-587, ix. 101; v. 602, xix. 110; vi. 126, 273 *sqq.*, v. 26; VII. 117-120, iii. 279; x. 185, vi. 136; XII. 35, xiv. 87; XII. 158, xvi. 192
- Berne Scholia on, a new supplement to the, xxxv. 257
- Vergil, *Ecl.* I. 68-72, iii. 278; III. 104-5, the riddle in, xvii. 143; IV. 15, v. 23; vi. 302
- Georg.* I. 263, xviii. 328; III. 400-3, vii. 19
- notes on (by Mayor), vi. 302; vii. 1, 260; (by Nettleship), viii. 50, xv. 29
- Aeneas' voyage round Sicily, iii. 103
- on a Virgilian idiom, xxiv. 46
- on the lengthening of short final syllables in, iii. 95
- and Seneca, etc., ii. 144
- Vergili Trojamentum, ix. 101
- See also Heinsius and Ribbeck
- 'Verify your Quotations,' xxxii. 303
- Veritatis Pater, xxxi. 50
- Verse epitaphs on Roman monuments, iv. 281
- Veteri vetus hospes amico*, v. 307
- Vis* (2nd pers. of *volo*), *invitus*, and *invitare*, v. 20
- Visio Pauli, xxii. 184
- Vitruvius, on three Greek epigrams in, vi. 273
- Westphal's *Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, notice of, iii. 282
- Wright, William Aldis: a personal appreciation, xxxiii. 299; in memoriam, xxxiii. 302
- Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* XII. (6), xxviii. 136
- Memorabilia*, emendation in, xiii. 99
- de Vect.* IV. 14, note on, x. 34
- Hellenica*, the chronology of, 387-362 B.C., xxii. 222; I. vii. (2), viii. 114
- See also *Two Ways*
- Zechariah* x. 11, notes on, xviii. 88
- ὥς in Aeschylus, etc., xxxi. 234
- ὥς as a preposition, xvii. 113



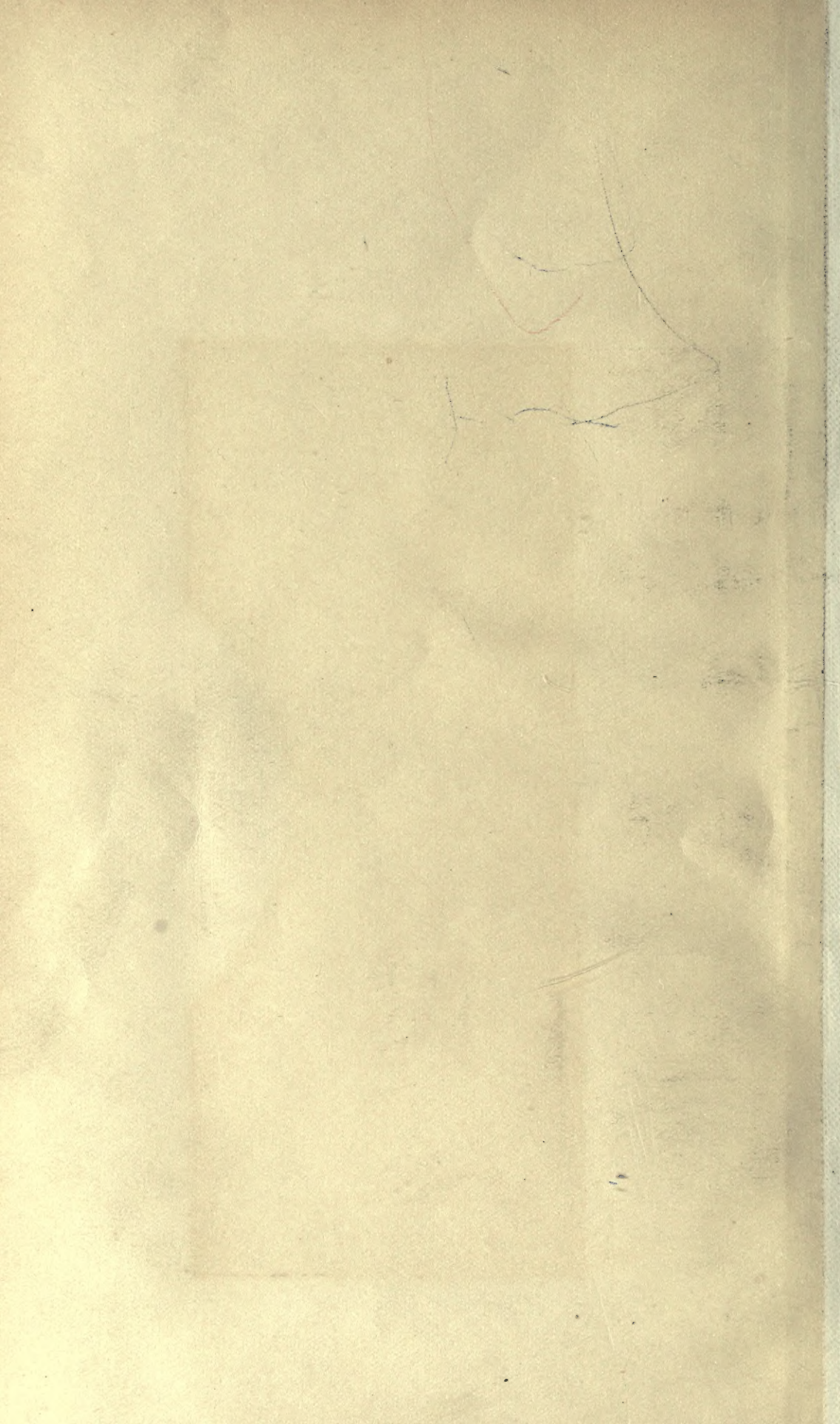














171508

Journal of Philology.  
34-35, 1915-20.

P. Philol.

University of Toronto  
Library

DO NOT  
REMOVE  
THE  
CARD  
FROM  
THIS  
POCKET

Acme Library Card Pocket  
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File"  
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU



